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CATHOLIC
RECORD SOCIETY

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE ENGLISH MARTYRS

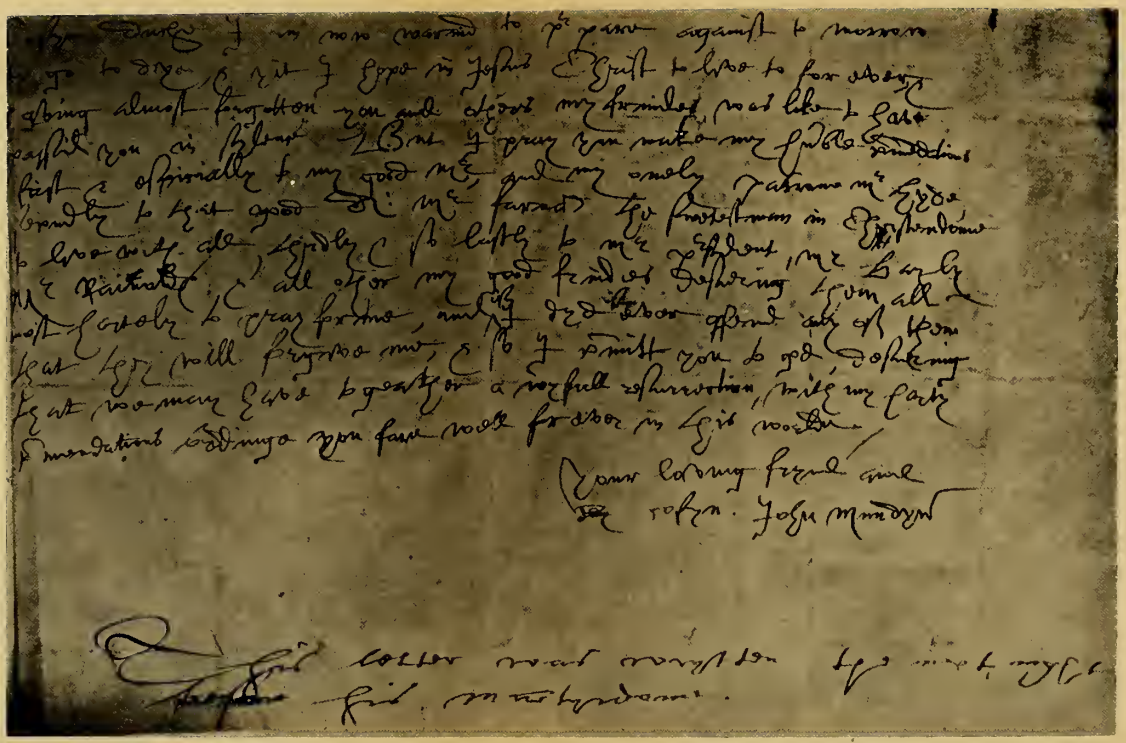
VOL. I

1584—1603

COLLECTED AND EDITED BY

JOHN HUNGERFORD POLLEN, S.J.

LONDON
PRIVATELY PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY
BY J. WHITEHEAD & SON, LEEDS
1908



Frontispiece.]

The VEN. JOHN MUNDEN, M., to the VEN. EDMUND DUKE, M.
With the attestation of Dr. Barrett, Vice-President of Rheims Seminary,
"This letter was wrytten the next night before his martyrdome."

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This Volume is
Issued to the Members for 1907-8

INTRODUCTION

THE following collection of hitherto inedited documents concerning the English Martyrs has been for many years in preparation. It was begun by the late Father John Morris, S.J., who had been entrusted by the successive Cardinal Archbishops of Westminster with the office of 'postulator' for the Beatification of the English Martyrs. Having succeeded him in that office, I had many occasions, as time went on, for adding to Father Morris's portfolios many notes and transcripts, taken from most, or all, libraries and archives in which there seemed a reasonable likelihood of finding pieces that would illustrate the lives of the Martyrs.

The collection of papers thus formed, though it contains several pieces of striking dramatic interest, was bound, from the nature of the case, to contain fewer of this sort than were gathered by previous collectors, who had sought for and found almost all of this class that existed. It was also inevitable that our series of papers should appear somewhat disconnected. For the object of these researches being to fill up the gaps between the pieces previously known, the omission of these latter (which can be found elsewhere) necessarily leaves our little groups of documents without any evident connecting link.

Still, as we read these pages, we shall, I think, be struck by the unexpected way in which these miscellaneous records illustrate one another. The new fits in with the old, the small pieces with the large. In some cases we have only bare notes of names and dates, but these are aptly and amply supplemented by the rarer narratives in which full details are given (pp. 57–62, 74–88, 345–360). The explanation is that the lives of the Martyrs were to a certain extent one very like another. They passed through the same colleges, were prosecuted under the same laws, and suffered the same penalties. The descriptions of the events, which recurred in almost all lives, when compared one with another, give the whole body of evidence a wonderful unity and vividness. No one who does not try to make such a comparison will believe the deep impression produced by the multitude of witnesses, some speaking with the boundless enthusiasm of spiritual admirers, some with the incredible malignity of religious persecutors, some with the cold stiffness of officials, some with the fire of poets, some with the tenderness of brothers, or the delicate precision of scholars, or the

honest bluntness of the uneducated—yet all in effect attesting the same facts, telling substantially the same story, and pointing the same moral. If the reader will refer to the Index under the heading "Martyrs: Ordinary details of their life and death," he will find a series of references, which, though of course not exhaustive, will give him an idea how such a comparison may be carried out, and I may refer to similar tables in my *Acts of English Martyrs*, 1891, pp. 393, 394; Bede Camm, *Lives of the English Martyrs*, II, Introduction xxix–xxxviii; and my edition of Allen's *Briefe Historie of Father Campion*, &c., xii–xviii.

It is very unfortunate that we have not as yet any general history of the persecution. No one has described for us in detail the way in which the persecution originated, the various phases through which it passed, and how these changes were connected with the general history of our country. In defect of anything fuller, I may refer to my Introduction to *The Lives of the English Martyrs* just alluded to, and to a series of articles on the same topic and on the sham plots, by which Walsingham succeeded in inflaming the prejudices of the Queen and of the Puritans to the very highest degree, and thereby ensuring the cruel laws which caused so much bloodshed and suffering. (*The Month*, June, July, 1902; Nov., 1904; March, 1905.)

There are two other preliminaries, on which something must be said here. They seem very different subjects, but they are really closely connected. First, then, what is the meaning of the term "Venerable," and why have some Martyrs that title, while others are called "Blessed"? The second question is, why have we begun in the middle of Elizabeth's reign instead of at the beginning? To answer these questions I must go back a little.

The total number of those who can legitimately be reckoned as Martyrs during the whole Reformation period is very considerable. Some, like Fisher, More and Campion, are well known everywhere. Others are well known to some, but not to many. Their names and deeds are perhaps familiar in the place where they suffered, or to the members of their order or congregation, or to those who are readers of secular or religious history. Of others the name and date of death may be on record, and but little else; sometimes not even the exact name is known, nor the exact date. This division between unknown, partially known, and well known Martyrs, corresponds roughly (but *only very roughly*) with the ecclesiastical honours which have been awarded to them by the Papal Commission, which decides causes of canonisation and beatification.

Certain well known Martyrs, like Fisher, More and Campion, whose causes have long been before the eyes of the Church at large, and of the Holy See in particular, have received the dignity of *Beatification*. Those who have remained comparatively little known, especially at Rome (though there is really a good deal to be said about them), have been given the title *Venerable*. This signifies that a good *prima facie* proof has been established for considering them likely to be beatified eventually, when their cause shall have been sufficiently discussed. Those who have been put off for any reason, for instance through dearth of information, are called *Dilati*. (The decrees by which sixty-three Martyrs have been declared *Beati*, will be found in *The Lives of the English Martyrs*, I, Introd. lix. The decree admitting 253 'Venerables,' and leaving forty-four *Dilati* in suspense, is in *Acts of English Martyrs*, pp. 376–384.)

The distinction between *Beati* and *Venerabiles* has an accidental connection with the year 1584. In that year pictures of the English Martyrs were painted on the walls of the church of the English College, Rome. These pictures, each with its explicit title, were put up by the Pope's full permission; and this permission, coming as it does in connection with various other signs of Papal goodwill to the cause of the Martyrs, has been accepted as tantamount to a formal pronouncement, that the Pope considered the martyrdom of the persons represented to have been clearly proved. Hence it is that the Martyrs who suffered *before* 1584 have almost all been made Beati, while the title "Venerable" has fallen to those who came after that year.

To go back to the point from which we started. Our collection of documents, which had of late become accessible, being completed and ready to be given to the public, we now see the fitness of dealing first with those papers that concern the Venerables. For in the first place they have so far been the less known. Moreover, as we might have suspected from the hitherto small amount that has been printed concerning them, the papers, still to be published, do in fact principally concern them. There is very good reason, therefore, for beginning in the middle of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, rather than with its commencement.

Though no effort has been spared to make the selection of documents complete, there must always be a certain amount of gleaning left for others. There is, for instance, the not inconsiderable, though not very satisfactory, field of spy information. Some more favourable samples of such informations are given below (*nn.* XXVI, LVII, LXXII), but

it is clear that the amount of good grain is here very small compared with the quantity of the chaff. Walsingham's papers in the Record Office contain many reports of this sort, some descriptions of which may be found in the *Calendars*. They are as a rule so unreliable (see Bancroft's description of Fawether, p. 391) that they need special treatment. Perhaps some diligent critic may in time find that a few pages here and there are worthy of credit, but they can never, as a class, be reckoned worthy of a place by the side of the first hand and official pieces, of which our collection is mainly composed.

Minutiæ have also been deliberately omitted from this collection. A not inconsiderable quantity of very short notices, passing references and small variations between different accounts, have been collected, and at one time I hoped to be able to include them in an Appendix, together with references to all printed authorities (*see* p. 6, § 15). But time has failed me to reduce these numerous and varied citations to such precise order and uniformity as would alone justify their publication.

It only remains for me to thank many friends who have given me active assistance in my work. To the present Rector of Stonyhurst College, and to his predecessor in office, my special thanks are due for the loan of valuable manuscripts. To Father Patrick Ryan, to Mr. Richard Trappes-Lomax, and to Miss Stearn, my debt is no less considerable for their willing and constant aid in the transcription and collation of documents, in the reading and correction of proofs, and the compilation of the Index.

J. H. Pollen, S.J.

Second Sunday of Lent,
1908.

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Frontispiece.—The Ven. John Mundyn "to his cousin Duche," probably the Ven. Edward Duke, M., written "the next night before his Martyrdom," and bearing the attestation of Dr. Richard Barrett, Vice-President of the Seminary of Rheims. The original is Stonyhurst MS., *Anglia*, i, 17. Though already printed first by Dr. George Oliver, *Collections for Cornwall*, &c., p. 362, and J. B. Wainewright, *Two English Martyrs*, C.T.S., its text may be repeated literatim here.

Cosyn Duche, I am now warnid to prepare against to morrow to go to dye, and yit I hope in Jesus Christ to live to for ever, & having almost forgotten you and others my frindes, was like to have passid you in sylence. But I pray you make my humble commendations first and espicially to my good Mr, and my onely patrone Mr Hyde, secondly to that good Dr: Mr Farnam the sweetest man in Christendome to live with all, thirdly and so lastly to Mr President, Mr Bayly, Mr. Rainolds, and all other my good frindes, desiering them all most hartely to pray for me, and if I dyd ever offend any of them that they will forgive me, & so I comitt you to God, desiering that we may have to geather a ioyfull resurrection, with my harty comendations byddinge you fare well for ever in this worlde /

Your loving frynd and cosyn. John Mundyn

Barrett's hand.—This letter was wrytten the next night before his martyrdome.

PAGE

The Ven. George Haydock. Stonyhurst MS., *Anglia*, i, 22. Last paragraph and signature 22

The Ven. Robert Morton. *Ibid.*, i, 34 139

The Ven. Christopher Buxton. *Ibid.*, i, 38. Conclusion and postscript 149

The Ven. Henry Walpole. *Ibid.*, i, 49. The martyr's handwriting while in health and freedom, to be compared with p. 259 . 190

The Ven. John Ingram. *Ibid.*, i, 65. To be compared with his writing after torture, p. 273 204

The Ven. Henry Walpole. R.O., *Dom. Eliz.*, ccxlix, 13. Written in the Tower. To be compared with p. 190. The question is whether the change of handwriting shows the commencement of torture. See p. 245 259

The Ven. John Cornelius, S.J. Archives S.J. Conclusion and signature: written with watery ink on stained paper; slightly enlarged 270

The Ven. John Ingram's Epigrams. Stonyhurst, *Anglia*, vii, 8. Written some time after his torture. Compare with p. 204. The attestation in the margin, "Mr. Ingram's owne hand writinge," is by Father Holtby, S.J. 273

Father Robert Southwell, S.J. *Ibid.*, vii, 1. This is a draft with corrections, written at the age of twenty, with characteristic scribblings of men's heads in the margin 295

DOCUMENTS
RELATING TO THE ENGLISH MARTYRS

Catalogues.

It is of course a matter of prime importance to settle from the first the names of the Martyrs with whom we have at present to deal. The question, however, is one which has frequently presented itself before to other historians and clients of the Martyrs, and to the ecclesiastical authorities, and the most popular form of answer has been the production of catalogues. Such catalogues not only showed which sufferers were regarded as Martyrs, but also indicated as a rule the place, date, nature and cause of their deaths, and were therefore of service as compendious summaries of their "Acts" or Lives. The catalogues in greatest request were those which emanated from men in authority, and these sometimes passed through many editions, were translated into different languages, and reissued from time to time with additions and emendations. An adequate edition of the whole series of them is certainly much to be desired, explaining how and whence they were constructed, what relation they bore one to another; how in fact the modern official list has been evolved.

For our present purposes a briefer survey of the subject will suffice. A short description is here given of the various extant catalogues, with their full titles, characteristics, and the places where they may be found. This is followed by an analytical table, which will show at a glance those who have always been regarded as Martyrs, and those who have been regarded as such by a few authors only, and this will incidentally also tell us a good deal about the chronology of their deaths.

The following are the more important catalogues from 1584 to 1603:—

1. Sander I. *Doctissimi viri Nicolai Sanderi de origine et progressu Schismatis Anglicani Liber.* Coloniae Agrippinae, 1585. After the index come "Nomina eorum qui . . . per martyrium extincti sunt sub Henrico [et] . . . sub Elizabetha."

This catalogue is evidently an addition of the editor, Edward Rishton, as Sander had died in 1581.

2. Sander II. The next edition was at Rome, in the year 1586, by Father Persons, though his name does not appear on the title-page. The editor has somewhat altered the form in which the catalogue was cast. He entitled his list of Elizabethan Martyrs, *Nomina presbyterorum qui sub Elizabetha Henrici filia pro Ecclesiae Romanae primatu glorioso martyrio consumati sunt*, and he omitted the chronological division into years, arranging the Martyrs' names under the headings of priests and laymen. He added the names of three priests—Stransham, Taylor, Woodfen, and of four laymen—Slade, Bodey, Carter,

Bowes. This catalogue was reprinted in about fifteen Latin editions of Sander down to 1628, but its position in the book varied. A slightly different edition, by Richard Verstegan, appeared in his *Theatrum crudelitatum Haereticorum nostri temporis*, Antwerpiae, 1592. The license is dated 1587, and this will account for the catalogue of Martyrs not going beyond that year. He only adds, however, to the clergy Francis Ingleby and to the laity Margaret Middleton. The title is *Nomina quaedam Martyrum, qui sub Elizabetha pro ecclesia et Catholicae fidei defensione gloriose mortui sunt, Anno Domini* 1577–87.

3. Barrett. The Catalogue of Dr. Richard Barrett, second President of the Seminary of Douay (then at Rheims), was headed, "Nomina Alumnorum utriusque Seminarii Anglorum, Rhemensis et Romani, qui ultimo supplicio affecti sunt . . . proximis his 13 annis." This appeared as the appendix to the *Relatione del presente stato d'Inghilterra* (*Maggio, 1590*). In Roma appresso Francesco Zannetti, 1590.

A MS. version of this, of a slightly earlier date, as it does not contain the last three martyrs, was printed by Mr. W. H. Bliss in 1876. Barrett's list was reprinted without any substantial change by Father Tomaso Bozio, of the Oratory, in his *De Signis Ecclesiae*, in 1591, vol. i, p. 563, and also by Gregorio Nuñez Coronel (Nunnius), O. Erem. S. Aug., *De Vera Christi Ecclesia*, Romae, 1594. But I have not had access to the latter volume.

It was also translated into Spanish, and edited (with clerical variations only) by Padre Juan Lopez Mançano, S.J., at Valladolid, in the same year as the Roman edition, 1590. The title was, *Breve Catalogo de los Martyres que han sido de los Collegios y Seminarios Ingleses . . . Recocido por el Padre Juan Lopez Mançano*, &c. A folio sheet, printed broadside. The copy at Stonyhurst (Anglia A 1, *n.* 53) is perhaps unique.

3* Ribadeneira. The same catalogue, with a continuation till 1592, was published by Father Pedro de Ribadeneira in his *Historia ecclesiastica del cisma de Inglaterra* (Segunda Parte, en Madrid, 1593). The title is, *Breve Relacion de los Martires que han salido de los Colegios y Seminarios de Ingleses, que hay en Roma, y en Rhems de Francia*, &c. In subsequent editions of this work this catalogue was continued from a Latin catalogue, said to have been printed at the English College of St. Omers in 1614, which corresponds with our "Worthington III."

3** Stonyhurst MS. The last edition of Barrett's catalogue that I have found is the manuscript catalogue among the Stonyhurst papers (MSS. Anglia vii, *n.* 13). It is carried on to 1596, and was probably written in that year. Its title is, *Catalogus eorum martyrum qui in Seminariis Anglicanis Romae et Rhemis existentibus aliquando vixerunt*, &c.

Persons. In the year 1592 Father Robert Persons published a work entitled, *Elizabethae Angliae Reginae saevissimum edictum . . . cum responsione . . . per D. Andream Philopatrum*, &c., Lyons, 1592 (three later editions), in which there is a catalogue of lay Martyrs under Elizabeth in the section marked 267. It will be best to add

this at once. 1583, Slade and Bodey (Layburne omitted); 1584, Carter, White; 1585, Webley, Bowes, Margaret Middleton; 1588, Felton, Sutton, Webley, Simons, Margaret Ward (*cf. ibid.* § 376).

4. GERARD. In Stonyhurst MS., Anglia vii, *n.* 26, there is a valuable and hitherto unedited catalogue, independent of all others. It will be shown that its author is in all probability Father John Gerard, S.J. It extends from 1587–1594, and under the latter year it will be found below, printed for the first time.

4* YEPEZ. Fray Diego Yepes, Jeronimite, confessor of King Philip II, and Bishop of Taragona, wrote the *Historia particular de la persecucion de Inglaterra*, Madrid, 1599, and at p. 612 introduced a peculiar catalogue of the Martyrs of the year of the Armada. This catalogue is certainly derived from Father Persons' tract, *Relacion de Algunos martyrios*, Madrid, 1590.

5, 6. WORTHINGTON I, and WILSON. After this there occurs a lull in the composition of the lists of Martyrs, which however is broken in the year 1608 by a spell of activity lasting for several years. I am not able to say with any certainty what the reason of this was; perhaps it was due to the publication, by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, of the lists of their first century of Martyrs, which took place in that year. Perhaps it was suggested by the first publication of the Roman Martyrology in English. This was translated and published by a secular priest, the Rev. John Wilson, who was in charge of the press which the English Jesuits had set up in their college at St. Omers. He signed the epistle dedicatory to his *English Martyrologe*, "this first of October, 1608, *yours wholy deuoted*, I. W. Priest." His catalogue begins a new section (sig. Aa, unpaged), and is entitled, *A Catalogue of those who have suffered death in England, for defence of the Catholicke Cause, synce the yeare of Christ* 1535, *and* 27 *of King Henry the viij his raigne, vnto this yeare* 1608. (Copies of this extremely rare catalogue at the London Oratory, at St. Edmund's, and at Oscott College; and Canon Estcourt mentions one edited in 1614, at the English College, Rome.)

Simultaneously, it seems, with Wilson's publication at St. Omers, Dr. Thomas Worthington brought out another catalogue of the same Martyrs at Douay. The only copy of this, that has been yet described, is that now preserved at Oscott, with a title very similar to Wilson's, *A Catalogue of Martyrs in Englande for profession of the Catholique faith, since the year of our Lord* 1535, *being the* 27 *of King Henrie the viij: vnto this year* 1608 *the* 6 *of King James.* (Two sheets, 12°, 22 pp., title missing, has been reprinted by Mr. Gillow in the *Downside Review*, 1897, vol. xvi, pp. 241–257.) That Dr. Worthington was its author, and that its appearance was simultaneous with Wilson's, are not recorded in the volume (the title-page is wanting), but the inference seems probable. As for the authorship, we have in the first place the parallel between this list and the later editions, of which we know for certain that Worthington was author. This parallel may be traced at least in part in the analytical table of catalogues, but it will of course be remembered that some emendations were sure to be made in the later lists. The typography, as Mr. Gillow points out, is similar to

that of previous and subsequent volumes by Worthington on the same subject, and we have also the indications given in Mr. Gillow's notes on pp. 243, 254. Taking these indications of authorship together, the conclusion seems fairly sure, and permits us to describe it as *Worthington I.*

Both catalogues appeared in the same year, and Wilson has inserted into some copies of his volume a list of corrections "which came to the author's knowledge after the printing of the former catalogue." Of these fourteen corrections, all but two seem to have been copied from Worthington I. It is of course not absolutely impossible that Worthington should have copied Wilson. But this is not what we should have supposed from a man like Worthington, the president of Douay College, nor is it what we should have expected considering the limits of the English Catholic book-trade of those days, when two editions of the same book in one year was a thing practically unheard of. It seems more probable that the two authors, who lived at some distance from one another, should not have known of each other's undertakings until they were published, and that Wilson added his *Corrigenda* after consulting Worthington I.

7. Chalcedon-More. Wilson's table of corrections also assists us to trace another relationship between our catalogues. There is a well-known list which rightly goes by the name of the Rev. Thomas More, agent for the English clergy at Rome, because the Epistle Dedicatory was signed by him. But the list was drawn up by Dr. Richard Smith, the future Bishop of Chalcedon, as the draft in his hand, still extant in the Westminster Archives (*Cat. MM.*, p. 165), clearly proves. A comparison of the lists in the table will leave no doubt that Smith originally drew up his list from Wilson, and the manuscript shows that he afterwards revised his list with Wilson's *Corrigenda* in hand. For all the names mentioned in that *Corrigenda* have been inserted later in the margins of Dr. Smith's draft. The date 1609 of the MS. appears from the title: *Nomina, cognomina, effigies, loci, anni ac dies martyrii* 123 *saecularium Sacerdotum in Anglia ab anno* 1573 *usque ad annum* 1609, &c.

As the Jesuits had lately published prints of the sufferings of the first hundred Martyrs of the Society, this may have given More or Smith the idea of doing something similar.

8. More I. Next in order comes More's catalogue itself. The slight changes which he made in the title show that he was still keen on having the pictures. *Effigies, nomina, cognomina, loci, anni ac dies martyriorum* 123 *secularium Sacerdotum in Anglia ab anno* 1573 *ad annum* 1609, &c. There is a corrected copy in the Westminster Archives (*Catal. MM.*, p. 1); another at Stonyhurst (Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. III, p. 336, ii). This edition goes beyond Dr. Smith's draft by quoting authorities: Yepez, Baronius, Bozio, &c. &c. In the apparently autograph copy at Westminster the list is carried down to 1616, nine more names having been added later by the same hand. But though there are thus 132 names, the number 123 in the title, and the date 1609, have not been altered.

9. More II. In the year 1610 (as appears from the title) a new recension of the catalogue, including a short account of each Martyr, was prepared, and in this the lay Martyrs would have been included, but the copy of it which has survived is imperfect, going down to the year 1588 only.—Westminster Archives, *Catal. MM.*, pp. 45–72.

10. Eudaemon. The Cretan Jesuit, Andreas Eudaemon-Joannes, wrote a work, published at Cologne in 1610, entitled, *Apologia pro Henrico Garnetto, ad Actionem Cocqui.* At p. 164 of this there appears a table of Martyrs which has a strong affinity to the otherwise little-known "Worthington I," published in 1608.

11. Worthington III. In the year 1610, and again in 1614, Dr. Worthington issued an amended edition of his catalogue, translated into Latin. Of the 1610 edition no extant copy is known to me, but it could be reconstructed from Father Grene's catalogue (No. 16 below), for that Father says that he never varies from "Catalogus Duacenus, anni 1610," as he calls it, without drawing attention to the fact. There is a copy of the 1614 edition in the Bodleian Library, with this title, *Catalogus Martyrum pro religione Catholica in Anglia occisorum, ab anno Domini* 1570 . . . *ad annum* 1612; and another at Oscott. The title of the earlier edition was the same, according to Father Grene, but extending only "ad annum 1610." Father Grene once and Dodd also once allude to a catalogue "anni 1612." But it is doubtful if there was an edition printed in that year. The date is probably derived from the title only.

12. J. C. There is a catalogue of Martyrs, extending to 1612, in the *Theatre of Catholique and Protestant Religion*, published in 1620, place not mentioned, by one who signs himself J. C. The Bodleian Library, which contains the only copy known to me, ascribes the volume to John Colleton, the Dean of the Bishop of Chalcedon's chapter.* (Canon Estcourt mentions a copy belonging to Alfred Blount, Esq.)

13. Molanus. At Paris, in 1629, appeared the *Idea Togatae Constantiae, &c., cui adjungitur tripartita Martyrum Britannicarum Insularum epitome, auctore Joanne Molano, i.e.* John Mullan of Cork. He largely relies upon "Thomas R. in annot. ad Martyr. Angl." This work does not appear to be known, but I conjecture that Thomas R. is Father Thomas Rant of the French Oratory, who became agent for the English clergy in Rome about the year 1622 (*C.R.S.*, i, 99), and who may have reissued in an amended form the catalogue of his predecessor in office, Thomas More. Mullan's catalogue has this title, *Martyres Angliae Saeculares, qui ab anno salutis* 1573, *quo persecutio in Catholicae fidei cultores sub Elizabetha Regina saevire coepit, partim torti & suspensi, partim dissecti expositique fuerunt.* No Martyrs after the year 1616 are mentioned. There is a copy in the British Museum.

14. Raissius. Arnolde Raisse, a Canon of Douay, published in 1628 his *Hierogazophylacium Belgicum*, an account of all the sacred relics preserved in Belgium. There are interesting accounts of various English, Irish and Scottish seminaries at pp. 157, 174, 175. At p. 161

* I am indebted to Miss L. I. Guiney for an analysis of this catalogue.

he comes to Douay College, of which he makes the fine eulogy,—"Caeterum ex hoc praefato Duacensi collegio tanquam martyrum fertilissimo seminario & invictissimo fidei propugnaculo ab A.D. MDLXXVII usque ad MDCXVIII triginta quinque supra centum prodiere, qui sanguinis sui sigillo Christi fidem confirmarunt. Horum nomina in aeterni aevi memoriam visum mihi fuit hic singilatim subnectere. [*In margin*] Horum subsequentium Martyrum nomina exscripsi ex catalogo Martyrum in Britannia occisorum, quam ex registro Anglicani huius Collegii."

In 1630 Raisse re-edited his list of Martyrs, with short eulogies, but now arranged, like a martyrology, in the order of the *days* of the Martyrs' deaths, and called it *Catalogus Christi Sacerdotum ex Duacenae civitatis collegio*, &c. (It will be referred to below by *C.*) Though he still speaks of 135 Martyrs, he here includes Father Arrowsmith, who died in 1628, and also eulogises some Irish Martyrs, like Bishop O'Hurley (p. 103), and the Scottish Martyr, Father Ogilvie (p. 101). There are copies of both works at the British Museum.

15. CHALCEDON. As Dr. Smith was afterwards made Bishop and Vicar Apostolic over the whole of England, the authority attaching to his name and opinion is naturally very considerable. But anyone who studies the subject of the catalogues will soon be convinced that on grounds of scholarship also "Chalcedon's Catalogue," as it is generally called, fully deserves the first place which is always granted to it among the lists of the Martyrs.

Dr. Smith's draft list of the year 1609 has been already spoken of as "Chalcedon-More." His second and enlarged edition was not finished till twenty years later. It is a complete catalogue of all the Martyrs in chronological order. Title: *Catalogus Martyrum qui a principio persecutionis per Elizabetham reginam Angliae contra Catholicos excitatae pro fide Catholica in Anglia passi sunt. Hoc est ab anno Dni.* MDLXX *usque ad praesentem annum* MDCXXVIII. The authorities quoted by Dr. Smith will be found at the close of this book. There are two copies of this catalogue in the Westminster Archives, *Catal. MM.* 73 and 127.

16. GRENE. Father Christopher Grene, S.J., who worked assiduously and usefully in codifying and transcribing the Martyr papers at the English College, Rome, from about the year 1666 until 1674, and from 1686 till his death in 1697, drew up two catalogues, which are preserved at Stonyhurst. The one is in a small volume, *Martyres Angliae* (A. v. 21), the other in his *Collectanea M.* (fols. 34 to 42). In both he relies chiefly on the otherwise unknown Worthington II, which could be, if necessary, reconstructed from Grene's notes. He calls it *Catalogus Duacenus*, but it is of course different from the Douay catalogue, which we must mention in the next place.

17. DOUAY. During the later years of the seventeenth century (after the period of martyrdoms had closed) the Alumni of the College of Douay, justly proud of their martyr roll, made frequent copies of it, and it was often quoted in the reports and statements issued by the college. The Westminster Archives possess five copies of it (*Catal. MM.*, pp. 181, 200, 333, 385 imperfect, 399). There are other

copies at Ushaw, Oscott, &c. The copyists have generally followed one another mechanically, and the same faults and omissions seem to run through all. The lists are apparently founded on Raissius. The title generally is, *Priests of the English College or Seminary in Douay that have suffered death for ye preservation of the Catholicke Faith in England in the late Persecution.* The figures given below represent the collation of six texts mentioned above.

18. PARIS. The catalogue preserved at the English Seminary at Paris (now Arch. West., *Catal. MM.*, p. 281) is written with much more care, and does not confine itself to Douay students. The title is, *Index Martirum qui in Anglia ab initio regni ab Elizabeth suscepti pro fide Catholica passi sunt, una cum causis mortis singulorum et scriptoribus qui de eisdem mentionem faciunt.*

19. KNARESBOROUGH. John Knaresborough, a learned priest and scholar of Douay, put together between 1705 and 1720 materials for the history of the *Sufferings of Catholics*, of which the author's fair copy, in five volumes MS., as well as two volumes of materials, are now in the possession of Lord Herries at Everingham, and there also is a copy at Ushaw.* The collection begins with Knaresborough's catalogue.

20. CHALLONER. The last catalogue of which we need take cognizance is that which Bishop Challoner drew up whilst he was vice-president of Douay College, that is before the year 1730.

In 1741 he published his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, the catalogue of which was in due time taken by the promoters of the cause of Beatification of the Martyrs as the standard list of names (so far as our period is concerned) which were to be presented for ecclesiastical approval. Thus the first list which appears in the table below is closely allied to that which comes last.

* Notes from the latter have been kindly supplied me by the Rev. Edwin Bonney.

TABLE SHOWING THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE MARTYRS' NAMES

Modern Official List of Martyrs (1583–1603) For explanations see pp. 16, 17.	Sander I.	Sander II.	Barrett.	Gerard.	Worthington I.	Wilson.	Chalcedon-More
1583							
John Slade, *l.*	3	*l.* 9	4		4	4	*l.* 1
John Bodey, *l.*	2	*l.* 8	3		5	5	*l.* 2
1584							
George Haydock	1	23	1		2	2	1
James Fenn	3	24	3		4	4	0
Thomas Hemerford	2	25	4		5	5	3
John Nutter	4	22	5		6	6	4
John Munden	5	21	2		3	3	2
William Carter, *l.*	83:1	*l.* 11			1	1	*l.* 1
James Bell	6	27			7	7	5
John Finch, *l.*	7	*l.* 6			8	8	*l.* 2
Richard White, *l.*	83:2	*l.* 7			85:8	9	*l.* 3
— *Ailworth*							
William Chaplain			83:5				
Thomas Cotesmore			6				
Robert Holmes			7				
Roger Wakeman			8				
James Lomax			9				
1585							
Thomas Alfield	1	26	2 [1]		1	1	1
Thomas Webley, *l.*	3	*l.* 10			2	2	*l.* 1
Hugh Taylor	ends	28	3		3	3	2
Marmaduke Bowes, *l.*		*l.* 13			4	4	*l.* 2
Thomas Crowther			1				
Edward Pole			4				
Laurence Vaux			5				
John Jetter			6 [2]				
N. Hamilton					7	Ap. 6	3
1586							
Edward Stransham		29	1		1	1	1
Nicholas Woodfen		30	2		2	2	2
Margaret Clitheroe, *l.*		*l.* 12 [3]			85:6	85:5	*l.*
Richard Sergeant			3		3	3	3
William Thompson			4		4	4	4
Robert Anderton			5		5	8	8
William Marsden			6		6	9	9
Francis Ingleby		31 [4]	7		7	10	10
John Finglow			12			12	12
John Sandys			87:2		8	Ap. 11	87:2
John Lowe	3		10		10	6	6
John Adams			9 [5]		9	5	5

[1] Ribadeneira *omits* Alfield, but Stonyhurst MS. *inserts*.
[2] Mançano, Ribadeneira, Stonyhurst MS. *omits*.

IN THE PRINCIPAL ANCIENT AND MODERN CATALOGUES

More II.	Eudæmon.	Worthington III.	J. C.	Molanus.	Raissius.	Chalcedon.	Grene.	Douay.	Paris.	Knaresborough.	Challoner.
2	*l.* 1	4	3	84:3	3	4	4			4	4
3	*l.* 2	5	4	84:4	4	5	5			5	5
1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2
5	3	5	4	7	4	5	5	3	5	3	4
3	4	4	5	5	3	4	4	0	4	4	6
4	5	6	6	6	5	6	6	4	6	5	5
2	2	3	3	2	2	3	3	2	3	6	3
1	*l.* 1	1	1			1	1		1	1	1
6	6	7	7	8		7	7		7	7	7
2	*l.* 2	8	8	9		8	8		8	8	8
3	*l.* 3	85:3	9	86:2		9	11		9	9	9
					c.						
					c.						10
					c.						11
					c.						12
							12				13
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1	*l.* 1	2	2	2		2	2		2	2	2
3	2	4	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	3	3
2		5	4	4		4	4	3	4	4	4
					c.						6
					c.						7
											8
					c.						
1	3	6	5							5	9
1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
2		3	1			3	5		3	3	3
3	3	4	4	4	3	4	3	3	4	4	4
4	4	5	5	6	4	5	4	4	5	5	5
5	8	6	9	10	5	6	6	5	6	7	6
6	9	7	10	11	6	7	7	6	7	8	7
7	10	8	11	12	7	8	8	7	8	6	8
2		10	13	14	10	10	13	10	10	9	9
7:4	11	9	12	87:2	8	11	9		11	87:5	15
9	6	12	7	8		13	11	8	12	11	13
8	5	11	6	7	9	12	10	9	13	10	11

[3] and [4] *added* by Verstegan only.
[5] Stonyhurst *omits* Lowe, and *calls* Adams Arden.

Modern Official List of Martyrs (1583–1603) For explanations see pp. 16, 17.	Barrett.	Ribadeneira.	Gerard.	Yepez.	Worthington I.	Wilson.	Chalcedon-More.	More I.
1586 (*continued*)								
Richard Dibdale ..	8	8			11	7	7	7
Robert Bickerdike, *l.* .					85:5	Ap. 85	85:13	
Richard Langley, *l.* ..					12	Ap.	*l.*	
John Harrison ..	13 [1]							
1587								
Mary Queen of Scots ..			1			1	*l.*	
Thomas Pilchard ..	1	1	2		1	2	1	1
Edmund Sykes ..	6	6			5	7	6	6
Robert Sutton ..	7	7			4	6	5	5
Stephen Rowsham ..	86:11	86:11			9	Ap. 3	86:11	86:11
John Hambley ..	3	3	3		2	4	3	3
George Douglas ..						9	7	7
Alexander Crowe ..	4	4			3	5	4	4
Martin Sherton ..	5	5						
Gabriel Thimelby, l. ..	11	11				8		
1588								
Nicholas Garlick ..	7	11	28	22	29	33	23	23
Robert Ludlam ..	4	8	30		28	31	21	21
Richard Sympson ..	6	10	29		27	32	22	22
William Dean ..	8	12	1	1	1	1	1	1
Henry Webley, *l.* ..			2	3	3	2	2	2
William Gunter ..	10	13	3	5	4	3	3	3
Robert Morton ..	3	5	6	9	5	4	4	4
Hugh More, *l.* ..	9	21	7	35	6	5	*l.* 1	
Thomas Holford (Acton) ..		1	5	15	7	6	5	5
James Claxton ..	13	15	8	4	8	7	6	6
Thomas Felton, *l.* ..	11	20	9	30	9	8	O.S.F.	
Richard Leigh ..	12	14	10	3	11	9	7	7
Edward Shelley, *l.* ..			12	33	13	11	*l.* 2	
Richard Martin, *l.* ..			11	10	10	12	*l.* 4	
Richard Flower (Lloyd), *l.*		6	13	20	14	13	*l.* 3	
John Roche, *l.* ..			15	36	15	14	*l.* 5	
Margaret Ward, *l.* ..			14	40	16	15	*l.*	
William Way, *als.* Wigges [4]	87:10	87:10	20	26	87:8	22	13	13
Robert Wilcox ..	87:8	87:8	17	25	87:6	18	10	10
Edward Campion ..	87:9	87:9	16	16	87:7	19	11	11
Christopher Buxton ..	17	18	18	19	19	20	12	12
Robert Widmerpool, *l.* ..			19	37-39	20	21	*l.* 6	
Ralph Crockett ..	86:14	86:14	21	12	18	17	9	9
Edward James ..	16	17	22	8	17	16	8	8
John Robinson ..	19	23	23	13	21	23	14	14
William Hartley ..	1	3	25	11	2	25	16	16
John Weldon ..			24		22	24	15	15
Richard Williams ..	92:2 in Ston. MS.	92:2	4			26	17	17

[1] Mançano, Ribadeneira, Stonyhurst MS., *add* William Crockett from 1588, and Gabriel Everingham; but Stonyhurst *substitutes* Thimelby for the latter.

More II.	Eudæmon.	Worthington III.	J. C.	Molanus.	Raissius.	Chalcedon.	Grene.	Douay.	Paris.	Knaresborough.	Challoner.
10	7	13	8	9	11	14	12	11	14	12	12
l. 1	85: *l.* 2	14	14	85:5		9	16		9	85:6	85:5
l. 3	86: *l.* 2	87:7	16	5	*c.*	16	87:5		16	13	14
											16
l. 1	*l.* 1		1			1	8		1	1	1
5	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2
1	5	3	88:1	6	3	88:1	7	3	88:1	3	3
7	4	2	5	5	2	4	6	2	4	4	6
6:11	9	8	3	86:13	6	3	9	6	3	6	86:10
6	2	4	4	3	4		2	4	5	7	4
2		5	7	7		5	3		6	8	5
3	3	6	86:15	4	5	86:15	4	5	86:15	9	7
					c.						9
			6		*c.*					10	8
	17	33	33	32	21	2	32	19	1	32	32
	16	32	31	30	20	3	31	18	2	30	31
	15	31	32	31	19	4	30	17	3	31	30
1	1	1	2	1	1	5	1	1	4	1	1
		2	3	24		6	(?34)		*l.* 1	2	2
2	3	3	4	2	2	7	5	2	5	3	3
3	4	4	5	3	3	8	6	3	6	4	4
l. 1	*l.* 1	5	6	4	4	9	7		*l.* 2	5	5
4	5	6	7	5	5	10	8	4	7	6	6
5	6	7	8	6	6	11	9	6	8	7	7
l. 2	*l.* 2	8	9	7	7	12	10	7	9	8	8
6	7	9	10	8	8	13	12		10	9	9
l. 5	*l.* 4	10	12	11		15	14		*l.* 3	10	10
l. 3	*l.* 6	12	14	9		14	11		*l.* 5	12	12
l. 6	*l.* 5	11	13	12		16	15		*l.* 4	11&33	11
	l. 7	13	15	13		17	16		*l.* 6	13	13
	l. 8	14	16	(33)		18	17		*l.* 7	14	14
12	87:8	20	23	20	11	19	20	10	14	22	22
9	87:6	18	19	16	9	20	18	8	11	19	16
10	87:7	19	20	17	10	21	19	9	12	20	17
11	10	23	21	18	14	22	23	12	13	27	18
	l. 9	25	22	19		23	25		*l.* 7	21	19
8	9	22	18	15	13	24	22	11	15	18	20
7	8	21	17	14	12	25	21		16	17	21
13	11	24	24	21	15	26	24	13	17	26	23
ends	2	29	26	23	17	27	(?2)	16	19	24	25
		27	25	24		28	27		*l.* 8	23	24
		15	27	25			4		20	35	26

[2] nd [3] Sykes and Crowe afterwards altered to 1588. [4] Barrett, &c., give as 88:5 William Wigges dead *ex squalore carceris*. Ribadeneira gives Thomas Hunt as 88:2.

Modern Official List of Martyrs (1583–1603) For explanations see pp. 16, 17.	Barrett.	Ribadeneira.	Gerard.	Stonyhurst MS.	Yepez.	Worthington I.	Wilson.	Chalcedon-More.
1588 (*continued*)								
Robert Sutton, *l.* ..			26		18	26	27	*l.*
John Hewett ..	18	19		16	7	25	30	2
Edward Burden ..	15	16				23	29	1
William Lampley, *l.* ..						30	34	*l.*
Thomas Lynch ..	14	22						
Thomas or *Hugh Morgan* or *Wells*		7			14	12	10	*l.*
1589								
John Amias ..	1	1		1		1	5	
Robert Dalby ..	2	2		2		2	6	
George Nichols ..	3	3	2	4		3	1	
Richard Yaxley ..	4	4	3	3		4	2	
Thomas Belson, *l.* ..	5	5	4	*l.*		5	3	*l.*
Humphrey Pritchard, *l.* ..			5	*l.*		6	4	*l.*
William Spenser ..	88:4			88:2		88:24	88:28	88:
Robert Hardesty, *l.* ..								
1590								
Christopher Bayles ..	3	3	1	3		1	1	
Nicholas Horner, *l.* ..			2			3	3	*l.*
Alexander Blake, *l.* ..			3			2	2	*l.*
Miles Gerard ..	1	1	5	1		4	4	
Francis Dicconson ..	2	2	4	2		5	5	
Edward Jones ..	5	5	6	5		6	7	
Anthony Middleton ..	4	4	7	4		7	6	
Edmund Duke ..	ends	91:6	8	91:4		8	91:12	91
Richard Hill ..		91:9	11	91:7		9	91:15	91
John Hogg ..		91:8	10	91:5		10	91:14	91
Richard Holliday		91:6	9	91:6		11	91:13	91
1591								
Robert Thorpe ..						95:4	96:2	97
Thomas Watkinson ..						95:5		
Monford Scott ..		4	2	8		1	8	
George Beesley ..		5	1	9		2	9	
Roger Dicconson ..			92:1	10		4	10	
Ralph Milner ..			92:2	*l.*		5	11	*l.*
William Pike ..			92:3	*l.*		11	16	*l.*
Edmund Genings ..		1	92:4	1		6	1	
Swithin Wells ..			92:5			7	2	*l.*
Eustace White ..		2	92:6	2		8	3	
Polydore Plasden ..		3	92:7	3		9	4	
Brian Lacey, *l.* ..			92:10	(*l.*)			5	*l.*
John Mason, *l.* ..			92:8			85:9	6	*l.*
Sydney Hodgson, *l.* ..			92:9			10	7	*l.*
Laurence Humphrey, *l.* ..	4							
1592								
William Patenson[1] ..			11	4		1	1	

[1] Ribadeneira: (2) Williams, (3) Francis Munford, (4) John Thules. Perso

More I.	Eudæmon.	Worthington III.	J. C.	Molanus.	Raissius.	Chalcedon.	Grene.	Douay.	Paris.	Knaresborough.	Challoner.
	l. 10	28	28	29		29	29		*l.* 9	25	27
20	14	26	30	28	16		26	14	18	28	28
19	12	30	29	27	18	30	28	15	21	29	29
	l. 11	34	34	33			33		*l.* 12	34	33
					c.		(? 13)		*l.* 10		34
	l. 3	16,17	11	10	11		3	5	*l.* 11	15,16	15
3	1	1	4	5	1	1	1	1	1	5	5
4	2	2	5	6	2	2	2	2	2	6	6
1	3	3	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	1	1
2	4	4	2	2	4	4	4	4	4	2	2
	l. 1	5	3	3		5	5		5	3	3
	l. 2	6		4		6	6		6	4	4
	88:13	7	6	88:26	5	7	7	5	7	7	7
		8	7			8	8		8	8	8
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	l. 2	3	3	3		2	3		2	3	3
	l. 1	2	2	2			2			2	2
2	2	4	4	4	2	3	4	2	3	4	4
3	3	5	5	5	3	4	5	3	4	5	5
5	4	6	7	7	4	5	6	4	5	7	7
4	5	7	6	6	5	6	7	5	6	6	6
:7	6	8	91:12	91:13	6	10	8		7	91:1	8
:10	7	9	91:15	91:16	7	7	9	6	8	91:4	9
:9	8	10	91:14	91:15	8	8	10	7	9	91:3	10
:8	9	11	91:13	91:14	9	9	11	8	10	91:2	11
)	95:4	1	17	1	1	1	1	1	1	6	2
	95: *l.* 5	2	18	18		2	2		2	19	3
4	1	3	8	8	2	3	3	2	3	9	4
5	2	4	9	9	3	4	4	3	4	10	5
5	3	6	10	11	4	5	6	4	5	7	6
	l. 5	7	11	12		6	7		6	8	7
	l. 6	13	16	7		14	13		14	5	1
1	4	8	1	2	5	7	8	5	7	12	8
	l. 1	9	2	3		8	9		8	13	9
2	5	10	3	5		9	10		9	14	10
3	6	11	4	6	6	10	11		10	15	11
	l. 2		5			11	14		11	16	12
	l. 3		6			12	15		12	17	13
	l. 4	12	7	4		13	12		13	18	14
											Ap. 2
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

tum §376, also mentions Williams; Worthington I gives Montford.

Modern Official List of Martyrs (1583–1603) For explanations see pp. 16, 17.	Ribadeneira.	Gerard.	Stonyhurst MS.	Worthington I.	Wilson.	Chalcedon-More.	More I.
1592 (*continued*)							
Thomas Pormort ..	1	12	1	2	2	2	2
Roger Ashton ..		14	*l.*	3	3		
Thomas Metham, S.J. ..			3				
1593							
Edward Waterson ..		3	1	5	5	4	4
James Bird (Burden), *l.* ..		92:13	*l.*	1	1		
Anthony Page ..		1	2	2	2	1	1
Joseph Lampton ..		4	3	3	3	2	2
William Davies ..		2	4	4	4	3	3
1594							
John Speed, *l.* ..							
William Harrington ..		1	1	1	1	1	1
John Cornelius, S.J. ..		2	3	2	2	(S.J.)	
Thomas Bosgrave, *l.* ..		3	*l.*	3	3	*l.*	
John Carey, *l.* ..		5		5	5	*l.*	
Patrick Salmon, *l.* ..		4	*l.*	4	4	*l.*	
John Boste ..		6	5	8	7	3	3
John Ingram ..		7	4	6	6	2	2
George Swallowell, *l.* ..		(? 8)	(? *l.*)				
Edward Osbaldeston ..			6	7	8	4	4
1595							
Robert Southwell, S.J. ..			1	1	1	(S.J.)	
Alexander Rawlins ..			3	3	3	1	1
Henry Walpole, S.J. ..			2	2	2	(S.J.)	
William Freeman ..			4	6	8	2	2
Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel			5				
J. Watkinson als. T. Warcop, l. ..				5	Ap. 9	*l.*	
1596							
George Errington, *l.* ..			1	95:7	95:4	95:*l.*	
William Knight, *l.* .			2	95:8	95:5	95:*l.*	
William Gibson, *l.* ..			3	95:9	95:6	95:*l.*	
Henry Abbot, *l.* ..			97:3	95:10	95:7	95:*l.*	
1597							
William Andleby ..			4	96:1	96:1	96:1	
Thomas Warcop ..			1				
Edward Fulthrop ..			2				
1598							
John Britton, *l.* ..				4	5	*l.*	
Peter Snow ..				1	1	1	1
Ralph Grimston, *l.* ..				96:2	4	*l.*	
John Jones, O.S.F. ..				97:1	97:1		
Christopher Robinson ..				2	2	2	2
Richard Horner ..				3	3	3	
1599							
Mathias Harrison (*Hayes*)				1	Ap.	1	1
John Lion, *l.* ..							
James Dowdall, *l.* ..							

Eudæmon.	Worthington III.	J. C.	Molanus.	Raissius.	Chalcedon.	Grene.	Douay.	Paris.	Knaresborough.	Challoner.
2	2	2	2	2	2	2		2	2	2
l. 1	3	3	4		3	3		3	4	3
4	5	5	2	4	1	5	4	5	5	94:10
l. 1	1	1	3		2	1		1	1	1
1	2	2		1	3	2	1	2	2	2
2	3	3	92:3	2	4	3	2	3	3	3
3	4	4	1	3	5	4	3	4	4	4
			1		1			1		93:5
1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1
2	2	2		2	3	2		3	2	2
l. 1	3	3	3		4	3		4	3	3
l. 3	5	5	5		6	5		6	5	5
l. 2	4	4	4		5	4		5	4	4
4	7	7	7	3	7	8	3	7	6	6
3	6	6	6	4	8	6		8	7	7
	8		9		9	9		9	8	8
5	9	8	8	5	10	7	2	10	9	9
1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	1
3	3	3	1	3	3	3	1	3	3	3
2	2	2		2	2	2		2	2	2
5	4	4	2	4	4	4	2	4	4	4
l. 5		5				5			5	5
95:*l.* 1	1	1	1		1	1		1	1	1
95:*l.* 2	2	2	2		2	2		2	2	2
95:*l.* 3	3	3	3		3	3		3	3	3
95:*l.* 4	4	97:4	4		97:4	4		97:4	4	4
96:1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	2	3			2	2		2	2	2
	3	5			3	3		3	3	3
l. 2	1	5	5			1		1	1	1
1	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	3	2	3
l. 1	3	4	1		2	3		4	3	4
97:1	97:4	97:2			3	6		2	97:4	97:4
2	4	1	3	2	4	4	2	5	5	5
3	5	3	4	3	5	5	3	6	4	2
1	1	1		1		1	1		1	1
2	2		(p. 93)		1 2	2		1 2	2	2

Modern Official List of Martyrs (1583–1603) For explanations see below.	Worthington I.	Wilson.	Chalcedon-More.	More I.	Eudæmon.	Worthington III.
1600						
Christopher Wharton ..	1	1	1	1	1	1
John Rigby, *l.* ..	2	2	*l.*		*l.* 1	2
Thomas Sprott ..	5	5	4	4	4	3
Thomas Hunt (Benstead)	6	6	5	5	5	4
Robert Nutter ..	3	3	2	2	2	
Edward Thwing ..	4	4	3	3	3	
Thomas Palasor ..	7	7	6	6	6	
John Norton, *l.* ..	8	8	*l.*		*l.* 2	
John Talbot, *l.* ..	9	9	*l.*		*l.* 3	
1601						
John Pibush ..	1	1	1	1	1	
Mark Barkworth, O.S.B. .	3	3	(O.S.B.)		3	
Roger Filcock, S.J. ..	2	2			2	
Anne Line, *l.* ..	4	4	*l.*		*l.* 1	
Thurstan Hunt ..	6	6	3	3	5	
Robert Middleton ..	5	5	2	2	4	
Nicholas (*or* T.) Tichborne, *l.*			4			
Thomas Hackshot, *l.* ..						
1602						
James (*or* N. *or* M.) Harrison	5	(5)	(2)	(2)	4	
Anthony (*or* N.) Bates, *l.*..	6	6	*l.*		*l.* 2	
James Duckett, *l.* ..	4	4	*l.*		*l.* 1	
Thomas Tichborne ..	2	2		1601:4	2	
Robert Watkinson ..	3	3	1	1601:5	3	
Francis Page, S.J. ..	1	1	(S. J.)		1	
1603						
William Richardson ..	1	1	1	1	1	

Explanation of the Analytical Table of the Martyrs named in various Catalogues.

The first column shows all the names presented for Beatification. Those in italics are the *praetermissi*, those who were "put aside" because of deficiency of evidence.

Names bracketed together signify that the martyrdoms took place on the same day.

Laymen are distinguished by an *l.* after their names; where this does not appear the sufferer will be a priest.

The numbers show the order in which the various editors of the catalogues arranged the names. In a few lists the letter *l* (layman) appears before some numbers and not before others. This means that the editors of them have arranged the Martyrs in two lists, one of priests, one of laymen. In a few cases, however, the two lists are dated, so that there could be no doubt as to the order in which the editor would have arranged him had he united his lists. In these cases the names are here thrown into one series.

Molanus.	Raissius.	Chalcedon.	Grene.	Douay.	Paris.	Knaresborough.	Challoner.
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
1		2	2		2	2	2
5	3	3	5	2	3	5	5
6		4	6		4	6	6
3	4	5	3	3	5	3	3
4	5	6	4	4	6	4	4
7	2	7	7		7	7	7
8		8	8		8	8	8
9		9	9		9	9	9
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	3	2	3		3	3	3
	2	3	2		2	2	2
			4		4	4	4
3	4	4	6	2	5	6	5
2		5	5		6	5	6
		6	7		7	7	
		7	8		8	8	7
(4)	1	(1)	5	1	1	7	4
5		2	6		2	8	5
3		6	4		6	6	7
1		3	2		3	2	2
2	3	4	3	3	4	3 & 4	3
	2	5	1	2	5	1	1
1	1	3	1		1	1	1

Sometimes the editors of the catalogues arranged the names *in different years*. In this case the two last numbers of the different year-date are given, with the number indicating the Martyr's place in that year. Thus at the end of 1584 we find the name of Richard White given the number 85 : 8 under Worthington I. This means that Dr. Worthington in his first catalogue (*supra* No. 5) placed White eighth in the year 1585.

It may not be amiss to caution students against possible misapprehensions. The lists are meant to show, and do show at a glance, which sufferers have been regularly regarded as Martyrs, and which have been considered as such irregularly by some few authors only. It should, however, be remembered that *this table makes no pretence to give the smaller variations between the various martyrologists*. There may be accidental changes in Christian names; there may be variations in the places of martyrdom, &c.; matters of importance in other respects—which, however, can be passed over here, and indeed must be omitted, if the table is to be kept concise. A few of these variable points are indicated in notes, but not all.

I.

ROBERT DIBDALE TO HIS PARENTS

4 June, [1580]

From the original holograph, Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clxxix, *n.* 4.

We know little of the family of this Martyr beyond what is contained in this letter. In the *Douay Diaries* he is described as "Wigorn," that is "of the diocese of Worcester." The same registers tell us (p. 159) that he arrived at Rheims on the 29th of December, 1579, from Rome in company with William Kestell, and that both were young students of theology. They may have been at the English College, Rome, before the extant registers of that college were begun, but there is no record of it.

Blessed Thomas Cottam, the bearer of this letter, left the college to visit England on the 5th of June, 1580 (*Douay Diaries*, p. 166). This fixes the year, which has been mistaken by the calendarer for 1585. Letters *nn.* 3 and 4 in the same volume, were also written on the same day (though here, too, the year is omitted). It is evident that Cottam's letter packet fell into the hands of the government.

On the 22nd of June Dibdale himself left the college in company with Mr. Pole. He may have been among the "five that were taken coming over at Dover," who were already in the Gatehouse Prison by July the 29th, 1580 (*C.R.S.*, i, 62). But his imprisonment was not known at Rheims until the end of the year (*Douay Diaries*, p. 174). His name is found in the Gatehouse lists for 1581 (*C.R.S.*, ii, 219), and his father's name is reported in November for having helped him. "Sent to Robert Dubdeale from his father the third daye of November a letter and two cheeses, a lof of Bread, and v^{s} in money, brought by William Grenway the carrier" (*Dom. Eliz.*, vol. cl, *n.* 65). By December 4, then following, the prisoners had petitioned the Privy Council for protection against their benefactors being reported, which prevented their obtaining even the necessaries of life, and their petition was granted (*Acts of P. Council*, xiii, p. 275). Dibdale was eventually discharged by the Lord Treasurer 10 September, 1582 (*C.R.S.*, ii, 225), after which he went back to Rheims and continued his studies.

Aftere moste humble and dutyfull wyse, ryght welbeloved parents, I haue me commended vnto you, desyreing of you, your dayly blessing, trusting in God that you are also in healthe with my brothers and systers. The cause of my wryting vnto you ys, to lett you vnderstand that I am in healthe, commending vnto you my especiall ffreind Mr. Cottame, who hathe bene vnto me the to halfe of my lyfe. I cannot sufficiently commend vnto you his loving kyndnesse showed and bestowed vppon me. Wherefore I beseche you to take consayle of hyme in matters of great wayt. I haue sent vnto you sertaine tokens to be deuided amongest you, a gylte crucifyxe, and medall vnto my ffather, and ye payre of bedes vnto my syster Johne, the other payre of bedes vnto my mother, the sylver Romayne peyce of coyne vnto my syster Agnes, and ye other peice of Frenche coyne vnto my brother Rychard, the two stringes of graynes to be deuyded amongest you. I have sent vnto my brother John Pace the peice of Frenche coin wrapped by ytselfe. Thus breifly I ceasse to troble you any ffurther. Desyring almyghty God to

preserve you in long lyffe and prosperity and send vs a mery meting. Fare you well, the fourth day of June ffrom Reimes.

Your obedyent Sonn

Robert Debdall.

Endorsed.—A letter in the behalf of Cottam the bearer hereof and for certen tokens.

II.

JOHN AMIAS TO JOHN TALBOT AND M^RIS ANNE SOUTHWORTH

8 June, 1580

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, cxxxix, *nn.* 10, 11.

In another paper, entitled, "Names of persons whose sons are beyond the seas," and of those "who be great frends and ayders of those beyond the Sea" (*Dom Eliz.*, cxlvi, *n.* 137), we find "Mrs Ann Southworth [and] the Lady her mother,—tokens sent to them." "John Talbot of Salber[rie] esquier,—the messenger is to conferr with him." Further on in the list of "Lettres heertofore sent from English Papists beyond ye Seas" is one "from John Amyas to Richard Amyas at the signe of the Aungell nere St. Martin's gate in London." The notes are evidently made by some government official from intercepted letters; and he had before him, amongst others, those now under our consideration.

The signature "Jo. Amyas, for so am I called at Paris," might indicate that Amyas was a pseudonym; but it may also signify that the writer, having previously used a pseudonym, has now reverted to this his true name. In the catalogue of York Martyrs (Grene, *Collectanea M.* 190, Stonyhurst MSS.), it is stated that Amias was born at Wakefield, and was a widower. He came to the college of Rheims from England, 22nd June, 1580 (*Douay Diaries*, p. 167), so that his subsequent stay in Paris must have been very brief. He returned as a priest to England on the 5th of June, 1581 (*Ibid.*, p. 179).

Worshipfull Syr. My dutie remembred, pleaseth yt you to be adverteyzed that Immediatelie after my cominge to Parryse I sent vnto Richard Bowlton your servant a lettre, wherin I willed hym to lett you vnderstande theffect of this my lettre. Notwithstandinge I havinge a convenyent messenger thought good to wryte vnto your worship leaste peradventure my other lettre came not to his hands. Syr as conserninge the jentilman of whome I talked withe you at home in your galarie, I have ij wayes founde the meanes that I can learne howe he doothe, once within everie xiiij dayse, for there is some that maketh recourse to the place where I doo lie everie weeke, therefore syr your frende shall not nede to make any coste or travell for that matter, for I wilbe carefull to lett you vnderstande of his estate as occation shall serve. I haue made meanes that a ffrende of myne (who lyethe in the same place where the said jentilman is) shall strayght way send me a messenger yf ye cause so require, and I have promysed hym a suffycyent rewarde for his travell. Syr, as touching any newse, I can wryt of none, but that the matter standethe dowtfull betwixe the Portingales [Portuguese] and Kynge Phillype; whether they will accepte hym as theire Kynge or no. He hathe there a great Armye, bothe by Sea and lande, and great conference and talke is had

betwixe boothe parties that the matter myght be ended wythout Bloodshede, which almyghtie God graunte so to bee. As for any other matters, the bearer hereof can Instructe you more then I can wryte, who is one that ye may truste. So Syr, as my bounden dutie is, I will not fayle to commende you to God in my prayers with my servise and good will to Mr. George, Mr. Robert, their wyfes, to my owld ffrende Myles, and the reste.

At Parise from Mygneon Colledg this viij of June 1580.

Your worshipp's most bounde to his poure

Jo. Amyas, for so ame I named at Parise.

Addressed.—To the Right Worshipfull Mr. John Talbot Esquire geve this at Salberie in Lancashire.

Good M^ris^ Anne, your curtezie and jentilnes towards me, requirethe that with a few lynes I shoulde salute you, because words are of no great cost (beinge well vsed) and as for gyftes or tokens I cane send none but they will cost Money which I may not well spare; yet haue I send you one pece of Englishe money for a token, because yt is not currande in France (for otherwise peradventure yt had bene spent). So desiringe you to make my humble commendacions to my good ladie your Mother, of whome I woulde gladlie haue taken my leave when I came away, bot y^t^ I was vnwillinge to disquyete her beinge in her bedd. My commendacions also to M^ris^ Jane, and to owld Neanne. So I commytt you to ye holie ghoost.

At Paryse frome Mygneon Collidge this 8 of June 1580.

Yours to vse to his poure

John Amyas.

Addressed.—To M^ris^ Anne Sowthworthe at Samsberie geve this.

Endorsed.—from Jo. Amyas.

III.

EXAMINATION OF WILLIAM HARTLEY

[13 August, 1581]

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clxv, *n.* 72.

The *Oxford Register* (II, ii, 68 *cf.* Foster, II, 665) states that William Hartley, "Notts; plebœi filius aetatis 18," matriculated (No. 64) at St. John's in 1575. Father Warford (*Acts of English Martyrs*, p. 271) gives some information of his course at the university. In the *Douay Diaries* he is said to have been of the diocese of Lichfield, to have joined the college August 22nd or 23rd, 1579, and to have received tonsure, minor orders, and sub-diaconate during the next ember days at Laon. The diaconate before Christmas also at Laon. He was ordained priest at Chalons, 24th February, 1580, and left on foot for England on the 16th of June, 1580. He was arrested at Stonor and taken to the Tower on the 13th of August (*C.R.S.*, ii, 30*n*). Our document will be more or less of this date. There are letters in the *Council Register* thanking Sir Henry Neville and others for having apprehended him. It was supposed that he had been zealous in bringing Father Campion's *Decem Rationes* into circulation.

William tharley aged thirtie yeares or theraboutes, borne at a place called Wyn in Derbeshier, was brought uppe in a Semynary College

at Reames iij years and toke his first orders of sub-decon and decon at Lyoñ in Champañ in France, And his second order of Semenary preesthode of the Byshope of Challon ther aboute a yeare and a quarter paste, and he toke shippinge at Diepe aboute Mydsommer laste and landed at hieth as he supposeth: and hathe Reamened in Derbeshier moste parte of this tyme or eleswhere, but withe whome or anye particular place he will not tell, for hurtinge or accusinge his frendes who have relived hyme. William tharley.

Endorsed.—A Description of William Tharley.

IV.

GEORGE HAYDOCK TO FATHER AGAZARIO

28 November, [1581]

Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, i, *n.* 22, fol. 56. Autograph.

George Haydock, at the close of this letter, asks prayers for his father, that is Vivian or Evan Haydock of Cottam Hall, near Preston, who had lately died. His mother was sister to the wife of George Allen, the Cardinal's elder brother. The dates of his stay in Rome will be found in H. Foley, *Records S.J.*, vi, 74, 136, &c. It seemed at one time likely that he would have passed from college to the novitiate of the Society of Jesus, for which Allen, 3 August, 1580, gave his full consent (*Collectanea M*, p. 116). But the future martyr's health began to fail, and he was sent back to Rheims before he was ordained priest. The principal object of this letter is to tell his friends in Rome that he is now to be ordained; also to say adieu to them because he is soon to go to England. It has seemed better not to print a translation of a letter, the charm of which lies in the tenderness and warmth of heart displayed, qualities which our unemotional language is apt to misrepresent.

Jesus ✠ Maria

Primo non immerito Reverendissimo Patri Alfonso Rectori suo vigilantissimo, deinde Patri Paulo, Patri Ferdinando, P. Leonardo, ministro, P. Guddo, P. Petro, P. Mutio, P. Hieronimo, P. Joachimo, P. Jacomo et P. Josepho, in Christo salutem.* Jam tandem non immemor officii mei has literas vobis omnibus, sed præcipue tuæ Reverentiæ, mi Pater Alfonse, in signum amoris mei erga vos dedicatas velim, humiliter vos rogans me excusatum habere quod toto tempore itineris mei nullam a me literam cum coeterorum acceperitis cum [verum fateor] plus coeteris me vobis devinctum esse negare nullo modo valeam. Sed facile apud vos me excusabit ut spero tum temporis malitia, tum mea invaletudo quæ nullam scribendi opportunitatem dabant. Quare jam dato scribendi dato scribendi [*sic*] otio inprimis pro vestris in me meritis et præcipue, mi pater Alfonse, pro tua erga me benevolentia summa, consilio, amore, diligentia et innumeris aliis in me collatis beneficiis, quæ a tua paternitate tanquam a fonte

* Father Paul Navarola, Father Ferdinand Capeccio, and Father William Good, are all mentioned repeatedly in Father Persons' *Memoirs* (*C.R.S.*, vol. ii). Father Mutius is probably Mutius Vitelleschi, a future Rector of the English College, and eventually a General of the Society. The Father Minister was Leonardo Magnano (*infra*, n. xlv). The "Comes" was the Earl of Westmoreland (*Foley*, vi, 551). The others are no doubt professors or tutors at the English College, or at the Roman College where Haydock had attended his course of theology.

uberrimo profluxerunt, infinitas gratias ago. Sed quid homuncionis nullius momenti gratiæ tanto viro proderint, qui pro sua erga nostram desolatam et afflictam patriam necnon omnes Anglos benevolentia, non solum meo sed clarissimorum atque sanctissimorum virorum iudicio ad coelum usque faustis omnium acclamationibus honorificentissimis laudibus extollendus est. Demonstrant enim illam infinitam tuam erga nos benevolentiam labores illi infatigabiles, quorum vi oppressus in febrim gravissimam incidisti paulo ante expulsionem nostram et itidem post reditum nostrum ad collegium. Non minus etiam ostendunt tuum erga nos benevolum animum frequentes illæ ac doloris plenæ nostratum gratia cursitationes pro acquirendis pensionibus ad sacrum palatium. Declarant etiam tuam erga nos paternam charitatem labores illi incessabiles et dolores gravissimi quos Comitis nostri gratia pertulisti. Nec oblivioni tradenda est illa cum Comite et aliis visitatio septem ecclesiarum, in qua ex vehementi solis ardore febri correptus fuisti. Denique quid dicam de infinita illa erga me benevolentia tua, qui toties incassum et sine fructu laborasti omnibus modis me exhortando ad sanctiorem vivendi rationem ac sanctam disciplinam amplectendam, et tandem sine ullis meis meritis non imparem sacerdotibus me, tanquam tibi charissimum Alumnum Collegii, pacifice cum gratia favore ac literis, ut invenio, commendatissimis Domino Alano, qui me perquam amanter accepit, remisisti. Quid plura infinita alia beneficia in me et alios Anglos collata taceo, quorum splendore tanquam gemmis ornatum in beatorum illo domicilio per Dei gratiam te intueri non dubito. Sed te laudare cesso quem nulla dicendi copia satis unquam laudare poterit. Perge igitur, Reverende Pater, ne cesset quæso nostris suo solito more benefacere, ne retrahat indignissimis amorem suum, sed studeat eos ad unitatem et sanam mentem revocare, quos dispersos ac diabolica fraude divisos reliqui. Urgeat eos desiderio recuperandi patriam quam miserrime afflictam ac omni heresium ac vitiorum genere pollutam reliquerunt. Moneat illos memoria cruciatuum ac poenarum, quas Catholici in Anglia quotidie perferunt. Excitet eos memoria mortis illius invictissimi Athletis Christi, qui nuperrime pro Ecclesiæ defensione Martirii coronam adeptus est. Denique redde illos memores illius nefandissimi facinoris pessimi Cadei, jam in Anglia stipendiarii diaboli, qui peccatum addens peccato, non veritus est sanctam matrem Ecclesiam deserere. O utinam in memoriam revocarent tragedias illas, quas diabolus excitavit inter nos et Wallos, quibus tanquam instrumento utens tam callide conatus est collegium subvertere. Nonne quæso istæ mutuæ dissensiones adhuc illis et aliis materiam subministrabunt in collegii detrimentum aliquid machinari. Miror ego fascinatas mentes illorum, quod post tot tantasque experientias non sentiant adhuc vulpis et vulpecularum astutiam, quæ tam tacite calcaneo illorum insidiantur. Sed fortassis putant distantiam loci ac verborum blandities suspicionem mali tollere; sed nihil minus, nam licet vulpes aliquando sedes suas mutaverit et ovis pellem induerit, occasione tamen data non dubitabit miseras gallinas prosequi.

Atque hæc breviter tua pace dico, non quod sciam illos carere Rectoribus et mediis quibus excitentur ad studium recuperandi

patriam, aut Wallorum astutiam sub inveniendi, sed propter debitum illum quo maxime flagror erga illos patriamque amorem, qui num verus fictusve fuerit ante paucos menses Deo adiuvante plenam perfectamque experientiam habebitis. Determinavit enim Dominus Alanus, ut ab ipsomet intellexi, me brevi ad sacerdotium promovere, et sic statim me in Angliam mittere. Restat igitur ut ego tali dignitate indignissimus, vestrum auxilium implorem, humiliter rogans vestrorum patrum, omniumque fratrum meorum gratissimas preces Deo optimo Maximo pro me effundi, quibus fulcitus per Dei gratiam non dubitabo omnes hæreticorum minas, verbera, tormenta superare: et si Deo placuerit *Sanguinem pro Christo et Ecclesia Catholica effundere.*

Commendo etiam vestris precibus animam patris mei jam pridem defuncti, qui vivens nunquam pro vobis ac collegii felici successu cessavit orare. His itaque dictis iterum tuæ Reverentiæ, P. Paulo, P. Ferdinando (cui plurimum sum devinctus), P. Ministro, P. Guddo, P. Petro, P. Mutio, et reliquis omnibus patribus et fratribus optans salutem, Deo omnium Creatori ac Genitrici Mariæ vos commendo. Vale 28 Novembris.

Tui amantissimus tibique obligatissimus
filius Georgius Hadocus.

Addressed.—Reverendissimo in christo Patri Alfonso Argazario Collegii Anglicani Rectori vigilantissimo, Romæ.

Endorsed.—[*By F. Grene*] Georg: Hadocus Martyr Rhemis [*? by F. Agazario*] Ex Sem. Angl. Martyr an. 1584.

V.

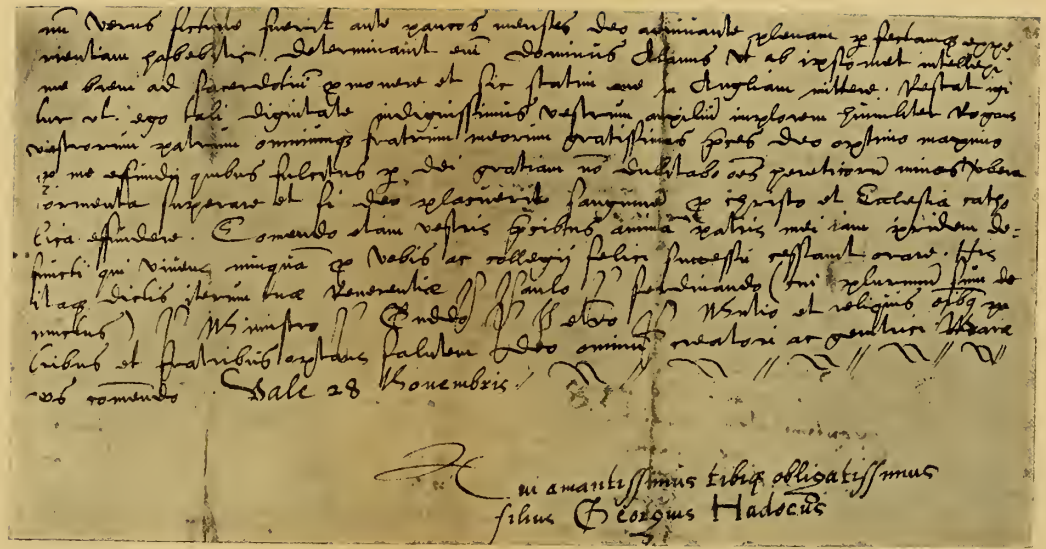
REPORTS OF THE OVERSEERS OF SALFORD GAOL TO THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1582

These reports are from the Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clii, *n.* 48; cliii, *nn.* 6, 45; clv, *n.* 75.

In these papers and in numbers xv, xxv, xxvii and xxviii below, we are able to study in some detail the life of a Martyr written from two opposite points of view. On the one hand we have a friendly witness (No. xxviii), and on the other the men who sought for and who shed his blood. Both agree as to the main facts; but between the two presentations of the case the antithesis will be found to be as complete as it was between the objects which the writers respectively had in mind.

(i) [28 February, 1582.]

Our duties most humblie remembred. May it pleaſe yor LL^s to gyve us leave in respecte of o^r duties and the dischargınge of that truſte by y^r LL^s comitted unto us concerninge the ouerſight of hir M^tys Gaole of Sallford and the recuſants therunto comytted owte of the Dioceſſe of Chester, by the right honorable thearle of Derby and my L Biſshopp of Chester and other of hir M^tys comiſsioners in cauſes ecclesiastical. So yt is right honorable that the ſaid recuſants whoſe names bee here ſett downe, that is to ſaye Wiłłm Howghe and John hocknell esquires, Raphe Worsley gent., John Cuppag, Thomas haughton, Raphe Scott, Wiłłm Willson, and Thomas Woodes priests; Olyver Platt, Thurstan Arrowesmythe, John Burghe, and John ffynche;



To face p. 23]

The VEN. GEORGE HAYDOCK, M.

patriam, aut Wallorum astutiam sub inveniendi, sed propter debitum illum quo maxime flagror erga illos patriamque amorem, qui num verus fictusve fuerit ante paucos menses Deo adiuvante plenam perfectamque experientiam habebitis. Determinavit enim Dominus Alanus, ut ab ipsomet intellexi, me brevi ad sacerdotium promovere, et sic statim me in Angliam mittere. Restat igitur ut ego tali dignitate indignissimus, vestrum auxilium implorem, humiliter rogans vestrorum patrum, omniumque fratrum meorum gratissimas preces Deo optimo Maximo pro me effundi, quibus fulcitus per Dei gratiam non dubitabo omnes hæreticorum minas, verbera, tormenta superare: et si Deo placuerit *Sanguinem pro Christo et Ecclesia Catholica effundere.*

Commendo etiam vestris precibus animam patris mei jam pridem defuncti, qui vivens nunquam pro vobis ac collegii felici successu cessavit orare. His itaque dictis iterum tuæ Reverentiæ, P. Paulo, P. Ferdinando (cui plurimum sum devinctus), P. Ministro, P. Guddo, P. Petro, P. Mutio, et reliquis omnibus patribus et fratribus optans salutem, Deo omnium Creatori ac Genitrici Mariæ vos commendo. Vale 28 Novembris.

Tui amantissimus tibique obligatissimus
filius Georgius Hadocus.

Addressed.—Reverendissimo in christo Patri Alfonso Argazario Collegii Anglicani Rectori vigilantissimo, Romæ.

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(i) [28 February, 1582.]

Our duties most humblie remembred. May it pleaſe yor LL^{s} to gyve us leave in respecte of o^{r} duties and the dischargınge of that truſte by y^{r} LL^{s} comitted unto us concerninge the ouerſight of hir M^{tys} Gaole of Sallford and the recuſants therunto comytted owte of the Dioceſſe of Chester, by the right honorable thearle of Derby and my L Biſshopp of Chester and other of hir M^{tys} comiſsioners in cauſes ecclesiastical. So yt is right honorable that the ſaid recuſants whoſe names bee here ſett downe, that is to ſaye Wiłłm Howghe and John hocknell esquires, Raphe Worsley gent., John Cuppag, Thomas haughton, Raphe Scott, Wiłłm Willson, and Thomas Woodes priests; Olyver Platt, Thurstan Arrowesmythe, John Burghe, and John ffynche;

Katheryñ Marshe, and Helene Chawlener ſpinsters, do yet contynue in their obstinate opynyons neyther do wee perceyve any liklyhode of conformytie in any of them, by reason of the wante of a preacher for that purpose, whome wee do verelye thinke wolde doe very moche good in that cauſe wherof wee are moſt humbly to beſeche yr LLs to conſider. And as towching the ſaid Mr Howghe, he is tollerated and licenſed by thearle of Derby and my L. Biſſhopp & others for a few daies to be and remayne at his owne houſe and then to retorne againe to us, wch thinge was done to this end that therby (as they hope) ſome conformytie might in him afterward be found, wch not only in him but allſo in the rest wee for our parts do greatly wiſh to ſee. And thus ceſſing to troble yor honors, wee moſt hartely beſeche god longe to contynue you in healthe and honor to his good will and pleaſure.

Sallford this xxviijth ffebruary 1581.

Yor LLs humbly to comannd

Edñ Trafforde Robert Worsley

Addressed.—To the Righte honorable and or very good LL. of hir Mats moſte honorable Pryvie Councell, &c.

(ii) [13 April 1582.]

Our duties most humblie remembred. May it please yr honors, &c. [*as in last paper to* causes ecclesiastical.] So yt is right honorable that upon the 29 of Marche last past wee receyved from the said Earle into or custodie the bodie of Sr John Suthworthe Knight; and that he and the rest of ye ſaid recusants, whose names wee here sett downe viz. John Hocknell esquier, Raphe Worsley gent., John Cuppage, Thomas Haughton, Raphe Scott, William Willson, and Thomas Woodes priests; John Burghe, Scholemaster; Olyver Platt, Thurstan Arrowsmithe, and John ffinche husbandmen, Katheryne Marshe and Helene Chawlener ſpinsters do ſtill contynue in their obstinate opynions, neyther do wee see anye likelyhoode of conformytie in any of them by reason of ye wante of a preacher for that purpose, wherof in our last certificat to yor honors wee then did and yet doe most humbly crave to consider of. And whereas for the better wynnyng of the saide recusants to heare the worde, wee have appointed one to reade (at their meale tymes) a Chapter of the Holye Byble, but in contempte of the ſame ſome of the ſaide recusants, namely the fore said Arrowsmythe and fynche, have very contemptuously disturbed ye reader of ye same, of whose undutifull deedes wee hope yor honors are by the late letters of my L. Biſshopp and us sufficiently certified. And further touching William Houghe esquire and other of the said recusants, he ys this daye tollerated by the ſaid Earle of Derby, my L. Biſshopp and other of hir Mtys Comiſſions and at the request of the ſaid earle to departe to his owne house, and for the acknowledging of the fyne by him to the ſaid Earle at the next aſsises to be holden at Chester and further aſsurance of lands betwene them, and is ſufficiently bounden wth ſuerties for the yelding and delivery of his bodie to hir Mats ſaid gaole in Sallford at or before the vth

daye of May next infuinge. Thus hoping of yor honorable confideracions in the premisses wee most humbly take o^r leaves this xiij^th of Aprill 1582. Y^r hono^rs at comanndement Edm̃ Trafforde
Robert Worsley

Addressed.—To the Right honerable and o^r very good LL. of hir Mat^ys moste honorable pryvie councell.

(iii) [13 May 1582.]

Wee thought y^t our duties to advertise y^r hono^r of fome matter lately passed amongste hir Ma^ts prisoners remayninge w^thin hir Ma^ts Gaole of Sallford, whoe heretofore have not only obstinatly refused to heare the Chapter appointed to be redd at their meale tymes, but have allso forborne their meate at that prefent, as namely ffynche, Arrowsmythe and one Burghe, as may more playnly appeare by o^r former letters touching the same. Since wch tyme for the better drawing of them to heare the worde (hoping thereby happely to wynne them) I Robert Worsley moved one of the said recusants Raphe Worsley gent. by name to reade the said Chapters, whoe wth fome intrety agreed therunto and willingly fatisffied my desire, and therupon dothe now dayly use the faid good exercife publickly in the houfe afore the said meale tymes wherunto the whole nomber of the recufants do repaire and heare dilligently. But yet bicause the same was by the meanes aforesaid, wee most humbly beseche your hono^r to signifie unto us, yor opynion touching the same, for that wee wolde be lothe to enter into any matter whatsoever touching any of them all, w^thout the allowance of the fame eyther by yor hono^ur or ells by some other of hir Mt^ys pryvye councell to be therunto graunted. And becaufe wee p^rceyve the faid recusants to be contented to heare the reading of the worde, wee therfor have the better hope to wynne them further, and doe therfor most hartely praye yo^u (in whome o^r greatest hope consisteth for the accomplishment of the same) to remember us touching a preacher to be appointed for that purpose, whoe wee doe verelye thinke will moche availe, if he might be shortly obtayned for that wee have nowe fome better hope of their conformytie then aforetyme we have had, wherof wee doe not a litle reioyce. Befeching god if y^t be his good pleasure further to call bothe them and all others home to his owne fould, w^ch [at] this prefent are gone aftraye from the true understanding of his most blessed worde, and thus wee humbly take o^r leaves. Sallford this xiij^th of Maye 1582. Yo^r hono^rs at comanndem̃t
Edm̃ Trafforde Robert Worsley

Addressed.—To the Right honorable Sr Frauncis Wallsingham Knight.

(iv)

13 October, 1582.

This letter is a repetition (with a few verbal variants) of the letter of 13th April; the list of names, however, includes the following in addition:—Jn. Townley, William Houghe esquires. Christopher Hawksworth priest, Elizabeth Dewhurst, Helen Johnson and Elizabeth Hawkenson Spinsters.

There is still no likelihood of conformity without a preacher.

VI.

HEADS OF ACCUSATION BY TOPCLIFFE AGAINST WILLIAM DEAN, EDWARD OSBORNE, EDWARD COOKE

n.d. [February, 1582]

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clii, *n.* 54.

The date of the document may be determined by the date of Deane's arrest, 21st February (*C.R.S.*, ii, 226), and from Fleetwood's letter below (No. vii), which carries the history both of Deane, Osborne, and the book about Campion a step further.

Emongs other theis particularytees bee confeſsed by theis persons hereunder naymed.

Wᵐ Deane, a feugetyue seameanary preest, in prison in Neugait.

He was borne at Lynton a toune sumetyme ould Richard Nortons, the rebbell in the Northe, now the Q. matˢ and under the chardge and rewle of Richarde Topclyff her Mᵃᵗˢ Servant. The father off the said Wᵐ Deane was a Rebbell wᵗʰ ould Norton his Mʳ.

This Wᵐ Deane diſsemuled to bee a protestant and became a mynister and served Kewre at Munkefriston wᵗʰin the coñ of Yorke, where many of the parishe contynew recusants. He fledd off Layt to Rheames wᵗʰ intent to serve his ould Master, Norton the rebell.

He was comended to Doctoʳ Allen by letter from one Thomas Awfild a seameanary prieste.

He was Reconsieled by that Awfild before he went over Sea.* He perswaided the Q. subiects before he went over not to cume to the Churche nor to receve the Communyon.

He did perswaide the Q. subiectts that the pope of Rome was supreame head and Governor of the Churche of Englande, and not her Maᵗⁱᵉ. And furder that England ought to pay Tribuit to Rome.

He did wishe the Q. Maᵗˢ deathe Traitoruslye, but he will not confeſs somutche.

He did sende letters of abhomynable perswacyon from Religion to popery, wᶜʰ bee intercepted goinge Northwards. He is now wᵗʰin this moneth returned a Seameanary preest from Rheames.

He hathe hadd conferrence wᵗʰ Geordge Norton the rebbell sonne of ould Norton yᵉ rebbell At Rheames.

He hathe said vj or vij Maſses cynce his cumminge over in London. The most of them at one Mistres Alfords house wᵗʰin Salisbury Coort where he lodged most & before her self And Sumtyme one Rodgers yᵗ did also lodge at Mʳˢ Alfords.

One Maſse At my Lady ffrogmortons near Teñes Street where the Lady was & vj otheʳ gent.

One Maſse in flett streett, xij p̃sons p̃sent at least.

* Thomas Alfield left Rheims for England on March 29th, 1581, and Deane arrived there on July the 9th, proximately "from Douay." Deane was ordained and had started on the return journey on January the 25th, 1582 (*Douay Diaries*).

One Maſse at Mistres Thimolby lodging before her.
He did heare Mistres Thymolbyes preest say Maſse.
He hath Reconciled a Servant of M^ris Alfords.

Edwarde Osberne, a feugetyve Seameanary preest in prison in the Clynk.

Hee did by great fortune Cume to one Norwoods Chamber whiles I was seartchinge of his studdy books and paipers in Symons Ine And startinge suddenly from thence (loathe to bee knowen) I caused him to bee pursewed and taken. Hee confeſsed that he was a Seamanary preest returned from Rheames a litell before Chrystenmas.

Hee hadd recevid vj of the Tratorus books of Campyans, Sherwyn and Bryans m^rterdom as they terme it.

Hee hathe said vj or vij Maſses cynce his cuminge over.

One Maſse upon twelvethe day last in the ffleett Before the Lorde Vauxe Sr Thom^s Tressam Mr Tyrwhitt and anoth^r gentilman & too of y^er men. Three or fower Maſses at my Ladye Vaux Lodginge before my Lady there. At Mr Brownes house at St. Mary overaie wher henry Stewke her man did helpe him to say Maſse.

Hee hathe confeſsed M^ris Thyrwitt and dyvers others.

Hee saiethe that one Stampe a preest of Londen And one Bayarde a Seamenary resorts to Mr Brownes house at St. mary Overais, and use to say Maſse ther.

One Edward Cooke Servant to proctor Smythe in p^rnoster Row is Apprehended, in whose desk I founde xl^ty of the said Tratorus books to publyshe.

He confeſseth hymself a perillous person.

One Norwoode of Symons Ine publisher of these books knowethe the prynter And was the cause of his flyenge and escaype. Hee is as evell as the rest.

Endorsed.—Mr Toplyfs note of certain seminary priests.

VII.

RECORDER FLEETWOOD TO LORD BURGHLEY

14 April, 1582

British Museum, Lansdowne MS. 35, *n.* 26.

Right honorable & my singular good Lord. I am right glad of your Lo: amendment. I beseche God to continue your Lo: in health. During the tyme of this Lent wee have ben everie daye occupied with Semenarie Priests, massemongers, libellers and suche lyke. It fell owt that in the first wike of Lent* that there was a booke cast abrood,† in commendinge of Campion and of his fellowes, and of

* Ash Wednesday, 1582, fell on the 28th of February.

† The book about Campion was the *True Report of the death and martyrdome of M. Campion*, for printing which Vallenger lost his ears. There is a copy in the British Museum (1370, a, 80), and from it we see that the "figures" which Fleetwood seized were either the numerals, or possibly the ornamented capitals, or printer's sign. There are in the book no figures in the sense of cuts or plates.

theire deathe. I pursued the matter so nere that I found the presse, the letters, the figures, and a nosmber of the books. And beinge in this Searche one Osborne a Semenarie priest came droppinge into a Chamber, where Mr. Topcliff of the Court and I were. Hym we examined, and it appered that he was a Semenarie priest and had dwelt in the Hospitall at Rome iij yeres and after he was professed in to a howse of the Fraunciscaines, being bare foote ffriers that live by begging, and labored, as he saithe by cutting of wood, and bearing of it upon theire backs. They lie uppon no bedds but tumble in the strawe like swine. They use no sherts, they have no garments but suche as they dayly were, the which are slender, thinne and extreme cold. *Theire diett is most slender and they eat but ones a daye, and continually they drynke water; they may towche no money. Being of this order but vij weeks, it beinge so streyt, he was dryven to fflee, and came into England: and in [*sic*] Christenmas he said sundry Masses at Mr. Brownes howse,† my Lord Viscount's brother, before my Ladie Vaux and certen others, and in Crastino Epiphaniae he said Masse in the Flete in my Lord Vaux his chamber, before my Lord, Mr. Tressam, Mr. Thirwitt and others. For the which offens these 3 were upon Wedenesdaye last convicted in the Geldhall at an oier and determiner,§ where the said Osborne did give livelie evidens. Althowgh they before Jugement did stowtlie denie the same, yet after they dyd most humblie submitt theym selffs unto her maiestie, and so departed to prison agayne. This Osborne is nephew to f. Robert ∴ Lane and nere akyne to my lo. Vaux and to Mr. Tresham.¶

Att this oier and Determiner there was arraigned one Mrs Rogers, sumtyme wiff of one Barnerd, Steuerd of Grey's Inne, for hering of a Masse at Shroftide in the howse of the wiff of Francis Alford in Salisbury Court: at which Mass was Mrs. Alford her selff and one Rogers a gentilman‖ and one Hyde who is Mrs. Alford's man. The

* In margin: "Et sunt undique obruti pediculis."

† Francis Browne, brother of Lord Montagu, is called Sir Francis by Father Persons (*C.R.S.*, ii, 183; iv, 13).

§ The consequences of this Mass are treated at some length by Mr. Simpson in *The Rambler*, vii, 1857, p. 15, "A Morning in the Star Chamber."

¶ Edward Osborne, "of the diocese of Peterborough," was dismissed from the English College, Rome, *quatenus relapsus* (*C.R.S.*, ii, 134), which presumably means that the college authorities did not think it worth while to ask for a dispensation for orders for him. He then seems, from what is stated above, to have passed seven weeks among the Franciscans, and then to have returned to Rheims, where Allen, with too much kindness, presented him for ordination, and sent him to England in November, 1581. He was the first priest who fell so far as to deny his religion and to preach against it (*Letters of Cardinal Allen*, pp. 136, 144). But ere long, overcome by remorse, he returned penitent to Rheims, where he wrote a long "satisfaction," dated May 18, 1583, which was published with *A true report of the late apprehension and imprisonment of John Nicols*, at Roan, 1583 (Brit. Mus., 699, b 7, fol. 27). A Latin translation (*misdated* 1587) in the *Concertatio* (1594), ff. 240–242. Eventually he retired to Seville, and there died (before 1600, the date of Father Person's *Domestical Difficulties*, *C.R.S.*, ii, 134).

‖ This Mr. "Rogers a gentilman" is apparently *not* to be identified with Thomas Rogers, who generally passed under the name of Nicholas Berden, and was an active spy for Walsingham, for he did not return from Italy till 1583

Seminarie priest was one Deane. This Deane and the sayd Hyde* dyd give the evidence, and for that cause Mr. Secretarie's pleasure was that they should be spared.† Mrs. Alford was spared because Mr. Francis is bound for her and she promiseth to goo to the churche, and this is by Mr. Secretarie's order.

Att this last Gaole delyverie one Margerett Harding, a notable pickpurse, was executed. The wyke before Christenmas she pleded her pardon for the lyke fawlt, that pardone was as itt was said procured by Monsieur de Alphene; but one gentilman now in the Court, as she reported, had an c marks, whose name apperethe in the first word of the ix line *in ista pagina.*§ This woman hathe had the benefit[e] of sundry other pardones as well generall as speciall. There is one Crofts and Bacon, that were condemned for a Roberie done nere Ware, they are reprived.

For any other things here hapenyng there are none worthie wryting of, save this one thing that here are fortie brables and pickeries done abowt this towne more in any one daye then when I cam first to serve was donne in a moneth. The reason is of those multitude of buildings being stuffed with poore, nedie and of the worst sort of people. Trulie, my singuler good lord, I have not leasure to eat my meat, I am so called upon. I am, at the least, the best parte of an c nights in a yere abroad in searches. I never rest. And when I serve her Maiestie the best, then I am for the most parte the worst spoken of, and that many tymes in the Court. I have no man to defend me. And as for my Lord Maior, my cheff head, I am dryven every daie to back hym and his doyngs. My good Lo. for Christ's sake be suche a meane for me as that with credict I may be removed by her Maiestie from this intollerable Toyle. Certenlie I serve in a thankles soile. There is, as I lerne, lyke to fall a rowme of the Quenes seriaunt. If your Lordship please to helpe me to one of those Rowmes, assure your honour that I will do her Maiestie as paynfull service as vj of theym shall doo. Helpe me my good Lord in this my humble sute, and I will (God willing) sett downe for your Lordship suche a booke of the Lawe as your Lordship will lyke of.

This Easter Even 1582. Bacon Howse.

Your good Lordship's most bounden
W. Fletewoode.

(*C.R.S.*, ii, 253, 256; iv, 54, 85). But Mrs. Rogers, "sometime wife of Barnard Steward of Gray's Inn," may have been his wife, "the near kinsman of John Lister," who is mentioned *C.R.S.*, ii, 273.

* In margin: "Hyde was reconsiled by Deane."

† Deane appears to have been firmer after this fall. There was a plan at the end of May for sending him to the North to be made an example of, together with Alfield (Dasent, *Acts of Privy Council*, xiii, 432), and for this various persons were to be arrested and forced to give evidence. But whether it was that this evidence failed, or because Alfield also wavered for a time (*Letters of Cardinal Allen*, p. 163), it seems that the plan was never executed. Deane was indicted with Fenn and Haydock (*see below*, *n.* xviii), but he remained on in prison till 1585, when he was banished.

§ Supposing that *ista* is used as a synonym for *hac*, then the first word in the ninth line is *Lane* (p. 28, l. 25 above), against which word someone has accordingly put the mark ∴

My Lord, I have sent unto your honor a box of suche stuffe as these libellers use for their Print^e. There be certen Yrishemen that are the utterers of the last lewd booke. One Dowdale* dothe use to sell them.

Addressed.—To the Right Honorable and my singuler good Lord my Lord Tresorer of England.

Endorsed.—14 April, 1582. Mr. Recorder to my Lord, with a box of popish stampes.

VIII.

P. H. W. TO WALSINGHAM

19 July, 1582

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, cliv, 62.

The identity of the spy, P. H. W., the writer of the following letter, has not yet been determined. There are a considerable number of his letters among Walsingham's correspondence at the Record Office, and it is easy to see how subtle and insidious his methods of attack were, and what widespread calamities he and his like would cause.

The prison lists, already published (*C.R.S.*, i, 60–65), tell us of Carter's previous imprisonment in 1578, and of his second imprisonment from 1579 to 1581; a letter from Bishop Aylmer, December 30th, 1579, informs us of the reasons for this second arrest (Lansdowne MSS. 29, f. 177, printed Strype *Annals*, ii, f. 588), and adds that he had frequently been in prison for printing Catholic pamphlets. After eighteen months duress he was freed by a letter of Privy Council dated May 7th, 1581 (Dasent, *Acts of Privy Council*, xiii, 40), upon condition of finding a bond for 100 marks, and one surety, and he was to remain at his house in the parish of St. Olave's, in Hart Street, till he conformed (Dasent, xiii, 76; see also R.O. *Dom. Eliz.*, cc, 59; ccv, 13, 14). The reason for the arrest in July, 1582, will perhaps have been the discovery of the Catholic Books in his house, for which he eventually suffered; or, as is more likely, to judge from Mrs. Carter's lamentations, the books had not yet been found, but were discovered in consequence of P. H. W.'s letter. John Hart's *Diarium Turris* (Sander *De Schismate*, App.) gives July 19th as the date of Carter's consignment to the Tower, and his letter of November 15th says that Carter had been "nearly killed on the rack, but nothing could be drawn from [him] but the name of Jesus" (*C.R.S.*, iv, 74).

For the Catholicity of Lady Carew and her household see *C.R.S.*, i, 49; S. Haynes, *State Papers*, p. 395.

Right honorable, in my returne from the court, at Lambethe I mette with the wyffe of Carter who was examined at the court on Tewsday laste, and demandinge of hir whether she was walkyng, she tolde me to the court, to speak with the Lord Lomlaye, "Who" saide she, "I wolde to god, I had never knowne." Where upon she tolde me that her husband was apprehendyd, and had bene examined at the courte, and sent to the tower; "And I ame nowe going to my Lord, to telle hym that all that was in oure howse is taken awaye." "Why," said I, "what can my Lord helpe you in that?" "Oh," said she, "all the

* It would be interesting to find out if this Dowdale could be identified with the John Dowdal, an Irish merchant, and a native of Wexford, who was quartered at Exeter in August 13, 1599, for religion, of whom very little is known, and whom our martyrologists have taken from Worthington, *Catalogus*, III, 1614, and I. Molanus, *Idea togatae Constantiae*. Appendix, p. 92.

bookes, copes, vestments, crosse, chaleses, & all the reste" said she, "was my Lordes; and by the meanes and entreatie of Mr Smyth and Mr. Caynes or Caymes, too of my Lordes gentelmen, my housband was so mad to take them in," with much other talke, which shold be to longe to troble your honore. But yf yt maye please your honore to cause both Smythe and Caynes to be to be apprehendyd forthe with, and these being lead to theire charge as confessyde by Carter, & Carteres wyffe to be taken, who knowethe as much as her housbande, not onelie in this, but in all other affayres and causes concernyng the dealinge of the Papists. And of this I am most assuryd, that there is neither Jesuete, prieste, nor papyste of anye acompte within England but he knowthe them. I have knowen hym my selfe these xx yeres, & he maryed his wyfe from the Ladye Carewes, who was so ofte in pryson for Relygyon. But to be shorte, if this be Rypte to the bottom, their wylbe such matter reveled as long hathe byne full secret; as knowthe the Almyghtye, whom I beseche longe to preserve your honoure, in all honour and contente from London the 19 of Julye.

P. H. W.

Addressed.—To the Ryght honorable Sir Frances Walsyngham, etc.

IX.

EXAMINATION OF JOHN CHAPMAN

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth*, clv, *n.* 8.

John Chapman, of the diocese of Salisbury, was ordained at Chalons on the 4th of March, 1581. After "long confinement in two successive prisons," he was exiled, and returned to Rheims on the 30th of September, 1586, whence he went "to the baths near Liege" on the 3rd of July, 1587, and lived on in exile for at least three or four years longer (*Douay Diaries*, 177, 213, 216, 289). In the official prison lists he figures as an inmate of the Marshalsea from the 1st of November, 1583 *C.R.S.*, ii, 233, 236, 240).

Right Honorable, We have signified unto your ho: in our Letters by thys bearer my Servaunt the apprehension of one whose name is John Chapman, as he sayeth, a Seminarie and Mafsing Priest. Hys Examination (so farre forth as by any meanes we cowld gett hym to Confefse) we have sent unto your honors, most humbly prayeng your direction, whether your pleasurs shall be to have hym stayed here for a tyme, and so sent up unto your honours hereafter, as you shall appoynt: or eles to have hym sent to the Afsifses, to be dealt withall by the Justices of Afsise at Andover. The Dayes of the Afsise are appoynted to be Mondaye, Tewesdaye and Wensdaye next. He is in the meane tyme comytted to a safe place in the Correction howse. The Gaole hath so many backward people, that we thowght not goode to Comytt nether the Priest nor the Widdowe Mres Bullacre thether. And so expecting your honors determinacion herein, I comytt your honour to the mercifull tuition of Allmighty God.

ffrom my howse at Winchester the viijth of August, 1582.

Your honors afsured to Comaund in Christe

Jo: Winton.

Addressed.—To the right Honorable S^r^ ffrauncys Wallsinghm Knight, her Ma^ts^ principall Secretarye and of her highnes most honorable Privy Councell.

Enclosure.

The Examinacion of John Chapman Priest taken the vijth of August 1582 before the Reverend ffather in Christ John Byfshoppe of Winchester, ffrauncys Cotton and William Wright Esquirs.

The sayd John Chapman being examined whether he be a spirituall or a temporall man, answereth that he is a Spirituall man and a Priest, and was before a Minister made by the Byfshoppe of Wells, and sayeth that he had a Benefice called Langton-hering in Dorsetshire which he served Syx yeares. And being asked why he left the Ministerye, he sayeth hys Conscience onely was the cawse. And being asked by whose Instructions he declyned from the Religion answereth, by reading certayne Controversies, and by certayne Bookes, wch one M^r^ ffawkiner of Dorsetshire deceased gave hym: And sayeth, he was not to accuse neyther cowld he accuse any man for cownsayling hym to declyne.

Item he sayeth that abowt Threa yeares past he lefte hys Benefyce aforesayd w^t^howt Resegnacon, or making any bodye prevye of hys Parishe, that he would departe.

Item he sayeth that he went presently to London to contryve meanes to paſse beyonde the Seas: And sayth nowe that one Adams a minister allso went w^t^h hym and that this Adams was beneficed allso in Dorsetsh^r^ at a place called Martens-towne.

Item thys Examinate allso sayeth that he was acquaynted w^t^h one Mondayne who was Scholemayster of Dorchester and of diverse other places in that Countie, and sayeth that he was accompted a Papist, and was in trowble for Religion during the tyme of hys being there, And being examined where thys Mondayne was at thys present, sayeth that he cannot tell, neyther had he any Conference w^t^h hym.

Item thys Exst sayeth, that at hys comming to London he repayred to the Marshallsey, and there enquyered for Catholiques, and so happened to come to one Blewet there imprisonned for a Papist, And this Exst told the sayd Blewet that he was of hys Religion and would goe beyond the Seas. And being asked what advyse the sayd Blewet gave hym towching hys journey, sayth, that they had conference in comon speaches, but advyse he gave none unto hym. But sayeth that after hys departure from Blewet one Ithell came to the sayd Blewet, to whome Blewet sayd that one was even nowe w^t^h hym (meaning thys Exst) that would traveyle beyond the Seas. Hereupon the sayd Ithell went pntly after thys Exst and over tooke hym in the Streete (not before knoweng hym, but by the description of Blewet) and asked hym whether he meant to goe over the Seas and thys Exst answered that he would. And so thys Exst and Ithell determined to meete the next daye at Byllinges gate (at a howse wch thys Exst knoweth not). But the sayd Ithell came not according to promyſse neyther thys Exst since that tyme he brake promyſse w^t^h hym ever sawe hym or heard from hym.

Item thys Ex̃t sayeth that he w^t^howt any Companye went p̃ntly after the departure of Ithell from hym (w^c^h was abowt Allhallowetyde last was two yeares) to Dover, and thence went in the Companye of certayne ffrenchemen, and Englishe Merchaunts to Callyce, but in whose Barke he knewe not, but payed for hys paſsage a ij^s^.

Item thys Ex̃t sayeth farther that at Callyce he enquyred the waye to Reyms (being advysed to goe thyther by the sayd Ithell, and none other), and so directly went to Reyms by Arde & Cambray and other Townes, w^c^h he remembreth not: but sayeth that he came thither in the space of vj or vij Dayes. And being asked what Language he had to paſse that journey, answereth Latyn onely.

Item, being examined to what place in Reyms he fyrst resorted sayeth that he fyrst came to a comon Inne and enquyered for Englishe men and he was directed to the Seminarye College where he found of Englishe men one Mr Bayle, Dr Webbe, Dr Martyn and more to the number of ffowertie and upwards: And this Ex̃t signified unto the sayd Bayle, Webbe and Martyn that he was come owt of England and had left hys Religion, and now was desierous to lyve among them and to be one of them, And delivered to them a stocke of monney to the valewe of a xx^s^ and promyssed them after that was spent, that he would paye for all that he tooke, And so was admytted into theyre Societie w^t^howt any Ceremonie, or profeſsion: but sayethe that he laye in the Towne and came to meate and Drincke to the College and to the Divinitie Lecture there reade by one Mr Raynolds. And so continewed then in thys manner one whole yeare, and after the yeare expyred he entered into Orders of Priesthoode; and so by degrees w^t^hin halfe a yeare at three severall tymes was made full Priest by the Byſshop of Shallonne, and after that remayned there in soche manner as before, one Quarter of a yeare and then departed thence. And being asked what suggestion he made to the Companye (w^c^h before admytted hym), for hys departure, sayeth he made no suggestion to them of hys departure, nor receaved from them any cownsell or Comiſsion to doe any thing in thys Realme at hys Arryvall here.

Item he sayethe that he came from Reyms to Parrys, from Parrys to Roane, and so to Dyepe. And he sayeth that he spent abowt one ffortnyght in the traveyle from Reyms to Dyepe: where he taryed three Dayes for Paſsage and then came to Rye abowt Mydsommer was Twelmonth.

Item, this Examinate being examined howe and where he spent hys tyme since hys Arrivall at Rye at the tyme aforesayd, sayeth that he went from Rye to London directly in the space of Two dayes, and laye as he thincketh at the signe of the George in Bredstreete one nyght, and from that Inne he went, becawse he lyked yt not, to the Signe of the Shyppe, but in what Streete he knoweth not, where he continewed vij or viij dayes. And sayeth that he had acceſse to no person, nor any had acceſse to hym: ffor he sayeth that he laye lame at the Shyppe during the tyme of hys aboade there.

Item he sayeth that after he had spent the tyme aforesayd at the Shyppe, being recovered of hys former lamenes, he tooke hys journey

into the West Cowntrey to a place there called Pynn in Devon to one Mr Raynolds, brother to the man that read the Lecture at Reyms, as before is declared. Hys erraund thither was to yeld Comendacions from hys sayd Brother. And further sayeth that he stayed there iij or iiij Dayes and from thence he went to Tawnton where he laye at one Widdowe Hodsons iij or iiij Dayes. ffrom thence he wente to one Machams in Somersetshire distaunt from Tawnton abowt vj or vij myles where he stayed v or vj dayes. ffrom Machams he came directly into Hampshire unto M^ris^ Bullacre of Warblington, where he sayeth he hath made hys chyef aboade sithence, saving he hath nowe and then gon westward to speake wth hys Brother in Dorsetshire. And being asked whether, at the tyme of his making Priest, he tooke an Oath of obedience to the Pope he answereth that he tooke an oath, soche a one as all Catholique Priests have and doe take in that behalf: but he refuseth to declare the particular Articles of that Oath.

Being asked whether he be not the Quenes subiect or no. Answereth that he is in all Cawses Temporall. And being asked whose subiect he is in Cawses Spirytuall, answered nothing.

Being asked whether he doeth thincke the Quenes M^tie^ to be supreme head and governefse in all Cawses ecclesiasticall and Temporall according to the Lawes of thys Realme of England, he answereth nothing

Being asked whether the Pope hath any authoritie w^th^in thys Realme, he answereth that the Pope hath asmoche Authoritie in thys Realme as he hath in other Cowntreys namely ffraunce, Italye, and Spayne.

Being asked wheth^r^ he thincketh yt the Pope hath that authoritie in Italie ffraunce and Spayne by any right title, or by Usurpacion Answereth that he thincketh he hath yt by right from succefsion.

Being asked whether he thincketh the Pope hath the Spirite of trewth enteyled unto hys Sea or not, He answereth that he thincketh that the Doctrine wch the Pope teacheth is trewth.

Jo. Winton

fr: Cotton W. Wright.

X.

WILLIAM SPENSER TO WILLIAM CLAXTON OF WYNYARD

[November] 1582

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clxv, *n.* 29.

William Spenser, of the diocese of York, arrived at Rheims on the 2nd of November, 1582, and was received into the church on the 7th of the same month (*Douay Diaries*, p. 192). This will surely be the "end of oure iourneye" to which the writer refers in the first sentence.

Whether the two young Claxtons of Wynyard, county Durham, eventually came to Rheims as the writer desired, seems doubtful, though a Ralph Claxton, diocese of Durham, did come over twenty years later, and was ordained in 1612. James Claxton, the Martyr, who was of the archdiocese of York, had already returned to England.

Ralph Claxton, Esq., matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, 29th January, 1580 (and perhaps also on 10th April, 1581, being then aged 20).

His brother Cuthbert also matriculated there 16th February, 1582, aged 15 (Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, i, 286).

The pedigree of the family is given fully in Jos. Foster's *Pedigrees in the Visitations of Durham*, 1887, pp. 72, 73. The Claxton pedigree being signed by William, 13th September, 1575. His wife was Margery, daughter of Robert Lambert, of Owlton, and his issue then was Ralph (his heir), aged 14, Anthony (called Cuthbert in the Queen's College copy), Elizabeth, Alice and Anne.

The sons seem to have died before their father, for the later pedigree of the Claxtons of Park represents Elizabeth as co-heiress of her father.

Mr. Claxton. My dewty remembred, etc. Having, as I hope good oportunitye, I am to certifye you that we are at the end of our ioyrneye, and all thinges we have to our contentation. The soden departure of this mensenger is such that, as I would, I can not write to you. I praye you therfore have more regard of my words. I could wish you would let Raphe travell for one 2 or 3 yeare, it would teach him both witt and experience, or at lest without faile send Cuthbert ouer spedelye. Your charges for him will not be so much as in that pestilent licencious Universitye, the longer he staiethe, the more I feare wilbe your greefe. Yf you will allowe him never a penye, he shall lacke nothinge. It is well knowne [? what] you have sustened in the Catholicke quarell, for whose children there is speciall regard. You will thinke yt the best thinge that ever you did, as longe as I am hear, he shall not want a freind. Consider of this. I will looke for him, & provyde for him. I am sory that unawares to you I did not bring [him] with me. Commend me I beseche you to your good bedfelowe & all my freinds. In hast I bid you fare well.

Yours of Dewtye

W. Spenser.

Addressed.—To his very lovinge frend Mr. Claxton at Wyneyard geve these.

Endorsed.—W. Spenser to Mr. Claxton at Wynyard. Examine Bearer.

1460409

XI.

JOHN BOSTE TO ANDREW HILTON

(End of 1582)

Record Office, *Dom Eliz., Additional*, xxviii, *n.* 59, ii. Original holograph.

The unceasing efforts which the persecutors made to ensnare Boste, testify eloquently to the good which this brave missionary effected in the cause of the Faith, and the official records of the violent measures taken incidentally tell us also much about the Catholics for whom he worked. In February, 1584, as we shall see, Boste's own home at Dufton, where his brother Lancelot still lived, was "searched," so were the rooms of Mr. Andrew Hilton, of Burton, Warcop parish, Cumberland, but then confined "in the Sheriff's ward" at Carlisle. Eight papers taken from Lancelot Boste on this occasion are now preserved (No. 58, i to viii) in the above-mentioned volume, and three papers taken from Hilton are bound up with them (No. 59, i to iii); the letter from Boste here printed was among the latter.

Hilton was examined as to the occasion on which this letter was written, and his answers are printed below, No. xxiii. Here it will suffice

to say that Hilton had met Boste in August or September, 1582, first at Colbrook, then at Lechlade in Gloucestershire, and at Buscott in Berkshire. Boste was at that time passing as "a serving man" of Lord Montagu, which seems to be a veiled way of indicating that he was a chaplain to that family. Hilton was out of ward for a short time to look after some property, and was bound under heavy security to return to Carlisle.

Some time after his return he wrote, 1 November, 1582, to Lancelot Boste, at Penrith, a letter which is still extant, and is sufficiently reported in *Additional Calendar*, p. 106. Hilton complains that he had never heard from "your friend" (probably meaning the martyr John), whose advice he desired about a certain "offer," which the Privy Council had made them, and which was enclosed. Unfortunately the enclosure is now gone, the *Council Registers*, which might have explained the matter, are here wanting, and the letter quoted below throws no further light on the subject, which may perhaps have been connected with Kirkbridge's letter of October 1 (see below, No. xxiv, *n.* 12).

Hilton concludes with an earnest prayer for a copy of the new Rheims Testament, "for I can neither eat, drink nor sleep until I see it." He begs that it may be sent by the wife of Anthony Atkinson, a name of evil omen, as we shall see later.

Eventually Lancelot Boste's mother sent him the Testament, but Lancelot did not remember by whom; and with it came the Martyr's letter now printed.

In the first part of this letter we see that the future martyr, unable to visit Cumberland in person, has been endeavouring to find some missionary who would visit or reside at Carlisle, and at last has persuaded "the good man," the bearer, to go, "whom I trust you will discreetly look to."

We do not know who this "good man" was. One naturally suspects that he was a priest, and the terms by themselves suggest that signification. But in Elizabethan usage the first meaning of the word "good man" did not connote a cleric, but simply a man whose rank was inferior to that of an esquire or of a gentleman (Murray, *Dictionary*, Letter G. 295, i, §4).

The books mentioned can be identified with greater certainty.

The *Defence of Censure* is Father Persons' *Defence of the Censure gyven upon two Bookes of William Charke and Meredith Hanmer, mynysters, whiche they wrote against M. Edmond Campion, preest*, s.l. [Rouen], 1582, for the history of which see *C.R.S.*, ii, 30; iv, 26.

The Discovery of the her[*etical*] *Trans*[*lation*] is Gregory Martin's *A Discoverie of the Manifold Corruptions of the holie Scriptures by the Heretikes of our Daies*, Fogny, Rhemes, 1582.

The *Resolution* is Father Persons' *First Booke of Christian Exercise*, afterwards entitled *The Christian Directory*, but "commonly called *the Resolution*," *C.R.S.*, ii, 30; iv, 26.

The Rheims Testament has been mentioned above.

The allusion to Scotland at the end of the letter is important. There was a chance of James becoming a Catholic, and espousing his mother's side. Walsingham "held Scotland for lost, unless God be merciful" (*Domestic Calendar*, p. 93), and situated as they were, Catholics would of course have been as sanguine as their enemies were despondent (see *The Month*, April, 1902). But their hopes were destined to be disappointed, and Hilton never "certified anie Scottishe newes, nor received anie himselfe, to his remembrance" (see No. xxiv below *ad fin*).

J. H. S.

To yourself and your Bedfellow commendacions, with pacience and constancie as best becometh Christian Confessors, whom God hathe chosen to beare witnesse of his name to the comforth of them

that love Hym and His Spouse the Catholique Church, and to the condemnation of so many that so willingly and wittingly join in the Sinagoge of Satan, and stubbornly oppose themselfes against Hym and Her. I wold, as I have often doon in vaine, yet attempt to see you, for all that I canne speak with are unwilling to be amongst you. This good man I have intreated, whom upon your further conference you may intreat to deale with those parts, at sooche tymes as you and your frends shall stand nede. I am not so quiette at this tyme as I canne have leysure to goo into sooche places as I might provide for you sooche Bookes as I know were good for you. The Defence of the Censure, Discouverie of her[etical] trans[lation] with the Resolution and Testament, I have brought long since into* amongst you, what you have of them, save only the Testament. I know not. Yet as they come I coold gett good stoore, if I might fynd a safe and redy mart to make my exchaing. I am in haist referring all to this Berer, whom I trust you will discretely looke to.

I commend you to Christ and the common prairs of his Catholike Church, therby offered† for you. Your messenger, a good simple sowle, but not one that canne see far into a milston, canne tell you of our ca[se]§ at home and abroad. Informe me of Scotland what you canne lern, for there ys matter brewing upon both sides.

I.H. ‡

Addressed.—To Mr. Andrew Hilton in Carlile geve these.

XII.

EXAMINATION OF JOHN NUTTER

n.d. [? 17 January, 1583]

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clviii, *n.* 17.

In Fr. John Bridgwater's *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, 1588, a very interesting account may be read of the Ven. John Nutter's adventuresome landing at Dunwich. After escaping many dangers, one packet of the books which he and his companions, Samuel Conyers and Peter Lawson, had brought over, was furtively opened by a dishonest servant. Nutter was thereupon examined and at first, ignorant of the evidence against him, "alleged that he was apprenticed to a certain citizen of York; but afterwards, when he saw that their counsels had been laid bare, he frankly confessed that he was both a Catholic and a priest." The following papers are the official record of this transaction, and they entirely confirm Bridgwater's account. The endorsement shows the final result of the examination. For further details see Mr. J. B. Wainewright's *Ven. John Nutter* (*Cath. Truth Soc.*, 1906).

The following extract from the *Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber* (R.O. Declared Accounts 542, rot. 44*v*) shows the sum paid for the transport of Nutter and his companions to London, which was the sequel of his examination.

"To William Bulbroke Bailiff of Dunwich in Suffolk upon a warrant signed by Mr. Secretary Walsingham dated at Richmond primo feb 1582 for the charges of himself and his company in bringing up from thence to the court at Richmond iiij^{or} prisoners apprehended there and for their return back again—£xviij."

* Qu. word missing. No gap in MS. † MS. perished.
§ MS. perished. ‡ In the *Calendar* the signature is erroneously printed "I.J."

John Nutter of Yorke merchant and somtyme Apprentice with oon Mr Bannester of Preston in Anderness in the Countie of Lankysher draper, servant and factor to oon Mr Robynson of Yorke, att Michelmes laste ded take shippyng ffrom Hull in a ship callyd the *Rose* of Hull, and ded freyte certen brode Clothys callyd "blacks" from thense to Rone in France. And there sellyng his goods ded fale sycke and was desyrous to come into Ingland, and toke shippyng att Newhaven within a Frenche ship with oon Peter Roper. And he beyng att Rone there was delyveryd onto hym too books of oon Mr Thornborowe servant to Mounsor,* to be delyveryd to oon Mr Thornborowe of Yorke, the oon a Frenche boke and the other a Cronekyll in latten.

[*On the same sheet.*] A note of suche thyngs as remayne in dyverse packs of Peter Lowson.

In primis in the fyrste packe iiij^er^ C Catechisms.

Item in a nother pack oon C Catechisms and certen other boks and xxx^ti^ lattyn premers.

Item in a nother packe xv latten testaments and xlv medytacions.

Endorsed.—John Nutter of Burnley in the Countye of Lancaster, Catholicke and student at Rhemes in the Seminarie tow yeares.

[Same vol. n. 18. *Another list of the same books.*]

Inprimis in one packett xv testaments.

Item xlv bookes called the meditacion of the life of Christe.

Item aboute v^c^ Cattechesmies.

Anne Lowson, the wife of Peter Lowson, daughter of Edmond Grigsons, at Bisshop Morton within too myles of Rippen in Yorkshier.

Mallerye Conyers, the sonne of John Conyers gent. of Howton in Yorkshiere, traveled from Hull about v monthes since to Newhaven and Rouen and so to Paris, and had in his purse, when he crossed the seas, not above *xs.* And he went to learne the language and for no other intent but to se those countries, and he borrouyd by the meanes of a Frencheman.

The *Catechisms* will presumably have been the Liège edition in 1583 of Laurence Vaux's *Catechism, or a Christian Doctrine necessarie for Children and the Ignorant people* (Gillow, v, 566. Re-edited for Chetham Soc., 1885, with Introd. by T. G. Law).

We read of "xv testaments," and also of "xv latten testaments," but, whether these are two different parcels or not, is not clear. If there was only the one parcel of Latin Testaments, it seems difficult to identify them. If there were any English, they will have been the Rheims Version, mentioned under No. xi above.

The *Lattyn primers* were probably some French or Flemish editions of the Hours of Our Lady.

I am unable to identify the *Meditacion of the Life of Christ*, but I suspect that some edition of St. Bonaventura's (or rather of Bonaventura Baduanus's) *Meditationes vitae Christi* must be meant.

* The Duke of Anjou, suitor to Queen Elizabeth. As eldest brother of the King of France, he was officially styled "Monsieur," without addition.

XIII.

AGNES CARTER TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM

n.d. [? Midsummer, 1583]

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccvi, *n.* 92.

This paper is calendared by error under the year 1587. This is due to a confusion between the Martyr and another William Carter of Aylesbury, who was sent up to London in 1586 for having reported that Elizabeth was dead. The Martyr had been in the Gatehouse in 1580 (*C.R.S.*, i, 60). It will be noticed that though Carter was sent to the Tower in July, 1582 (*n.* viii above), his diet was not charged to the Queen during the first year (*C.R.S.*, iii, 13, 14). This would signify (unless the omission be due to mere carelessness) that Carter had to pay for himself, and the letter below is written in that sense. As his diet was paid for by the Crown after Midsummer, 1583 (*ibid.*, 15), it may have been that Agnes Carter's petition produced this effect, and in this case we have an indication of its date.

To the right honorable Sir Frances Walsingham knight chiefe Secretarie to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

In moste lamentable wise beseecheth your Honour your poore and dayly Suppliant Agnes Carter widowe That whereas it pleased your Honour moste graciously at the humble sute of one Jane Carter deceassed, wife to one William Carter, prisoner in the Tower and sonne to your said Suppliant to sende your warrant to the right worshipfull S^ir^ Owen Hopton Knight Lieftenant for the releasse of certain goodes and bookes (which vpon his apprehension in certaine roomes of his house were shett vp) to the succour and maintenance of the saide Jane in her continuall sicknes, and wofull distresses, neverthelesse in manner all or the moste part from her ever withhelde, and not delivered accordingly, and remain yet shutt vp; by meanes whereof she was forced to become indebted to me your humble Suppliant and others, as by a Bill of reckoning vnto your Honour truely may appere, and also her saide poore husband lefte without all reliefe and comfort, and like vtterly to be vndone, vnless your Honour stande most gracious vnto him, being, by reason of his close restraint also where he is, altogether barred of all meanes to gett his living. My moste humble sute there fore to your Honour is, that ye will likewise vouchsafe most graciously, according to your accustomed and benigne clemencie, graunt vnto me your poore Suppliant his said goodes for my satisfaction and his reliefe in his extreme distress, as also that he may be removed to the prison of the Gatehouse, where he was before. And I shall most earnestly, according to my bounden dutie, praye for your Honor in all health & prosperitie longe to continue.

Endorsed.—Agnes Carters supplication. She desirethe restitution of her sonnes goodes. That he may be removed owt of the Tower to the Gate howse.

XIV.

JOHN BODEY'S "CERTAIN REASONS."

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clxii, *n.* 8.

On the 19th of August, 1583, John Bodey and John Slade were arraigned at the Summer Assizes for the Supremacy. Dr. Laurence Humphrey, Dean of Winchester, advanced Puritan though he was (*cf. D.N.B.*),

endeavoured to shake their constancy, when a disputation ensued on Eusebius' account of the calling of the Council of Nice, and eventually Bodey "didd pull a paper out of his bozam with notes collected out of the Story of Eusebius towchinge a counsell holden att Nece in the tyme of the Emperor Constantine." The following appears to be Bodey's paper, or a fair copy of it. The sequel to the disputation will be found in No. xvii below. See also *Acts of English Martyrs*, pp. 49–65, and J. B. Wainewright's *John Body*, C.T.S., 1907.

The authors quoted by Bodey are:—

The *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Rufinus. Bodey, following the ancient editors, regarded this a continuation of Eusebius, and therefore described the book he quotes from as "the tenth." Nowadays it is reckoned as "the first," being the first of Rufinus' composition. The passages quoted may be found in Migne's *Patres Latini*, xxi, 471.

The *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita* of Cassiodorus. See Migne, *PP. LL.*, lxix, 925, 955, 959.

The *Acta Concilii Chalcedonensis*. The citation is from the sixth session. See Hefele, *Conciles* (1869), iii, 68.

De Vita Constantini. See Eusebius, &c. *Historiae*, ed. Reading, i, 638.

S. Augustini Epistola 162, in the old editions, is now *Ep.* 43. Migne, *PP. LL.*, xxxii, 160–173.

Certayne reasons whye I mighte affirme
that the Emperor Constantine the greate
called not the Councill of Nice by his
own Imperiall authoritie, agaynste
Doctor Humphrey, avouchinge the
contrarye at thassises holden
at Andover in the county
of Sowth. the 19th of
Auguste anno 1583.

1. First the words of the Ecclesiasticall historie makethe playne for me, and cleane agaynste him; wheare it is writen of the Emperor's callinge the councell thus: *Tum ille ex sacerdotum sententia apud vrbem Niceam episcopale concilium convocat, ibique Arium trecentis decem et octo episcopis residentibus adesse iubet, ac de eius propositionibus et quæstionibus iudicari.* (*Histor. Ecclesiast. Euseb: lib. decimo, cap. primo: authore Ruffino.*) "Then calleth he (the Emperor) a councill of byshopps at the citie of Nice by the decree of the priests, and theare he commandethe Arius to be, wheare sate three hundred and eighteene byshopps and to be iudged concerninge his propositions and questions." Thease words *ex sacerdotum sententia*, "by the decree of the priests," wheareof the cheife preiste was chief, dothe so overrule the Emperors authoritie, that they cannot suffer it to be ioyned with them in one sentence, as for example that he called together the councell by the decree of the priests by his owne Imperiall authoritie. Yf the priests had decreed it, then was it not donne by his owne authoritie, yf by his owne authoritie then was it not by the decree of the priests, and then shall our author be found a lyer, which is counted absurde of bothe parts. And thowghe this woorde *Sententia* may often tymes be taken for *opinion* or *advise*, yeat it cannot in this place be understoode for bare advise withoute authoritie, because concerninge

the callinge of councells the woorde is vsed for authoritie, as wheare it is sayd of a certayne councell holden at Antioche thus. *Sed neque Julius interfuit maximæ Romæ præsul, neque in locum suum aliquem destinavit, cum vtique regula ecclesiastica iubeat non oportere præter sententiam Romani Pontificis concilia celebrari.* (*Histor. Ecclesiast. Tripart.* lib. 4°, cap. 9°.) "Neyther was Julius the byshoppe of greate Rome theare, neyther appoynted he any in his place, whereas the ecclesiastical rule commandethe that councells be not keapte withowte the authoritie of the byshoppe of Rome." Heare the words *præter sententiam*, "without the advise" (as Doctor Humphrey will enterprete them), yealdethe to the byshoppe of Rome a negative voice in holdinge generall councells, which he cannot have, yf he have no thing but bare advise, withowte authoritie in callinge and holding them.

2. Furthermore whereas themperor when the byshopps came together to the place appoynted for the councell, desired them to go in, and him selfe went in last of all with a fewe, and when he was in, sate not downe before he had leave of the byshopps so to do, and had a lesse seate appoynted for him selfe then for the rest, it can signifie nothinge els but that they had authoritie over him, and not he over them, concerning thease poynts, thus it is written *Convenientibus igitur vniversis maximam domum præparavit, &c., ita decentem præparans eis honorem invitavit ingredi et de præsentibus habere consilium. Intravit autem et ipse princeps vltimus cum paucis, &c., minore vero sede quam aliis posita, in medio eorum sedit, primo tamen petens sibi hoc episcoporum iussione concedi.* (*Histor. Eccles. Trip.* lib. 2°, cap. 5°.) "Thearefore when all weare come together themperor had provided a very greate house, &c., so preparinge suche honor as was meete for them, he invited them to go in, and to have a councell concerninge things at that present to be handled. And the prince him selfe went in last, with a fewe, &c., and havinge a lesse seate sette then for the rest, he sate in the midst of them, but first desiringe that this mighte be graunted to him at the commandement of the byshopps." Lo, thease things declare rather submission of themperor towards the byshopps, then authoritie to commande them. And whereas Mr. Doctor sayethe that thenteringe in of the emperor last into the Councell-howse importeth greate authoritie, because it was reason the bishopps should stay for him, and not that he should attend theyre cominge, it hathe no kinde of probabilitie, for they weare all come together before, for it is sayde *convenientibus igitur vniversis, &c.*, "when all weare come together," and when a prince and his nobles ar in a place together, the nobles vse not to enter in before the prince, whearfore seinge themperor yealded honor to the byshopps, entred in after them, and sate in a lesse seate then they did, and yeat not so neyther before he had leave of them, can any man say that he had authoritie to commaund them, to hold that councell, and to beare rule thearin?

3. When the byshopps weare come to the councell some of them havinge certayne quarrells and dissentions betweene them selves desired the Emperor to have the hearinge of theyr causes, and offered to him theyr libells of complaynts one agaynst the other, which libells,

he receyved & put into his bosome, but neyther did, neither could heare & determine theyre matters, but answered in this sorte. *Deus vos constituit sacerdotes et potestatem vobis dedit de nobis quoque iudicandi, et ideo nos a vobis recte iudicamur, vos autem non potestis ab hominibus iudicari. Propter quod Dei solius inter vos expectate iudicium, et vestra iurgia quæcumque sunt, ad illud divinum reserventur examen. Vos etenim nobis a Deo dati estis dii, et conveniens non est, ut homo iudicet Deos, sed ille solus de quo scriptum est 'Deus stetit in synagoga deorum,' &c.* (*Euseb. Histor. Eclessiast.* lib. 10°, cap. 2° *authore Ruffino.*) "God have appoynted yow priests and have gyven yow power to iudge of vs also, and thearfore we are well iudged of yow, but yow can not be iudged of men, whearfore looke for the iudgement of God onlye betweene you, and let your quarrells whatsoever they be, be reserued to that Divine triall. For yow ar gyven gods vnto us of God, and it is not convenient that a man should iudge gods, but only he of whome it is writen, God have stoode in the synagogue of gods, &c." If the Emperor (as by this place it most playnlye appearethe) confessethe him selfe to have no authoritie to medle in byshopps matters, yea thowghe he weare desyred of them so to do, the matters beinge but private and betweene themselves, and if he rather yealdethe them authoritie to be iudges over him accomptinge them as gods (in a kinde of sence) and him to be but a man: it is most evident that he had not authoritie of him selfe to commaund them, being the chiefest and most learned men of christendome to come from so many places and so farre to one citie, and theare to consulte and determine of matters of faythe, which (as Mr. Doctor him selfe confessethe) apperteyne not to the governance and appoyntment of any temporall prince or potentate in the world. Whiche graunte of his gyveth a temporall prince but small power to deale and command in ecclesiasticall causes in deed, howe muche so ever he allowethe by his woords.

4. Morover what authoritie the Emperor Constantine had in the councell it is declared by the Emperor Martiane beinge at the councell of Chalcedon, wheare he sayethe thus:—*Nos ad confirmandam fidem, non ad ostendendam virtutem, exemplo Constantini Imperatoris, adesse Synodo cogitavimus.* (*Concil. Chalcedon.* Act 1.) "We have thowghte to be present at the Councell, not to shewe our power but to confirme the faythe, after the example of the Emperor Constantine." Heare we see that Constantine was not at the Councell of Nice, for that his authoritie was thearin required, but that he was redye to confirme and allowe the faythe decreed and sette forthe by the byshopps which confirmation of his was not of necessitie for the authoritie of the Councell, as thowghe it could not stand withowte it (for that belongethe to the byshoppe of Rome withowte whose authoritie suche Councells can not be holden as is above declared in the first reason), but it was, as all other good Christian Emperors should do, to help as muche as in them lyethe to sette forthe and mayntayne the true Catholique religion decreede in the councells.

5. And that Constantine had not any power of his owne in matters of the Churche, it appearethe by his owne confession in this

manner vttered to certeyne byshopps at his table, *Vos, inquit, intra ecclesiam, ego extra ecclesiam a Deo Episcopus constitutus sum.* (*Euseb. de vita Constantini*, lib. 4°, cap. 24°). "Yow, quoth he, are appoynted byshopps of God within the Churche, & I am appoynted a byshoppe withowte the Churche." Thease woords of the Emperor signifie that his authoritie was in matters owte of the Churche, and that byshopps weare appoynted by God to rule in the Churche. For the word byshoppe by interpretation signifiethe a ruler or overseer, which in Constantine was not in ecclesiasticall causes, by his own confession, althowghe Mr. Doctor sayethe other wyse, and would have others also to beleeve it. Whearfore it can not be that he summoned the Councell of Nice of his owne Imperiall authoritie, being, as Mr. Doctor grauntethe, a matter ecclesiasticall.

6. Last of all this Constantine notwithstandinge his greate care and zele in settinge forthe the Christian religion whearin he surpassed all other Emperors, yet defferred his baptisme vntill the later end of his lyfe, hopinge to be baptised in the river Jordane, for thus the historye reportethe. *Ingressus sexagesimum* quintum ætatis annum, ægritudine captus, ex urbe Constantinopolitana, quasi ad calidas aquas egressus est. Qui cum Nicomediæ degeret, languore gravatus, nec ignorans vitæ huius incertum, gratiam sacri baptismatis est adeptus. Distulerat enim vsque ad illud tempus, in Jordane fluvio hoc promereri desiderans.* (*Histor. Ecclesiast. Trip.*, lib. 3°, cap. vlt.) "When he had entred into the fyve and fowrtythe yeare of his age, beinge fallen sicke, he departed from the cytie of Constantinople as to the bathes. Who while he remayned at Nicomedia, being greeved withe sycknesse, and not ignorant of the vncerteyntie of this lyfe, receuyed the grace of holy baptisme, for he had differred it vntill that tyme, desiringe to obteyne it in the ryver Jordane." If thearfore Constantine had authoritie then in matters concerninge the Churche, theare will followe this absurditie, that he whiche was not actuallye a membre of the Churche, (for being not baptised while he mighte, but willingly differringe it, he could not be of the Churche in deede, howesoever he was in purpose) should be actuallye a heade and governor in causes of the churche, then the which I can not perceyue what can be more against reason, seeinge that nothinge can be the head and governor of a bodye, which is not so much as a member in the bodye, and the Councell of Nice was before he was baptyzed, as the ecclesiastical history mentionethe in the begynninge of the chapter last before rehersed.

And whearas it is alleaged that this Emperor took vppon him to heare a cause betweene Cecilianus, a Catholique byshoppe, & the Donatists, beinge alredye before desired by the byshoppe of Rome Melciades, and divers other byshopps of great authoritie, as Saint Augustine reporteth (Epist. 162): it is answered by Saint Augustine in the same Epistle that the Emperor did it, yealdinge to the froward importunities of the Donatists, not for that he had neede so to do, but for that he was desyrouse that the matter should be ended any manner of waye, and so he did it as Saint Augustine sayethe: *Veniam*

* In MS., quadragesimum.

a sanctis antistitibus postea petiturus, "Purposinge to aske pardon for it of the holy byshopps afterward."

This much concerning the authorytie of Constantine the greate in summoninge the general councell of Nice, which if Doctor Humphrey could have refelled playnlye, trulye, and withowte deceyte at thassises aforesayd holden at Andiver, or sythence, as I promysed then, so say I nowe, that I would go to theyre churche, and do anythinge belonginge to ther doctrine, and that by his proofe he myghte save my life, which then and now to, is very lyke to be lost concerninge this world for my defendinge and standinge in the contrarye.

Ita est Jo. Bodey.

Endorsed.—Certaine reasons of a Papist to prove y^{t} Constantyne the Great called not the Councell of Nice by his owne authoritye.

XV.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST JOHN FINCH

October to November, 1583

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clxiii, *nn.* 2, 61, 84.

The following papers continue the persecutors' version of the story of John Finch. See also Nos. v, xxv, xxviii.

Pleasith it your honor to vnderstand that we have sent hereinclosed certayne speches uttered by one John Finche prisoner in the Fleete at Salford in the Countie of Lancashire (withe the Depositions of the witnesse which hard the same), for the discharge of our bounden duties in that behalfe. And thus humblie wee take our leave. Manchester the first of October 1583.

Yours to Commande

Edm^{d} Trafford John Byron Robt Worsley
Edmund Ashton James Ashton

Addressed.—To the right honorable Sir Francis Wallsingham Knight principall Secretarie to the Quenes Maiestie, and one of her Maiestie's most honorable pryvie Councell, &c. &c. these,

(i)

Enclosure.—Speeches vttered by John Finche, the laste daye of September in the xxvth yere of hir Highness Raingne, before Gilbart Bibbie, Gilbart Sorocold, Gilbart Marshall, and divers women in the house where the said John Remayneth as followeth.

1. Firste the said John saied that he was a papiste, and would stande to it and never denie the same.

2. Item he said that Campion died for religion and not for treason, and that he loved him better than anie man in the worlde.

3. Item that one that was executed at Yorke, a prieste, not naminge the man, was executed for Religion and might have had his lieffe, yf he woulde have forsaken his Religion.

These 3 aforesaied articles or propositions are deposed to bee affirmed as they bee sett downe by Gilbarte Bibbie and Gilbart Marshall.

And the said John Finche being examined whether they deposed trulie or noe, answered:—"I will not denie any witnesses."

4. Item the saied John Finche at another tyme to the saied Gilbarte Marshall saied thesse wordes: "Yf wee hade the vpper hande of them as theye have of vs, they should die everie one of them," naminge protestants.

To this fourte Article Gilbarte Marshall deposed onlie, and the saied John Finche being demaunded whether he saied so or noe answered, "As I saied before I will not denie witnesses." Butt he vtterlie refused to bee deposed vppon the said articles, and refused to take an othe; wherevppon it was saied vnto him, "In this thou denieste the Quenes aucthoritie." Wherevnto he aunswered, "What doe I offend the Quene yf I take the punishmente due for the same?"

Item the Articles aforesaied are affirmed by the witnesses to bee spoken by Finche of his owne accord and not therevnto moved.

Thesse articles and Depositions were writen, taken, and deposed at Manchester the firste of October in the xxvth yere of the rainge of our soueraigne Ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England Fraunce and Irelande Quene, defender of the faith, &c., before Sir John Birron and Edmunde Trafford Knights, Richard Assheton, Roberte Wourseley, Edmunde Assheton and James Assheton Esquires Justices of Peace, &c.

Edm. Trafford
John Byron
Edmunde Asheton
Robt Worsley
James Assheton

(ii)

Thexamination of John Fynche before the Reverend father in God, William Bushopp of Chester, et Richard Holland gent., and Edmund Hoppwood gent., at the colledge of Manchester the xijth daye of November Anno Reginæ Elizabeth xxv^{to}.

John Fynch about the age of xxxv yeares (as he thinketh) making request to be removed from the dongeon (because it was no fit howse for a Catholicke), to the howse of Correction, termed the saide Reverend Father 'Lord,' who answered that he gaue a name but did not acknowledg the office, and therefore demaunded of the said fynch whither he did acknowledg him to be a true lawfull, canonicall & catholick Bushopp or no? To whome the saide Fynch answered that he would not answer to any such matters. To whome the saide R. F. said: "Wilt thou acknowledg our most Gracious soueraigne Ladie Elizabeth (whome God long preserue), to be the true and lawfull Quene of Englande, to whome the right tytle and interest of the Crowne and kingdome of Englande onely appertayned?" The said Fynch answered in these words. "I am a Catholicke and do beleue as the Catholicke Church teacheth." But being demaunded which that Church was, and who were Busshopps, or who was head thereof, would answer no further. Then the saide R. F. saide to the saide fynch: "Thou was committed to the dongeon for diverse sedicious and Trayterous speaches, and for that thou didest refuse to praye for Quene Elizabeth our most gracious Soveraigne true and lawful Quene, & God graunte her in greate honor, health, and Quietnes longe to raigne." To whome

the saide fynch answered. "I am a Catholicke and as the Catholicke Church teacheth so I beleue." Wherevppon he was againe committed in such manner and forme as was appoynted by the Commissioners before.

Endorsed.—Nov. 12–83. A copie of the Examinacion of John Finche at Manchester.

(iii)

Right Honourable my humble dutye remembred. These may be to let you vnderstande that one John Finche, a very sedytious Recusant in my opynion, whose examinacion I sente up to my very good frende Mr. Thomas Egerton her Majestye's Sollicitor, prayinge him to make your Honor acquaynted with the same, yesterday being the xxvijth day of November dyd repayre vnto the parish Church of Manchester, and there contynewed all the tyme of Morning prayer, rather upon some craftye and malycious pretence as I suppose, then vpon any devocion, as appeareth this daye by the Sequell thereof. For this morning very early he desyred his keeper (saving your Honours Reverence) that he mighte goe to an howse of offyce, standinge vpon the Ryver syde, into the which after he was entered he shut the door, and there stripped himself stark naked (his keeper walking to and fro by the door) whose back being turned he rushed out of the door very violently and leaped down a high rock into the Ryver saying, "Yesterday I damned my soul, and to-day I will destroy my body," but by Hue and Cry and concourse of Good neighbours he was saved from that danger. The man as I suppose by his desperate speeches, Attempts, and countenance doth mynd to escape, and do some mischief. And therefore I humbly beseech your honour to let me have your advice, and withal know their Lordships pleasure how I shall deal with the said Finch and with others his fellows: and specially with the priests (who by reason they are so plentifully maintained and lye at ease and are kept in a weke howse where all that be evil disposed may confer with them at the wyndows, and receive both exhortations and absolutions at their pleasure) do much harm. Truly the papists in these parts are lately grown so stubborn and contemptuous, that in myne opinion it were very requisite that their LL. did write a very earnest letter to my very Good Lord the Earl of Derby, myself, and the rest of her Majesty's commissioners for causes Ecclesiasticall to keep some sessions about Preston, Wigan, and Prescott, where the people are most obstinate and contemptuous, and to deal severely and roundly with them, otherwayes there can be no Reformation (for the Temporal magistrates will do nothing) neither can the county long contynue in quiet and safety. And so humbly praying your Honour to have in Remembrance I commend you to the Almighty, who with much honour and health long preserve you in His fear, and her Majesty's most gracyous favour.

Manchester this xxviijth of November 1583.

Your honour's most humble and assured
poor friend always to command

J. W. Cestren.

Addressed.—To the Right Honourable my very singular good friend Sir Francis Walsingham Knight, principal Secretary to the Queen's most excellent Majesty at the Court—Haste these.

XVI.

BISHOP AYLMER TO LORD BURGHLEY

5 December, 1583

British Museum, Lansdowne, 38, *n.* 87.
This letter is alluded to by Strype, *Life of Aylmer*, 1821, p. 67.

Right Hon. and my singuler good Lord.

Your Lordship shall understand that I have not been unmyndfull of that searche, which your Lorshship required to be made in our Registerie, and on the persons about London for the space of the firste eight or nyne yeares of her Maiestie's raigne. For the truth is I have done in bothe what I can, and can fynd nothinge to the purpose, for in the Registerie, Johnes, who had the whole doinge therin, being dead, nothing certain can be hadd, and the Gaolers beinge ofte changed have nothinge for those yeares certaine. But this I fynd among them, and speciallie in the Marshalsee, that those wreched Priestes which by her Maiesties lenytie live theire as it were in a Colledge of Caitifes, doe commenlie saye masse within the prison, and intise the yowthe of London unto them, to my greate griefe, and as farr as I can learne doe daylie reconcyle them. I have been so boulde [as] to shutte up one Hartley and to laye Irons upon him, tyll I heare from your Lordship what course herin we shall take hereafter. But the Commission beinge renewed, I doubt not but my Lord of Canterburie will look to those dangerouse persons on that syde. And soe I take my leave of y^r^ Good Lordship, prayinge God to defend you with the sheeld of his providence in thies malicious and daungerous dayes.

At Fulham this v^th^ of Decembre 1583.

Your Good Lo. most assuredly in Christo
John. Lond:

Addressed.—To the R. honorable and my singuler good Lord the Lord Treasurer.

Endorsed.—5 Decem. 1583. B. of London to my lord. The daunger of preists and Jesuitts in the Marshallsea.

XVII.

A SEQUEL TO BODEY'S "REASONS."

10 January, 1584

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clxvii, *nn.* 15, i, ii.

We here see that the persecution struck down not only priests, but also gentlemen, and how little avail there was in the sacredness of hospitality and the goodfellowship of the dinner-table. To differ from the local parson (or "preacher of the word," as he would then prefer to call himself), and much more to score a controversial point off him, could hardly be forgiven. Mr. Eustace Moone, a gentleman of Farnham, was enter-

taining some other gentlemen at dinner, when one of them, Mr. Peter Hampden, brought up the subject of Slade and Bodey's disputation with the Dean of Winchester about Eusebius, and Mr. John Hardy said "he thought Body and Slade took the passage right." The parson brought down the book, and they differed over the significance of the word *constitit* (or perhaps *consedit* or *sedit*). No immediate result followed, for the parson "fell lame, and so lay for the space of a whole quarter of the year." But no sooner had he recovered the use of his legs than he made his way to the local Justices, who promptly laid up Hardy in prison, and wrote to the Council to know if they shall send up so dangerous a man to be dealt with at headquarters. What eventually came of their application I have not found.

Sir, with humble remembrans of our dewtyes vnto your honor. Apon informacion geven vnto vs that one Hardie of Farneham, a man yll affected in Religion, had spente certeine speeches in a publicque place of the same towne to the defence of Bodye and Slade latelie executed at Winchester, and of the cawse for which they died, we thought good ymediatelie, accordinge to our duties therein, to call the saide Hardye and his accusers before vs, whose examinacions we have taken, and thinke it fitt herewith to sende the same vnto your Honor, beinge desirous to be advertised from you what order you thinke best to be taken with him. We have comytted him to warde, where he shalbe deteyned, untyll suche tyme as we shall vnderstand your honours pleasuer therein, whether to sende him to the right honorable Lords of her Majesty's Privie Counsell, or to Comytt him to the gaole, or to take some other Course with him. And thus expectinge your aunswere herein, we wishe all honor unto you, with good and happie increase of the same. At Guildford the xth of Januarie 1583.

At your Honors Commandement
Wylliam More
George More
Laurence Stoughton

Addressed.—To the Right Honorable Sir Frauncis Walsingham Knight. Principall Secretarie to Her Majestie and one of her Highnes most honourable Privie Counsell.

Endorsed.—10 Januarie 1583. From Sr Wm Moore & others with the examination of John Hardie.

Enclosure I.

Coram nobis Willm^{o} More milite, Georgio More, et Laurentio Stowghton, arm. nono die Januarii 1583

John Hardie of Farneham in the countye of Surr. gent. examined saithe that he did knowe Bodye and Slade latelie executed but had no famyliare acquaintance with them, and saw them in prison about two years past, and not since, but at the tyme of there Execucion by chaunce beinge then in Hamshire upon occasion of business.

He also saith that betwene Midsomer and Michaelmas, the certeine tyme he remembrethe not, being at Mr. Moones howse at dinner. After dynner ended Peter Hamden gent., and Peter German Preacher being presente, Peter Hamden declared what he hearde at Winchester of a Conference betwene Mr. Deane, Mr. Warden, and Bodie and

Slade conserninge the Counsell holden at Neece, where Constantyne the Emperor was presente, and that there was greate question betwene the parties aforesaide who had the greater preeminence in that counsell of (*sic*) themperour or the Byshopps, where apon Mr. German saide he had Eusebius, and did fetche the booke and laide him before vs. This Examinate took the booke, sayinge: "Mr. Hamden you shall here the verie text plainelie," and did englishe the same worde for worde, as nere as he colde, untill Mr German and he did varye about the english of the worde *Constitit.* And other question or argumente of the Cavse betwene them this examinate dothe not remember.

Examined whether he did saye there Cavse was good whereof they were Convicted, saithe he spake noe suche words nor the like in effecte at the tyme of his beinge in the Companie aforesaide.

John Hardy

William More
George More
Laurence Stoughton

Endorsed.—9° Januarij 1583. The examination of Mr John Hardie.

Enclosure II.

Januarii 9° 1583 Peter German of Farnham in the Counte of Surrey Clerk, examined, sayeth. That about [a] ffourtnyghte before Michelmas last past, John Hardie of the said towne of Farnham in the howse of Mr. Moone gent. spake these words as followeth, viz.

"That the cause of Bodie and Slade, who were at that tyme convicted of Treason, was good and lawfull," the which words the said Examinate with some words of defiaunce renounced as trayterous against her Majestie.

Then the said examinate demanding how he could proove their cause to be good, he answered that he could proove yt by that authoritie which the said Bodie and Slade stood vpon.

The sayd examinate asked hym what authoritie that was. He said, "By Eusebius," who, as he sayd, reporteth in his historie that the Bysshop of Roome had supreme authoritie above Constantine themperor in ecclesiastical causes, & that by their absolute authoritie they called that generall councell of Nice.

The said Examinate asked hym whether he had the booke, and whether he hym self had read the historie, he sayd "Yea."

Then the said Examinate said that he had also read the historie and could fynd no such thing: but that Constantine themperor by his authoritie called the said Councell. At which words the said John Hardie willed the said examinate to shew hym the booke, which he presentlie brought vnto him, & turned to the historie, which he wold not let the said Examinate to English owt of the Latin, for he said he wold help his owne cause by his construction.

Then the said John Hardie hymself in the presence of Peter Hampden Gent. did english the same and by his his own mouth condemned hym self according to the truth of the historie. For he found there all the circumstances of the historie against hym.

How be it he still remayned obstinate in his cause, cavilleng at certaine words in the Historie, viz. where yt ys written, *Constantinus non sedit priusquam ab Episcopis annueretur.* Where by he wold prove Constantine to be inferiour to the Bisshops.

The Cause whie the said Examinate did not revele this in all this tyme, was for that he shortlie fell lame, & so lay for the space of a whole quarter of the year as ys well knowen.

Peter German

Wylliam More
George More
Laurence Stoughton

[*On the same sheet as last.*]

Peter Hampden of Farneham in the county of Surrey gent., saith that about three weks before Michaelmas last, he being at dynner at the house of one Ewstace Mone in Farnham gent., in the company of Robert Ashton gent., Peter German precher, John Hardye gen. & divers others whome he remembreth not, This Examinate did move occasion of spech, & towching a certen conferens hadd att Winchester about a senight before betwene the deane of Winchester the Warden of the Colledg of Winchester aforesaid, of one Slade and Bodye who were condempned for mayntayning the Supremisey of the Bushopp of Rome, att which tyme the saide Deane and Warden did vrge the saide Boddy to shewe what he had collected or could advouche for the mayneten-aunce of his said erronious opynion. Wherevppon the saide Boddye didd pull a paper out of his bozam with notes collected out of the Storye of Ewsebius towchinge a counsell helden att Nece in the tyme of the Emperor Constantine. By which the saide Boddye wold have proved that the Bushopp of Rome was aboue the Emperour, where-vnto the saide Warden didd make answere. All which this examinate harde. And beinge att dynner att the place aforesaide dydd recite the poynts which the saide Boddy and Slade stode vppon, and there Allegacions which they brought out of Ewzebius. Wherevppon the saide Hardye said that as he thought the saide Boddye and Slade tooke it right. To the which the saide Peter German precher replied sayinge, "You saie not well," or some suche lyke speches of reprehension & then they two grewe into further argument vppon the saide Storye. And then after dynner the saide German fetched the Booke of Ewzebius, and there they didd dyffer vppon the construction of diuerse words which this examinate remembreth not. Neyther that the saide German didd att any tyme replye in the heringe of this examinate as chargeing the saide Hardye with Treyterous wordds, & now to that matter he cannot saye.

by me Peter Hampden

Wylliam More
George More
Laurence Stoughton

XVIII.

INDICTMENT OF JOHN MUNDYN, WILLIAM TEDDER, JOHN NUTTER, AND SAMUEL CONYERS, PRIESTS, WITH PROCEEDINGS AND JUDGMENT AGAINST MUNDYN AND NUTTER

5–7 February, 1584

Coram Rege Roll, 26 Eliz., Hilary, Crown side, roll 4.

The following indictments are of special value as showing how impossible it was for Elizabeth's ministers to prove their contention that priests were traitors. They had no doubt evidence, at least of informers (and principally of Sledd), which would have been produced in court, and which may have accounted for some of the statements here alleged to be true. But whatever that evidence may have been it could certainly never have made their case tenable or even plausible. James Fenn, for instance, stated that during the time he was supposed to have been conspiring against the Queen in foreign countries, he was really one of the Queen's prisoners, at home (see below, No. xxii). The truth of his defence is supported by the official lists of Prisoners in the Marshalsea, already printed (*C.R.S.*, ii, 231), which show that he was confined there before June, 1582, and before that he had been in prison in Somerset.

The indictments are precise in alleging dates for the departure of the accused priests from the Seminary at Rheims, and these we can control by the *Douay Diaries*. The results of the comparison are important.

Mundyn, Tedder, Nutter and Conyers are said to have left on the 1st of October; they did in fact depart on the 6th of August, the 13th of November, and the two last together on the 24th of November, 1582.

Fenn, Haydock, Pitts, Warmyngton, Slacke, Hartley, Norris, Deane and Bishop are said to have come to England on the 1st of November, 1581. In reality Fenn came on the 10th of May, 1580; Haydock, 16 January, 1582; Pitts, 22 April, 1581; Warmyngton, 30 January, 1581; Slacke, 21 April, 1581; Hartley, 16 June, 1580; Norrys, 3 August, 1579; Deane, 25 January, 1582; Bishop, 28 December, 1581.

Hemerford is said to have left Rome on June the 30th, 1583, really left in April (Foley *Records*, vi, 145, 146). The probability seems to be that whoever was responsible for the allegations made in this indictment, was speaking as nearly as possible at random, without any real acquaintance with the movements of the accused, much less with their actions or motives.

A verbatim translation of the Latin record will not be necessary, but an abstract, drawn up according to the model of those published by the Deputy Keeper of Public Records for the *Baga de Secretis*, may be useful.

Abstract.

Indictment, found on Wednesday (Feb. 5) next after the eve of the Purification B.V.M., at Queen's Bench, Westminster, viz. that John Mundyn, William Tedder, John Nutter and Samuel Conyers, all late of London, clerics, on the 20th of July, 24 Elizabeth (1582), at Rheims in Champaigne and in other places, and on other days before and after, conspired, &c., to deprive the Queen and to bring her to death, to raise sedition, to cause slaughter and rebellion, to subvert the government of the kingdom, and the sincere religion of God established in the same; (2) And also treated together of ways and means; (3) And afterwards on 1 August, 24 Eliz., they agreed to come to England; (4) And afterwards on the first of October they left Rheims for the aforesaid purposes.

Precept to the Sheriff to bring them up for trial.

Thursday next after the eve of the Purification (Feb. 6) Mundyn appears at Queen's Bench, Westminster, under the custody of Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of the Tower, and Nutter under that of George Carey, Knight Marshal of the Queen's Marshalsea, into whose custody they had been previously committed. They are demanded *statim* and severally how they will be tried, and severally answer that they are *Not guilty*.

The Jury come on Friday after the eve of the Purification (Feb. 7), and the same day is given to John Nutter and John Mundyn aforesaid.

On which day the Jury say upon their oaths that they are *Guilty*, and that they have no goods or chattels.

The Queen's Serjeant prays for sentence.

The Court, having seen and understood all, in the presence of the Queen's Serjeant and Attorney give sentence as usual for high treason. Executed.

ADHUC DE TERMINO SCTI HILLARII. REGINA.

Midd ss. per indict. Westmon. ALIAS scilicet die mercurii proximo post Crastinum purificationis beate Marie isto eodem anno coram domina Regina apud Westmonasterium per sacramentum xij Juratorum, extitit præsentatum quod Johannes Mundyn nuper de london Clericus, Willelmus Tedder nuper de london prædicta Clericus, Johannes Nutter nuper de london predicta Clericus et Samuell Conyers nuper de london predicta Clericus, ut falsi proditores contra illustrissimam et Christianissimam principem dominam nostram Elizabeth dei gratia Anglie ffrancie et Hibernie reginam fidei defensorem, etc., supremam dñam suam, timorem dei in Cordibus suis non habentes nec debitas legiancias suas ponderantes, Sed instigacione diabolica seducti, Cordialem dilectionem et veram et debitam obedienciam, quam veri et fideles subditi dicte domine Regine erga ipsam dominam Reginam gererent, et de iure gerere tenentur, penitus subtrahere delere et extinguere intendentes, vicesimo die Julij Anno regni dicte domine Regine nunc vicesimo quarto, apud Rehems in Champania in partibus transmarinis, et diversis alijs diebus et vicibus postea et antea tam apud Rehems predictam quam in diversis aliis locis in partibus transmarinis, falso maliciose et proditorie conspiraverunt imaginati fuere, circumiverunt et compassaverunt dictam dominam Reginam supremam dominam suam non solum de regali statu titulo potestate et Regimine regni sui Anglie penitus deprivare, deijcere et exheredare, verum etiam eandem dominam Reginam ad mortem et finalem destruccionem adducere et ponere: Ac Sedicionem in dicto regno Anglie suscitare levare et facere; Ac etiam stragem miserabilem inter Subditos dicte domine Regine per totum Regnum Anglie generare et causare; Ac insurreccionem et rebellionem versus dictam dominam Reginam Supremam et naturalem dominam suam procurare et suscitare; ac gubernationem eiusdem Regni Anglie et sinceram dei religionem in eodem regno Anglie recte et pie stabilitam pro voluntate et libitu suis mutare et alterare; Necnon statum tocius reipublice huius regni Anglie per universas eius partes bene institutum et ordinatum totaliter subvertere et destruere. ET QUOD superinde ijdem Johannes Mundyn, Willelmus, Johannes Nutter, et Samuell eodem vicesimo die Julij Anno regni domine Elizabeth nunc regine Anglie vicesimo quarto supradicto apud Rehems predictam ac diversis alijs diebus et vicibus postea tam apud Rehems predictam quam

in diversis alijs locis in partibus transmarinis inter seipsos falso et proditorie communicaverunt tractaverunt et ad invicem colloquium habuerunt, quibus vijs et modis mortem et finalem destruccionem dicte domine Regine nunc supreme et naturalis domine sue adducere potuerunt; Ac sedicionem in dicto regno Anglie suscitare levare et facere potuissent. QUODQUE ad illa nequissima et nefandissima perdite et proditorie Imaginaciones compassiones intenciones et proposita sua predicta perimplenda et perficienda predicti Johannes Mundyn, Willelmus, Johannes Nutter et Samuell postea, scilicet primo die Augusti Anno Regni dicte domine Elizabeth nunc Regine Anglie vicesimo quarto supradicto, Apud Rehems predictam Ac diversis alijs diebus et vicibus postea et antea tam apud Rehems predictam quam in diversis alijs locis in partibus transmarinis proditorie concordauere ut ijdem Johannes Mundyn, Willelmus, Johannes Nutter et Samuell proditorie et festinanter ad hoc Regnum Anglie Irent ad movendum et persuadendum tales subditos dicte domine Regine huius regni Anglie quales ipsi obtinere potuerunt in proditorijs et nequissimis propositis suis predictis eis adhærere ad guerram et rebellionem in eodem regno Anglie erga ipsam dominam Reginam supremam dominam suam faciendam movendam et levandam; Ac sinseram dei religionem in eodem Regno Anglie recte et pie stabilitam ad libitum suum proditorie mutare et alterare. AC QUOD predicti Johannes Mundyn, Willelmus, Johannes Nutter et Samuell postea scilicet primo die Octobris Anno regni dicte domine Regine nunc vicesimo quarto supradicto apud Rehems predictam iter eorum nequiter falso et proditorie susceperunt a Rehems predicta versus hoc regnum Anglie: Ad proditoria proposita eorum supradicta perimplenda et perficienda Contra legiancias suas debitas et Contra pacem dicte domine Regine nunc Coronam et dignitates suas et in legum huius regni Anglie Contemptum manifestum, Ac contra formam diversorum Statutorum in huiusmodi casu editorum et provisorum, etc. ◇——w̃.

PROPTER quod preceptum fuit vicecomiti quod non omitteret, etc., quin caperet eos, etc. Ad respondendum, etc. ◇——w̃. ET MODO, scilicet die Jovis proximo post crastinum purificationis beate marie virginis isto eodem termino coram domina Regina apud Westmonasterium, venerunt predicti Johannes Mundyn et Johannes Nutter, videlicet predictus Johannes Mundyn sub custodia Owini Hopton militis, locumtenentis Turris domine Regine london, et predictus Johannes Nutter sub custodia Georgij Carey militis, marrescalli Marescaltie hospicij domine Regine, in quorum custodiam preantea ex causis predictis et alijs etiam de causis commissi fuere virtute separalium litterarum domine Regine de habeas corpora ad subijciendum, etc., eis separatim inde directarum, ad barram hic ducti in propriis personis suis. Qui commituntur prefato locumtenenti, etc., et statim de altis prodicionibus predictis eis superius importatis separatim alloquuntur, qualiter se velint inde Acquietari, separatim dicunt quod ipsi in nullo sunt inde culpabiles. Et inde de bono et malo ponunt se separatim super patriam. Ideo ven*iant* inde Jurati coram domina Regina apud Westmonasterium, die veneris proximo post crastinum Purificacionis beate Marie virginis. Et qui, etc.: Ad recogn., etc.: Quia, etc.; Idem dies datus est prefato

Johanni Mundyn et Johanni Nutter in Custodia prefati locumtenentis *virtute* commissionis salvo custodiendi, etc.

Ad quem diem coram domina Regina apud Westmonasterium venerunt prefati Johannes Mundyn et Johannes Nutter sub custodia prefati Owini Hopton locumtenentis Turris london predicte, virtute literarum dicte domine Regine de habeas corpora, etc., ei inde directarum, in proprijs personis suis. Et Juratia Juratorum predicta per vicecomitem Middlesex predictum impanellata exacta, scilicet venerunt qui ad veritatem de et super premissis dicendam electi triati et iurati, dicunt super sacramentum suum quod predicti Johannes Mundyn et Johannes Nutter sunt culpabiles et eorum alter est culpabilis de altis prodicionibus predictis eis superius in forma predicta separatim importatis, modo et forma prout per indictamentum predictum superius versus eos supponitur. Et quod ipsi seu eorum alter nulla habent bona seu catalla terras aut tenamenta. Et super hoc Serviens dicte domine Regine ad legem ac ipsius Regine Attornatus iuxta debitam legis formam pecierunt iudicium et execucionem versus dictos Johannem Mundyn et Johannem Nutter super veredictum predictum pro domina Regina habendam, etc.

Super quo, vi*sis* et per curiam hic intellectis omnibus et singulis premissis, Serviente dicte domine Regine ad legem, ac ipsius Regine Attornato ad hoc convocatis et presentibus, cons*ideratio* est quod predicti Johannes Mundyn et Johannes Nutter ducantur et eorum uterque ducatur per prefatum locumtenentem usque Turrim london et deinde per medium Civitatis illius directe usque ad furcas de Tyborne trahantur et uterque eorum trahatur, et super furcas illic ibidem suspendantur et vterque eorum suspendatur et viventes ad terram prosternantur et vterque eorum vivens ad terram prosternatur, et interiora sua extra ventres suos et eorum vtriusque capiantur, ipsisque viventibus comburantur, quodque corpora sua et corpus utriusque eorum in quatuor partes dividantur et quod capita et quartata illic ponantur vbi domina Regina ea assignare voluerit, etc.

In margin.—T[rahatur] & S[uspendatur], T. & S., Ex.

XIX.

INDICTMENT OF JAMES FENN, GEORGE HAYDOCK, ARTHUR PITTS, WILLIAM WARMYNGTON, RICHARD SLACKE, WILLIAM HARTLEY, RICHARD NORRIS, WILLIAM DEANE, WILLIAM BISHOP, with proceedings and sentence against FENN AND HAYDOCK

5–7 February, 1584

Coram Rege, as before, rot. 6. The record is identical with the last, except for the following particulars:—

Indictment found Wednesday, February 5, recites that the conspiracy was laid at Rheims in Champagne on the 20th day of September of the 23rd of Elizabeth (1581), and for the same objects as above, and on the 1st of October they agreed to come to England, and they came on the 1st of November.

On Thursday, Fenn, under the custody of George Carey, knight Marshal, and Haydock, under custody of Owen Hopton, knight, Lieutenant of the Tower, appear and plead *Not guilty*.

On Friday, verdict *Guilty*. Sentence as usual for high treason.

Middlesex. per ind. West. ALIAS scilicet die Mercurii proximo post crastinum Purificacionis [*exactly as before*]... presentatum quod Jacobus Fenn, nuper de london Clericus, Georgius Haydock, Arthurus Pyttes, Willelmus Warmyngton, Ricardus Slacke, Willelmus Harteley, Ricardus Norrys, Willelmus Deane, et Willelmus Bysshop [*each described* nuper de london Clericus, *as before*] ut falsi proditores &c.... conspiraverunt... vicesimo die Septembris, anno regni domine Regine nunc vicesimo tercio apud Rhemes in Champania... dominam Reginam deprivare &c.... ad mortem adducere &c.... sedicionem levare &c.... stragem generare &c.... insurrectionem procurare &c.... gubernationem et sinceram dei religionem mutare &c.... statum reipublicae subvertere &c.... ET quod... eodem vicesimo die Septembris apud Rhemes predictam... proditorie communicaverunt &c.... QUODQUE... postea scilicet primo die Octobris anno regni vicesimo tercio, apud Rhemes... concordavere ut ijdem... proditorie et festinanter ad hoc regnum Angliae irent... Ac quod postea scilicet primo die Novembris anno regni... vicesimo tercio iter susceperunt versus hoc regnum Anglie...

PROPTER quod &c....

ET MODO scilicet die Jovis... venerunt... Jacobus Fenn sub custodia Georgij Carey, militis, marescalli marescaltie hospicij domine Regine, et Georgius Haydock sub custodia Owini Hopton... Et inde ponunt se separatim super patriam... Ideo ven*iant* inde Jurati die veneris proximo post crastinum Purificationis b.M.v. &c....

AD quem diem... venerunt prefati Jacobus Fenn et Georgius Haydock... et Jurati dicunt... quod sunt culpabiles &c. &c.... T. & S., T. & S., Ex.

XX.

INDICTMENT AND JUDGMENT OF THOMAS HEMERFORD

5–7 February, 1584

Coram Rege, as before, roll 5.

This indictment is verbatim the same as the last, except that the singular number is, of course, used instead of the plural, whenever necessary, and with the following variants. (1) The conspiracy is stated to have been commenced "ultimo die Aprilis anno regni domine regine nunc vicesimo quarto apud Romam in Italia in partibus transmarinis." (2) Hemerford is said to have conspired on the same last of April "cum quodam Johanne Mundijn existente inimico publico dicte domine regine" as to ways and means. (3) He agreed to come to England on the last day of May "anno 25°" [1583]; (4) and left Rome "ultimo die Junij" for the same purpose.

He was brought to the bar by Sir George Carey on Thursday after the morrow of the Purification, and committed to Sir Owen Hopton, as the rest, and pleads *Not guilty*. Friday he is found *Guilty*, and sentenced. "Executed."

XXI.

OTHER WRITS CONCERNING THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF GEORGE HAYDOCK AND HIS COMPANIONS

5–12 February, 1584

The following writs and records are found together on the Controlment Roll, 26 Elizabeth Hilary, rot. lxxx.

The first, regarding the Marshalsea, records that Fenn, Nutter and Hemerford were brought up for indictment by the Knight Marshal, and afterwards handed over to the Lieutenant of the Tower, &c.

The second, for the Tower of London, records that the Lieutenant brought up Haydock and Mundyn for the same purpose.

The third records that all five were brought to Queen's Bench for trial and condemned.

The fourth is the precept, dated February 10, to the Lieutenant to hand over their bodies to the Sheriffs for execution on the 12th.

The fifth (here omitted, as almost identical with the last) is the precept to the Sheriffs to receive them and to execute the sentence.

Marrescaltia. Jacobus ffen nuper de london Clericus Johannes Nutter nuper de london Clericus & Thomas Hemerforde nuper de London Clericus per Georgium Carey militem marrescallum marescaltie hospicii domine Regine virtute literarum domine Regine de habeas corpus ad subijciendum &c. ei inde directarum. Et coram domina Regina ducti cum causa videlicet quod predicti Jacobus ffen Johannes Nutter & Thomas Hemerforde sibi commissi fuerunt per mandatum privati concilij dicte domine Regine pro quibusdam altis prodicionibus per ipsos fieri suppositis. Qui quidem Jacobus, Johannes & Thomas arraniati super Indictamentum isto termino placitaverunt & comittuntur Owino Hopton militi locumtenenti Turris domine Regine london & postea isto termino inveniuntur culpabiles per patriam. Et iudicium redditur quod trahantur et suspendantur. [*In the margin*, T. & S., *repeated thrice.*]

Turris london. Georgius Haydocke nuper de london Clericus & Johannes Mundyn nuper de london Clericus per Owinum Hopton militem locumtenentem Turris domine Regine london virtute literarum domine Regine de habeas corpus ad subijciendum &c. ei inde directarum. Et coram domina Regina ducti cum causa videlicet quod predicti Georgius Haydocke & Johannes Mundyn sibi comissi fuerunt per mandatum privati consilij domine Regine pro quibusdam altis prodicionibus per ipsos fieri suppositis. Qui comittuntur prefato locumtenenti. Et statim arraniati super Indictamentum & placitaverunt non culpabiles et inveniuntur culpabiles per patriam. Et iudicium redditur quod trahantur et suspendantur. [*In margin, repeated thrice*, T & S.]

Turris london. Georgius Haydocke nuper de london Clericus, Johannes Mundyn nuper de london Clericus, Jacobus ffenn nuper de london Clericus, Johannes Nutter nuper de london Clericus, & Thomas Hemerforde nuper de london Clericus per Owinum Hopton militem locumtenentem Turris domine Regine london virtute literarum

domine Regine de habeas corpus ad subijciendum &c. ei inde directarum. Et coram domina Regina ducti cum causa videlicet quod predicti Georgius, Johannes, Jacobus, Johannes, & Thomas sibi cõmissi fuerunt per mandatum Justiciariorum domine Regine ad placita coram ipsa Regina tenenda assignatorum pro quibusdam altis prodicionibus, unde Judicati fuerunt. Et postea isto Termino inventi fuere culpabiles, & quilibet eorum inventus est culpabilis per patriam. Et iudicium redditur quod trahantur et suspendantur. [*In margin, five times repeated*, T & S.]

Turris london. Regina etc. Owino Hoptono militi locumtenenti Turris nostre london Salutem. Cum nos nuper in Curia nostra coram nobis consideravimus quod Jacobus ffen nuper de london Clericus, Georgius Haydocke nuper de london predicta Clericus, Johannes Mundyn nuper de london predicta Clericus, Johannes Nutter nuper de london predicta Clericus & Thomas Hemerforde nuper de london predicta Clericus de diversis altis prodicionibus, Unde ipsi convicti sunt & attincti, de turre nostra london & deinde per medium Civitatis illius directe usque ad furcas de Tyborne trahantur, & super furcas illic ibidem suspendantur, & quilibet eorum suspendatur, & viventes ad terram prosternantur & quilibet eorum prosternatur, & interiora sua extra ventres suos capiantur & cuiuslibet eorum capiatur, ipsisque viventibus comburantur & capita eorum amputentur & cuiuslibet eorum amputetur, quodque corpora eorum in quatuor partes dividantur & cuiuslibet eorum dividatur & quod capita & quarteria illa ponantur ubi ea assignare voluerimus. Et ideo Tibi precipimus firmiter iniungentes quod die mercurij proximo futuro videlicet duodecimo die instantis mensis ffebruarij apud Tower hill cum vicecomitibus Civitatis nostre london convenias & dictos Jacobum ffen, Georgium Haydocke, Johannem Mundyn, Johannem Nutter, & Thomam Hemerforde eisdem vicecomitibus ibidem deliverari facias, ut ijdem vicecomites execucionem de eis in forma predicta fieri faciant, prout nobis inde respondere voluerint. T[este] C. Wray apud Westmonasterium, x° die ffebruarij Anno regni nostri vicesimo sexto.

XXII.

ABOUT GEORGE HAYDOCK AND HIS COMPANIONS

This account of the martyrdom is preserved in Father Grene's *Collectanea M.*, part ii, (ff. 206–209), now in a Jesuit archive abroad, and I am indebted to the Rev. Father Van Meurs for the transcript. The writer of the *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* (ff. 134–139) drew freely from the original, and from his Latin I have supplied in square brackets some of the passages which Father Grene has omitted, and some variant readings.

The following relation is copyed verbatim out of that wch was sent to F. Southwel in the English Coll: at Rome by a friend, who was present at his martyrdome, but he is not named.

The examination of Mr G. Haddock at his first apprehension, copyed out of a letter of his own handwryting [to a fellow prisoner. Pax tecum. In brief—for what touches my examination—they asked me,]

Commissioners: What are you? *Haddocke:* A Priest.
Com: Where is your father? *Ans:* He is dead.
Com: Where did he die? *Ans:* I do not know.
Com: You lie. *Ans:* I do not lie.
Com.: How long have you bin beyond the seas? *Ans:* Eight yeares.
Question: Where studyed you? *Ans:* At Doway 4 yeares; at Rhemes a quarter; at Rome three yeares and more.
Q: What did you study at Douay? *A:* My grammer.
Q: At Rome? *A:* Logick and philosophy, & half a yeare Divinity.
Q: Where were you made Priest? *A:* At Rhemes.
Q: Why not at Rome? *A:* Because I was forced for my health sake to come downe.
Q: What was the oath of the colleg at Rome? *A:* To be obedient to the Pope, to be priests, and to come into England at our superiour's commandment.
Q: Have you made that oath? *A:* Yes.
Q: Came you hither to performe the othe now? *A:* No, not immediatly; but I came for my health.
Q: Can you absolve us being penitent? *A:* By my authority I may; but as yet I have not learned without book the words of absolution.
Q: Why have you not learned them? *A:* Because I cannot study, being sick.
Q: Can you say masse? *A:* Not without one to help me.
Q: Have you said Masse since you came over? *A:* Noe.
Q: Where is Pitts' chamber? *A:* I know not. They replyed that I did lye.
Q: Will you sweare that you know not where it is? *A:* Noe. They replyed: that then I knew where it was. I sayd Noe. We wil make thee, quoth they, tell.
Q: Is not your father gatherer for the Seminary of Rhemes? *A:* Yes. We know it well enough quoth they, and if we might catch him this double traytor, he shal smart for it.
Q: Where is your brother? *A:* I know not.
Q: Hath he taken your fathers office in hand? *A:* I think not.
Q: Where is he? *A:* I know not.
Q: Where lodged you in London? *A:* Norrise the pursuivant knoweth the house and the name.
Q: Who brought you thither? *A:* I came late in the night thither, after I could finde no lodging in Holborne.
Q: How mett you with Pitts there? *A:* By chance; for when Norrice and Sledd came thither, he was at dinner there and then I saw him. You lye, quoth they.
Q: What priest have you mett withall in London? *A:* None. They said I did lye. I replied that I did not lye, for I had no time to seek them, by reason of my late coming.
Q: What did you with Mr Townly att the Gatehouse and with Mr Hesket att the Fleete? *A:* I went to see how they fared.
Q: What did they tell you? *A:* Nothing, but that my father was dead.
Q: What tokens did Dr Allen [send to them? *A:* None.

Q: To what place did Dr. Allen] appoint you to goe in England? *A:* To none for I tould him that I would goe to my father's. They sayd I did lye.

Q: What was sayd of F. Campian's death, [and his fellowes? *A:* It was generally said that he was wrongfully put to death] and all men did crye out of the Queen's tyranny all France over, and the K. of France did make his martyrdome to be printed at Paris and to be cryed about the streets.

Q: What books are in printing in Rhemes or in other places? *A:* I can not tell. You lye, quoth they.

Q: What treason was in working against the Queen and the realme? *A:* I can not tell.

Q: When wil the Earl of Westmorland come into England with his army and the Pope bull to take the Queen and burne her. *A:* I do not know.

Q: Will the Pope send now more men into Ireland? *A:* I do not know.

Q: What Jesuits are come from Rome into England? *A:* I know none but F. Persons. Then they shewed me the names of five which be now in England—F. Holt, Perkinson, [Faunt], Heywood, and a Spaniard.*

Q: How many students are at Rome? *A:* 60.

Q: What be their names? *A:* I gave some, and then they shewed me a paper which contained them all.

Q: Where Persons was? *A:* I know not.

Q: Saw you him and Campian at Rome? *A:* Yes.

Q: What did they consult there of? *A:* None of the inferiours such as I was did know.

[*Q:* What do you think they consulted? *A:* I suppose about their journey to England.

Q: Will you swear to that? *A:* I will.]

Q: How long was Campian in the College? *A:* A day or two.

Q: How many sermons did he make, and how many did you heare? *A:* I heard none, because I was sick; but it was said he made one.

Q: Write the names of all the priests you know in England? *A:* I know none at Rhemes, because I was there but a little while, and was at commons in the towne: but yet I gave them a few names, and I gave them some 20 names of the priests that be in England, but they were such as were in hold and prison, two or 3 excepted.†

Q: What newes can you tell us? *A:* From beyond the seas I can tell little, but that the New Testament is printed and shal be sent after Easter into England: there was also a great talk of the marriage of the Queen and Monsieur, where of some think there wil come good and some other think the contrary: they be all in health in both the

* There was strictly speaking only one Jesuit then in England, Father Holt being in Scotland. Christopher Perkins was indeed in England, but he had apostatised. The form of the next name is uncertain. Perhaps it is some *alias* of Father Langdale, another apostate. There was no Spanish Jesuit in England.

† The Latin translation in the *Concertatio* stops here (f. 135*b*).

seminaries, and hope the best of our country. The Pope is liberall to them both: he hopeth to heare of the conversion of England before he dye. There be many knaves and spyes at Rome, but God be thanked they have mett with . . . some of them; for one which called himself Hierome Vaine is dead there in prison suddainly, noe man knoweth how, etc.

In the letter this was added as followeth.

At my apprehension I had 7^{li} in gold of the which I gave Norris two Angels to lett me goe, wch was agreed upon: but he deceaved me, and when I was sent to the Gatehouse he sayd his fee was a noble, I gave it him. The next day . . . I was sent to the Tower, and the knave watched . . . that have . . . and came & tould the Lieutenant of my money, who took it from me, saying that Norris should have it, as he thought, and if he had it not, he would restore it: he never gave me but 20^{sh} of it againe.

The Martyrdome of Mr Haddock, Emerford, Fenn, Nutter, priests.

The 6 day of February Mr Heywood and five other priests were brought to the Kings-bench barre, indited of high treason for conspiring at Rhemes and Rome, as it was surmised against F. Campian. They all pleaded not guilty and so were conveyed to the Tower. F. Haywood was in Jesuit's weed, so grave a man as ever I sett my eyes upon, he wore a coate of black very low and upon the same a cloke of black, downe almost to the grownde. He had in his hand a black staff and upon his head a velvet coyfe and there upon a broade seemly black felt.

The 9 [*sic*] of February the five priests were brought againe to the barre, and arrained upon the former endightment: they pleaded and protested innocency. Their old friend Sledd gave in evidence against them: The Jury found them out of hand Guilty, and the Judge gave sentence of death. Whereupon the priests soung *Te Deum* and such like godly verses.

Upon Wednesday being the last day of the Terme, these five priests were drawen from the Tower to Tyborne upon hurdles; the first that was brought into the cart under the gibbet was Mr Haddock, a man in complexion fayre, of countenance milde, and in professing of his faith passing stoute. One of the Sherifs called Spencer* much incensed against them, together with certaine ministers bad Mr Haddock confesse the fact and ask the Queen forgivenesse. Whereupon Mr Haddock calling God to witnesse, protested upon his soule that he was not guilty of the treason, and therfore would not aske the Queen forgivenesse: and further sayd, 'I take her for my lawfull Queen, I have seyd this morning these many paternosters for her, and I pray God she may raigne long Queene. If I had her in the wildernesse I would not for all the world putt a pinn towards her with intent to hurt her.'

Then seyd the Sherif Spenser, 'There is since thy arrainment worse matter found against thee [by Munday the spye]': Whereunto answered Mr Haddock, 'You have found nothing since; and soe belyke I was wrongfully arrained.'

* The writer of the *Concertatio* (f. 138*b*) follows the story of Haddock from here onwards, but does not seem to have known the account of the other martyrs.

Then Antony Munday was brought in, who uttered these speeches, 'Upon a time you and I, with another whose name I have forgotten, walking together at Rome, the other wished the harts* of 3 of the nobility being of her counsell. Whereupon you sayd, Mr Haddock, To make up a masse, I would we had the hart of the Queen.'

Then sayd Spenser and other of his officers, 'Away with the villaine traytor.'

But Mr Haddock, moved† with these foresaid talke and speeches sayd as followeth. 'I am presently to give an account [of all that I have done during life before the tribunal of God]; and as before God I shal answer, I never spake nor intended any such thing. And Munday, if thou didst heare me speak any such thing, how chanced it thou camest not to the barre to give this in against me upon thy othe.' 'Why,' sayd Munday, 'I never heard of your arraingement.'

Then said Spencer, 'Didst not thou call the Queen heretick?' 'I confesse,' sayd Haddock, 'I did.' Whereupon Spencer together with the ministers and other of his officers used the aforesaid speeches of treason, traytor, and villaine.

Mr Haddock sayd secretly a hymne in latin and that within my hearing, for I stood under the gibbet. A minister being on the cart with him, requested him to pray in English that the people might pray with him. Where upon Mr Haddock put the minister away with his hand, saying, 'Away, away, I wil have nothing to doe with thee.' But he requested all Catholics to pray with him and for his country. Where upon sayd one of the standers-by, 'Here be noe Catholicks': 'Yes,' sayd another, 'we be all Catholics.' Then sayd Mr Haddock, 'I meane Catholicks of the Catholick Roman Church, and I pray God that my bloud may encrease the Catholick faith in England': whereunto sayd Spenser: 'The Catholic faith, the devel's faith. Away with the traytor! Drive away the carte!' And so Mr Haddock ended his life, as constantly as could be required.

When the cart was dryven away, this Spenser presently commanded the rope to be cut, but notwithstanding the officer strock at the rope sundry times before he fell downe; and the reporte of them that stood by the block was that at what time the tormenter was in pulling out of his bowells, Mr Haddock was in life. By his own confession he was 28 yeares of age.

After Mr Haddock was taken to the block Mr Hemerford was brought unto the cart; he was very milde, and sometime a scholler of St John's College in Oxford. Spenser bad him confesse and aske forgivenesse as before: but he protested innocency as Mr Haddock had done; yet sayd, 'Where in I have offended her, I ask her forgivenesse, but in this fact of treason alleaged against me, I never offended.'

Then sayd a minister, master of art of St John's College of Oxford, 'You and I ware of old acquaintance in Oxford, by which I request you to pray openly and in English, that the people may pray with you.' Then said Mr Hemerford, 'I understand latin well enough, and am not

* *Concertatio* reads *capita* for *harts*, both here and in the next line.
† *Ibid.* adds *nihil.*

to be taught of you. I request only Catholicks to pray with me.' Where upon answered the minister, 'I acknowledge that in Oxford you were alwaies by farre my better. Yet many times it pleaseth God, that the learned should be taught by the simple.'

One Risse termed a Doctor of Divinity, asked Mr Hemerford whither he would hold with the Pope or the Queen, in case the Pope should send an army into England. Whereunto Mr Hemerford answered, That in case they were sent in respect of the Pope's own person, then he would holde with the Queen; but if it were sent to suppresse heresy or to restore the land to the catholick faith, then he would holde with the Pope. His speech was short being not permitted to speak much, and in substance the rest of his speech, not here sett down verbatim, was to the same effect that Mr [Haddock's] was. He was cutt downe half dead: when the tormentor did cutt off his membres, he did cry 'Oh! A!' I heard my self standing under the gibbet.

Mr Fenn was the third that suffred, being bidd to doe as before, answered as his fellows did & sayd. 'I am condemned for that I with Mr Haddock at Rome did conspire, & at which time Mr Haddock was a student at Rome and I a prisoner in the Marshalsea, or at the lest I am sure that I was in England, but to my remembrance, I was a prisoner in the Marshalsea. Therefore good people judge you whether I am guilty of this fact or noe.'

A minister called Hene avouched a place of St Paul whereunto Mr Fenn said: 'I am not to be taught my duty by you.'

The rest of his speeches were to the same effect his fellows were. Before the cart was driven away, he was stripped of all his apparell saving his shirt only and presently after the cart was driven away his shirt was pulled of his back, so that he hung stark naked, where at the people muttered greatly, and the other sherif, called Massam, sayd to the officers, 'You play the knaves. They be men. Let them be used like men,' and alwaies commanded that they should hang until they were dead. Notwithstanding the other sherif commanded that they should be cut downe presently, and soe was Mr Fenn, but his companions following him were permitted to hang longer.

Mr Nutter was the 4th man, sometime schollar of St John's College in Cambridge, and Mr Munden was the fifth & last: they denyed the fact, acknowledged the Queen Majesty to be their Queene and prayed for her, as the former had done, and soe in most milde and constant manner ended their life. Many a one in my hearing sayd, 'God be with their sweet soules.'

What I have putt downe I hard myself, and therefore I may boldly speake it. If you please, you may shew it to your friends, provyded alwaies you tell not my name.

Ende of this relation sent to F. Robert Southwell afterwards martyr as above noted fol. 206*a*.

XXIII.

THE PURSUIT OF JOHN BOSTE

February, 1584.

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz. Addenda*, xxviii, *n.* 58, i.

In No. xi above we have seen evidence of Boste's endeavours to do good in his native county by letters, books, and by sending other priests, though not yet able to go there himself. In the summer of 1583, however, he seems to have gone north,* and in January the Privy Council ordered Lord Scrope, Warden of the Western Marches, to take energetic measures for his arrest, and that of another future martyr, Monford Scott. The house of his brother, Laurence Boste, of Dufton, was therefore raided, and so was that of Andrew Hilton (of Burton), who was still in the ward of the Sheriff of Carlisle. Their papers were seized, as we have heard, and they were examined upon their knowledge of the martyr, and their answers are printed below.

Lord Scrope's letter enclosing these examinations, and the other papers forwarded to London, are reported at some length in the *Calendar*, and with it should be read Scrope's undated letter in the *Border Calendar*, 1560–1594, p. 91, which belongs to this period, though there conjecturally assigned to 1582. In it Scrope says that Lancelot Boste's wife had asked whether Francis Dacre's house at Crogelyinge was to be searched, a question which he interprets as meaning that John Boste might be there. Boste had certainly been about Carlisle in December and January, but his whereabouts was not betrayed at this time, and our next news of him seems to show that he next worked in Northumberland. "Mr. Mr. (*sic*) Boste and Hawette, ii Seminarie priestes, use these parts," says the P.H.W. about Northumberland. This is the spy of whose sources of information we have already heard something. His information (*Dom. Eliz.*, clxxv, *n.* 110) is conjecturally ascribed to the end of 1584.

> Thexaminacion of Lancelot Boast gent., taken the sixt daie of februare 1583 before the right honorable the lord Scrope lord warden of the west marches, and the right Reverend father the lord Bisshop of Carlile, by vertue of lettres from the lords of her maiesties most honorable privie counsaile.

There beinge fownde with this examinate an exhortacion to papistrie written by William Hart,† and beinge asked howe he came vnto yt, he answereth that he can not well tell, but he supposeth that yt was left him by John Boast his brother, together with a booke called The Discoverie of the Translation,§ and saithe that his saide brother was at his howse abowt three weeks before this examinacion, but knoweth not where he is at this present.

The saide Hart was executed latelie at Yorke for highe treason and so this examinate supposeth.

* A spy reported that Boste and Gyrbryte (Kirkbride), both erroneously called Jesuits, "haunt Cumberland and Westmorland," and "do much hurte there." The spy's letter is not signed, and the date, July 1583, is only conjectural (*Border Calendar*, 1560–1594, *n.* 168.)

† This paper, now same volume, *n.* 58, iv, is known from the Latin translation printed in the life of Bd. William Hart (*Concertatio*, fol. 112*b*), where it is headed "ad afflictos Catholicos," and there is another Latin version in the Westminster Archives, iii, 229. The English begins:—"As good fathers are wont before their departures," &c.

§ For this book see above, No. xi.

And for an other exhortacion movinge likewise to papistrie fownd allso with him, he taketh yt to be written with the hand of his saide brother, and thinketh that yt was left by him with the other exhortacion and saide booke.*

Beinge examined of the lettre from Richard Hutton [of the xvijth of, *cancelled*] written in September withowt yere, he saithe that yt was written in September 1582, and for the man which is returned in the same lettre *Non est inventus*, he saithe yt was his saide brother John Boast; but his companion mencioned in the saide lettre to be hanged at Tiburne he knowethe not who yt was.†

Towchinge an other lettre from the saide Richard Hutton written allso to this examinate of the date of xxvijth of October withowt yere, wherin credit is referred to the bearer;§ beinge asked who that bearer was, he saith he knoweth not.

An other lettre beinge fownde with him from Andrewe Hilton to him of the date of the first of November 1582, wherin the saide Hillton writethe that yt was towld him by his cosine George Rumney that a Reames testament was left with this examinate for him,¶ beinge asked yf he sent the said Hillton the saide testament, he saithe he did send yt, but by whom he knoweth not.

[*Examination of Andrew Hilton.*] *On same paper as last.*

Andrewe Hilton gent. at the same time examined first towchinge the pointe of the counselles lettres concerninge him, viz. whither he did not write in June and Julie was twelvemoneth two lettres to one William Robinson his cosine. Saithe that he hathe noe cosine called by that name, neither that he hath written anie lettres to anie suche effect as is conteined in the saide counselles lettres to anie called Robinson or anie other.

Towchinge the lettre fownde with him of the xviijth of June withowt yere,‖ he saithe that yt was written unto him from one hopton beinge then at Buckland in Barksheire with one Mr Nicholas Pulleine vicare there and vncle to this examinate, who as this examinate saithe is well acquainted with the saide Hopton, who is a preist as he supposethe.

And beinge demaunded what the good newes were which the saide Hopton mencioneth in the saide lettre to have received from this examinate, he saithe they were of the good agreement betweene this examinate and his saide vncle Mr Nicholas Pulleine and none other.

* See the next number.

† This letter is now, same volume, *n.* 58, viii. It is curious that both the examiner and the calendarer have misunderstood the passage, and represented Boste as having been accompanied by one of the martyrs. The passage in the original runs, "for the man, I returne a *non inventus*. [This we now know to have been John Boste.] I se hym not synce the last terme. [Trinity term 1582, ended July 4.] He, which came in company with him I se at Tyburne hanged, &c., there is talke that this terme [he] is returned, as yet it is not certen."

§ This letter is now *Ibid.*, *n.* 58, ii.

¶ This letter is now *Ibid.*, *n.* 58, iii.

‖ This letter is now *Ibid.*, No. 59, iii, erroneously dated 1584, instead of 1582. In this letter Hopton sends him news of the martyrdom of "your old friend Mr. Fourd of Lye"—*i.e.* Blessed Thomas Ford. As Ford was Hilton's friend, he may also be the martyr alluded to by Hilton, see note † *ante*. And if so, the companion may have been Hopton.

To the lettre of noe date signed with J. H. he saithe that he received the same from the above named John Boast abowt a yere and more sence,* abowt which time he received the Rheames testament from Bost's mother. Beinge asked who was the messenger mencioned in the saide lettre, he saithe he knoweth not nor from whence yt was written.

Beinge demaunde whether he wrote the lettre of the xvijth of September withowt yere, directed to Tho. Hilton his cosine,† he acknowledgeth the lettre to be his and yet written and signed with his name by one Thomas Sewell then his servant. And saithe that the saide lettre was written in September was was two yeres, this examinate beinge then in Norfolk upon his bonde with suerties to returne againe to his warde at Carlile before Martinmas§ then next followinge. And saith that the saide Tho: Sewell nowe dwelleth in Norfolke, and latelie served one Mr Yaxlie of Yaxlie Hall in Suffolke.

Beinge demaunded when he sawe or was in companie with the aforesaide John Boast, he saithe that in the saide time that he was abroade upon bonde he met with the saide Boast betweene Mayden heade and Collbrooke, James Warcop clarke and one beneficed within a mile and halfe of Norwidge in Norfolke beinge in his companie, whiche bothe returned backe againe with this examinate to Collbrooke, where they lodged all night at the signe of the Cocke. And saithe that the saide Boast at this time rode with a clokbag behinde him, apparelled in a cloake of ratts color, a white frise Jerkin laide with blewe lace and in a paire of buffe lether hose. The morrowe after this examinate rode to London and the saide Boast into Glocestersheire. And that within six daies next after this examinate retorninge from London went from his owne howse beinge the parsonage of Busket in Barksheire on foote to Leachelaide in Glocestersheire, where he met with the saide Boast againe beinge in the companie of one Mr Arthur Cappes at the howse of one John Lee, where they continued together not above two howers and then the saide Boast went with this examinate to his saide howse in Busket, where they remained together three daies. In which time the saide Boast towld this examinate in the presence of one Willkinson, who at that time was servant to Mr Robinson nowe provost of the Queenes Colledge in Oxon, that he served the Lord Muntacute as a servinge man, but in what place he knoweth not. And then this examinate askinge the saide Boast for one which he thowght served the saide Lord Muntacute who was some time servant to his said cosine Yaxlie, the saide Boast knewe the man well, and saide that he was the said Lord's porter. And this examinate saith that he asking the saide Boast yf he had ben beyonde the sea, he answered that he had ben at Dowaie, and that for avoidinge of daunger he returned into England twoe monethes before the limitacion of the proclamacion.¶

* This is the document printed No. xi above.

† This letter is now *Ibid.*, *n.* 58, vi. A Thomas Hilton afterwards turned traitor.

§ St. Martin's, 11 November.

¶ Boste left Rheims, April 11, 1581. The "Revocation of Students from beyond the Seas" was ordered not by statute, but by proclamation, dated January 10, [1581], *see C.R.S.*, iv, 2. The students were to return four months after its publication. There is a copy of this proclamation in the British Museum.

This examinate further saithe that the saide Boast towld him that he and others were abowt to have had a masse in the howse [of this exam. here, *cancelled*] of James Warcop this examinate's cosine, being beneficed abowt Norwiche as is aforesaide. Which Warcop cominge suddenlie up into the chamber where the masse showld have ben saide dysapointed the purpose. And this Examinate thinketh that the saide Boast was the preist that showld have saide the saide masse for he knowethe him to be a preist.

Towchinge an other lettre written unto him, signed with D. L. of the first of October withowt yere, this examinate saithe that the same was sent him from one Percivall Kirkbride by a boie or a girle of his: he knoweth, as he saithe, the said Kirkbrid's hand, and that the saide Kirkbride hath used to signe his lettres unto him with the saide lettres of D. L.*

Beinge demaunded whither he hathe written anie advertisment to anie person of the state of Scotland, or hath received anie Scottishe newes written unto him from anie ther,† he saithe that he neither certified anie nor received anie him selfe, to his remembrance.

[*Here follows, on the same sheet, the examination of James Harington. The whole is signed*]

Jo: Carliolen H. Scrope.

Endorsed.—6 Febr. 1583. Thexamination of Lancelot Boast taken by ye L. Scrope & ye B. of Carlisle.

* This letter is same vol., *n.* 59, i. It is a curious letter, and one would have liked to know more about the writer, before giving it entire credence. Lord Scrope, it is true, abuses him as a strong Papist, which is a compliment so far as it goes, but it does not go far enough to make us accept all his opinions without further question. Hilton he upbraids for some exaggeration or other, but does not descend to particulars. Yet the papers now before us seem to suggest that Kirkbride himself was more guilty of extravagance than Hilton, for there were found in his house five distinctly superstitious prognostications about the time "when the mass should last for aye" (summarised in the *Calendar*, *n.* 58, v).

However this may be, the interesting point is that Kirkbride warns Hilton against Mr. James Laburne, whom some writers have regarded as martyr, while others have rejected his claims to that title. Kirkbride's letter does not directly affect this question, for it is evidently written before Laburne's death. The Calendarer, who has supplied the year 1584, is evidently wrong. It must be 1582. The passage may be quoted in full.

"Also I meruell verye much that you wyll have any kynde of dealinge with Mr. Laburne, seynge he is a man distracte & suche a one as hathe no gouernment of hym selfe, which knoweth not what he doth, neyther howe to fast nor yet to pray, & [?fore] God, yf this chaunce had not happened, you had receyued from me before this tyme the hole maner of his disease wrytten at large, with speciall warnynge that you shoulde have no deal[inge] with hym, but rather to pray unto God for hym. For that I am perswaded of hym, that those thynges whiche he doth are . . . to be accompted peccata, but rather are to be accompted [? poena] peccati, punishments dewe unto hym for synne; & so I have hard those which are learned reporte of hym & others in his case" (*Dom. Eliz.*, *Addenda*, xxviii, *n.* 59, i).

In my *Acts of English Martyrs*, 1891, pp. 212–221, I argued rather strongly in favour of Layburne's being placed in the same rank as the other martyrs. But my present feeling is that Bishop Challoner, who refused to put him on the same plane as the rest (though some had done so before him), was right, and the above extract, especially when joined to Birket's contemporary letter (*Ibid.*, p. 212), confirms the justice of Challoner's opinion.

† This refers to the conclusion of No. xi.

These papers tell us so much about Mr. Hilton, that some further notes concerning him may be of use to the biographer of Boste, who, living as he did for his flock, could not but be pre-occupied with this friend, whom the persecutors honoured with the stigma of being "a great Papist," "of evil disposition," and "not conforming in matters of religion."

Andrew Hilton—Hylton (so he signs himself), Hilton, or Helton—of Burton, Warcop parish, Cumberland, "married Alice daughter of John Aglionby of Carlisle, and by her had issue (1) *John*, (2) *Winifred*, married to Leonard Musgrave of Johnby in Cumberland, (3) *Julian*, married to an Irish Lord, and afterwards to a sea captain.

"John, son and heir of Andrew, married Mary dau. and coheiress of —— Saxton of Byham Hall, Essex, and died about the year 1630" (Nicholson and Burn, *History of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 1777, i, 611).

At the Summer Assizes for 24 Elizabeth (1582), Andrew Hilton had to appear, and his name was returned among those of "the princypall Recusantts convycted in the northe parts," and the return also mentions his "havyour in Landes and goods." "Andreas Hylton, gen. [valet], in terris et tenementis, per annum, x^{li}" (*Dom. Eliz.*, clv, *n.* 35, i).

His examinations printed above allude to his relations with Nicholas Pulleyne, Vicar of Buckland, his uncle, and from Hopton the priest's letter already mentioned, it seems that Pulleyne and he were then educating or paying for Andrew's son "litle iacke," who is evidently the same as John Hilton, Andrew's heir. "The vicar," says Hopton, "will not speak to me, but will give what you require for the boy." Andrew, or his friends, wanted the boy to go to Oxford, but Hopton dissuades this, as the boy would have to go to the Protestant church, and incur "great charges." The passage, though obscure, is worth quoting.

"For litle iacke, in truth yow wer better let him staye, wher he learneth some what, & [does] not goe to Ch[urch], as [he would] in Oxon: wher for his yeres & skill [he is] altogether vnfitte, & yet must goe to church. For to construe logicke, when of him selve hit shuld be understode, groweth to great chargs, but not to a grett schollar. What your vncle hath had of yours, he was constrayned to iumpe so farre with yow, vpon certaine speach of bargaine betwyxt yow. Looke what satisfaccion yow require, he will content yow, or els be accountant to you for ye same, for your boyes findinge." (*Dom. Eliz., Add.*, xxviii, *n.* 59, iii. The name Hopton is perhaps an alias, for it does not appear in the Douay lists.)

As these papers fell into the hands of the persecutors, there is reason to fear that poor "litle iacke" was afterwards brought up a Protestant; there is, at all events, nothing to show that he in later life continued his father's fight for his religion. Lord Scrope advised that the latter should be sent up to London, where he might perhaps be forced to betray the other Catholics of the neighbourhood. I do not know whether this was actually done, but I suspect that he and his wife were eventually consigned to an even more cruel inquisitor—Lord Huntingdon, President of the Council of the North. The Yorkshire Catholic who wrote in 1595 an account of the sufferings of his co-religionists, says that Mr. and Mrs. Hilton were freed upon bond from the house of the pursuivant Outlaw, in the second week of Advent, 1593 (*Collectanea F*, in Foley, *Records*, iii, 763).

XXIV.

AN EXHORTATION BY BOSTE AGAINST GOING TO PROTESTANT CHURCHES

n.d. ? 1584

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz., Addenda,* xxviii, *n.* 58, viii. Same hand as No. xi above.

Only one page of this paper is extant; I.H.S. is at the top both of the front and back. It is alluded to at the beginning of No. xxiii.

Ihs.

[*Previous page missing*] & then ys beloved againe of them and rewarded with great benefits for the same. Contrariwise he that semithe to be disobedient and ether dothe contrarie to ther wils or els neclectith that whiche he was tawght plainly and distinctly to doo, is rether a pretended basterd, then a very child in dede. So that he that strivith against god or his holy churche or neglectithe the commandement therof, ys rether to be thowght a depe dissembler or an enemy then a child of god that ys willing in plaines and trewth to obey the same, [and] (except he fully repent) justly deservithe the curse of god and his holy spouse, for that he doth not the thing required of them. And wheras St. Paule gods blessed apostle moued the Romanes, & in them us, and by hym his church also biddith take hede of them that maketh discordes and lettes, not only besides but clerly against that good doctrine whiche we have all lerned,—if we avoid not the same as muche as we canne, we here not as children of the churche owght to doo the voice of ower mother. And seing that now, thanks be to god, these dissentious persons are well knowen & marked on [by] ower elder bretheren, I mean the auncient doctors of the churche, and also pointed at plainly by them that yet be lyuinge, and so for ower instruction well avoided of them. If then we will not doo the like, but quite contrarie follow these dissenters and ione with them also in companye, and that in greatest matters of all the religion in the service of ther lewde churche, what excuse shall we have? Doo we goo with them not knowinge that we doo evill? No, we know that ther service ys not of God, for then yt should be one with owers. *Deus enim est author pacis, non dissentionis.* "God ys not the author of dissention but of peace." And by his holy church yt ys not taught, for then they coold prescribe antiquitie, universalitie and consent. The antiquitie therof ys not grete, for none of their chefe matters ys yet half an hundreth years old, and yet yt ys not receyved but [in] a few narrow corners, and that without any consent (*optimorum*) of the best lerned or vertuousest sort. Nether haith yt ever ben confirmed with the blood of holy martirs. And as for generall counsels, from tyme to tyme every counsell lawfully assembled haithe condemned all [such] enterprises and doctrines. And that yt ys not of god, if ther were no moore to say but this it were sufficient, that ther ys no unitie in ther doctrine of ther religion. The chefe authors therof nether ever agreed [with] the Catholike Churche in doctrine nether amonge themselves, as longe since appered, and that with the gretest men of their clar[gy]. Canne that be of god, where no unitie ys? How canst thow be in charitie

when thow art not in unitie? Wher canne god be served wher ther ys no charitie? This ther religion then, having no unitie, wher then is charitie? Wher charitie ys not ther ys not god, for "god ys charitie," *Deus charitas est:* so that y^t religion haithe not god nether in the author nor in yt. *Charitas dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per unitatem.* Agreing herto St. Augustine saithe *Non est particeps divinae charitatis, qui hostis est unitatis,* "He ys not partaker of gods charitie that ys an enemie of the unitie." This maye anye man see, except he wilbe blinde of purpose, that ther religion and doctrine ys without all godly unitie, and if ever yt haithe ben tawght by holy churche, they canne easely prescribe [*sic*] who was the first bishop of that religion, and who the second and third; and consequently they must derive the matter by succession to ower tyme. And againe, if they canne shew the first bishop of ther religion and doctrine, then cann they also shew how we came foorthe from them, how we forsooke them, who first declined from them, and when and wher he was, and who after receyved the same, and how yt succeded to this ower tyme. But as they cann never be able to shew the one, so am I able to say they can never declare thother. Yet ys the Catholike Churche able to shew thers by successione, and how they declined from the same with all the circumstancs and in what matters. But of owers many have catologes of the bishops' succession since St. Peter's tyme untill this day, whiche are commen in every mans hands that haith any skill in lerninge. St Augustine saith *Ecclesia ab ipso Christo inchoata, per apostolos provecta, certa successionis serie usque ad haec tempora toto terrarum orbe dilatata,* "The churche was begunne from Christ hymself, and caried abroad by the apostles in certeyne order of succession, and even unto these ower days increased and shewed to the hole world."

Now wold I faine lerne of the whether thow goest to the churche to pray or dissemble with that companie theire? I suppose thow wilst answer that thow goest to the church. Then I axe, to what churche? If thow goest to the Catholike, then thow findest suche service and none other then this xv^c [year] haith ben said in the Catholike Churche. But this canst thow not finde ther. Doost thow goo to summe new church of late erection, or to summe elder then that whiche ys the Catholike Churche? To an elder thow canst not resort, for the religion therof canbe derived from the apostles tyme. If thow ioinest thyself with a latter, then *Priorem fidem irritam fecisti,* "Thy former faithe thow haist shaken of," and so *Damnationem habes.* If thow goest to yt, and haist no minde to yt, wherfore goest thow to yt that dissenteth from the Catholike? Thow gevest ear to the minister, whose hole ministerie ys nothing but schisme and dissention. [*Rest missing.*]

XXV.

LANCASHIRE CATHOLICS BROUGHT BEFORE THE ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS

17 January to 14 February, 1584

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clxviii, *n.* 16.

The names of Such persons against whome wee have proceeded aswell in a generall Search made in the County of Lancaster the xvij[th] of Januarie last as at two Severall sittings holden at Wigan and Prescot in the County afforesaid the xij[th] and xiiij[th] of this Instant ffebruarie *1583*.

Esquio[rs] and Wyffes of Esquior[s].

1 William Kirkbye of Rawcliffe
2 Isabell wyffe of the said William
3 Mary Wyffe of William Tatton
4 Alyce wyffe of Thomas Bradeley
5 George Ireland of Lydeat
6 Anne the wyffe of the said George
7 Anne Maſsy of Rixton Wydowe
8 Dorathie Wyffe of William Maſsy of Rixton
9 M[rs] Carington of Rixton Wydowe

Gentlemen and Gentlewomen.

1 Christofer Carne of Halton
2 Katheryne Wyffe of the said Christofer
3 Alexander Barlowe of barlowe
4 Mary Wyffe of the said Alexander
5 Gabriell Lancaster of Prescot
6 Ursula Wyffe of the said Gabriell
7 John Ashton of Bamferlonge
8 James Pemberton of Whiston the younger
9 Katheryne Wyffe of the said James
10 Alyce wyffe of James Pemberton thelder
11 Anne wyffe of James Browne
12 William hulton of hulton parke the yonger
13 Ellenor Wyffe of Rauffe Slade
14 Mary Gerrard
15 Ann Gerrard
16 Mary Clyfton

} three yonge gentlewomen who had never before bene at the Church

} Conformed.

Commen persons.

1 Edward bowman
2 Henry Cowell

} of hampisfeld

3 Katheryne Wyffe of John Glover
4 William Tootell
5 Thomas ffarbor
6 Richard Travis

Gentlemen and Gentlewomen.

1 John Leigh of Barlowe
2 Mary Wyffe of the said John
3 Roberte Holland of Clyfton
4 Roberte Holme of Newton

Priestes.

1 James Bell
2 Richard Hatton
3 Thomas Williamson
4 John Alblaster
5 John Lawe

} Committed.

Commen persons.

1 Henry Jackson. One y^t in most despitefull manner did spitt at the holy Bible when he was required to laie his hand on the same to take an oth to be examined
2 John Rushton
3 Henry Grimshawe

} Committed.

Esquio^rs and Wyffes of Esquio^rs.

1 Alexander Barlowe of Barlowe
2 William Orrell of Turton
3 Anne wyffe of Thomas Houghton of Houghton
4 Thomas Ashton of Croston
5 Elizabeth Wyffe of the said Thomas
6 Anne wyffe of henry Butler
7 Awdrey wyffe of William Thornborowe
8 Margret Wyffe of George Midleton

Gentlemen and gentlewomen.

1 William Stopfurth of Bispham
2 Blaunch wyffe of the said William
3 Anne the wyffe of Thomas Whittingham
4 Margret Wyffe of William Rushton
5 Elizabeth wyffe of George Houghton
6 Jane wyffe of Richard Eltonhead
7 Elizabeth wyffe of Mathew Travis

These persons are bound for their appearance.

H. Derby
W. Cestren

Endorsed.—Feb: 15, 1583. The certificate to the Lords of the proceedings in the search Januar. 17 and the 2 sittings 12° et 14° februarij.

XXVI.

INFORMATION AGAINST MONFORD SCOTT, AND CATHOLICS OF NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK

13 March, 1584

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clxix, *n.* 19.

We have already seen signs of the determination of the Government to arrest Monford Scott; search is made for him first in the north (No. xxiii), now in London, and, as we shall soon see, also in Norfolk. The amount of information given by Richard Lacey, if it be all reliable, must have made life hard both for this future martyr and also for his own brother, Brian Lacey, who was to suffer in the same cause.

The Confession of Rycharde Lacey of Brodishe in Norffolk written and taken the xiij^th day of Marche 1583.

Before Sr William Heydon knight and William Blenerhasset Esq.

First the forsaid Rycharde Sayeth the Satterday next after thende of Hillary Terme last being the xv^th day of February last he was at Clerken Well neere London in company there with one Bryan Lacy his brother, and as they passed from thence towardes Islington the said

Bryan toulde him that one Moundforde Scott a preist had placed the foresaid Bryan in service with Sir John Arundell knight and said also thatt the forsaid Moundforde Scott had appointed him the said Bryan to go downe into Suffolk to the frindes of the said Scott for money, and thatt he should make as much haist as conveniently he could into Lincolnshire to Mr. William Yaxley his howse of Boiston, and there to mete the forsaid Scott, & so the aforsaid Scott and Lacey to go to Mr. Barnby his place in Yorkeshire, and from Mr. Barnbies to Mr. Thomas Burton's who was, as he thinketh, my Lord bishoppes Chancelloure of Durham and dwelleth aboutt Tinsdaill or Ridsdaill in the borders of Englande next adjoininge to Scotlande, and so frome thence into Scottlande, & so to passe outt of Scotlande over the seas.

He sayeth also thatt vpon Thursday beinge the xijth day of this presentt moneth of Marche one John Dover and Robert Hartley did say vnto this examinate thatt Sir William Haydon and Mr. John Stubbes coulde not benefitt him any manner of way, & thoughe they woulde make large & faire promises vnto this examinate yett they neyther woulde nor coulde performe the same, butt the said Dover and Hartley said thatt if the forsaid Sir William Haydon and Mr. Stubbes coulde gett the forsaid Bryan Lacey this examinates brother, they woulde racke him even till the nayls should starte from his fingers, and with these and like wordes the forsaid Dover and Hartley did perswade with this examinate thatt he should nott open any matter to ye forsaid Sir W. Haydon or Mr. Stubbes within any case which shoulde towche ye religion of the said Scott or Lacey.

Also he sayeth thatt Bryan Lacey aforsaid tolde him thatt he had left certeine (Catholike *erased*) bookes (for so he called them *erased*) att one Anthony Bourne's howse of Brome in a Cloke bagge, which bookes he said came from beyonde the seas since Hallow-masse last, and also this examinate sayeth thatt he spoke with the said Bourne vpon Friday last being the vjth day of this presentt moneth of Marche, who toulde him thatt the foresaide bookes were burnt, but this examinate is otherwise perswaded, for he sayeth thatt he thinketh the forsaid bookes do remaine still vnburnt in the howse of the forsaid Bourne.

This examinate also sayeth that Sir Miles Yare parson of Sturson nere Skole in Suffolk sayeth masse commonly in his parloure Chamber in his owne howse, and also he sayeth thatt in the said chamber ar all thinges necessary perteyninge therto.

He sayeth also thatt the forsaid Moundforde Scott hath perswaded with this examinate that onles he were sworne to the Quene at a Leatt he might turne to the popishe religion, the said Scott callinge itt the Catholicke Religion without any offence to the quene, and also the said Scott toulde this examinate that the pope was Supreme heade of the Church of Englande *vpon danger of his soule for my soule* [*inserted*].

He also sayeth thatt the papistes do say thatt my Lorde of Lecester, Sir William Haydon knight, Sir Charles Fremingham knight, and Mr. John Stubbes esquier,* are most cruell Tirauntes against all Catholickes, And further this examinate sayeth that the papists do

* For John Stubbs see *C.R.S.*, iv, 25.

curse & banne the afornamed honowrable and worshipfull, yea that they curse them (if they coulde) even to the devill, sayenge thatt they are arch-hereticke, and thatt they are a very plague vnto all Catholickes.

He sayeth also thatt the papistes do saye that thei do knowe whatt is done against them in the Court, & thatt they have theire secrett frindes there thatt give them knowledge thereof presently, & thatt my Lord of Lecester is the only man of all other in the Courtt thatt holdeth with the protestanttes, & whom only in ye Courtt the papistes do feare, & this examinate sayeth also that the papistes do say thatt they haue as much favoure in ye Courtt as the Protestantes haue. Also he sayeth thatt he hath hearde the papistes say thatt they looke for a golden day, & when the said day shall come he sayeth that the protestantes shall drinke of the whippe and smerte for this yeare calling them heretickes butt esspecially they say thatt these arch-heretickes aforsaid, viz. My Lorde of Lecester, Sir William Haydon, Sir Charles Fremingham, & Mr. John Stubbes shall then go to the pott [& be executed *cancelled*].

This examinate also sayeth thatt the forsaid Scott aboutt 5 yeres ago att whatt time this examinate dwelt with Mr. Edward Suliarde, did perswade this examinate to their Catholicke religion, and gave him a book intituled A notable discourse against heresies, and then this examinate said thatt he coulde like well of theire religion, butt for thatt itt was a bloody religion, & their most desier was bloode and nott mercy, & this examinate sayeth thatt for these wordes he was putt outt of his said service.

He also sayeth thatt he knoweth one Mr. Vaughan a preist and one Mr. Dallison somtime a scolmaister at Wederdin hall, but now by reporte, & as he thinketh a preist, and they resorte to Mr. Edwarde Suliardes place, to Mr Lyonell Mosse's place of westroppe in Suffolk, to Mr Barwickes place of Bawton, & to many other places, where they say masse att any time when they come to any of the said places.

He sayeth also thatt Mr Vaughan is a proper well maid man of a measurable stature and hath a reade thinne bearde and goeth in apparell like a [ruffian *cancelled*] gentleman, and is aboutt the age of ffortye yeres.

He sayeth also thatt Mr Dallison is a very litle man, and hath a litle blacke bearde. He is hoven shouldred, hath a soft speache and goeth in a lyvery like a servinge man, and he is (as he thinketh) almost ffifty yeres of age and kepes most in Lincolnshire.

Also he sayeth thatt the persons followinge ar ayders and mainteyners of popishe masse preistes and do geve them both money and other things necessarye; namely Mr Edwarde Suliarde and Mr Thomas Suliarde both of Wederdin, Mr Barwicke of Bawton, Mr Lyonell Mosse of Westroppe, Mr Robert Mosse of Twetsell, Sr Miles Yare parson of Sturson, one Glamfeilde of Hawxon, Anthony Bowrne of Frome, Mr Baxter of Rainsforth Hall and one Lomax of Monkessone [as he thinketh *cancelled*] with many others.

Also this examinate sayeth thatt one Mr Godshale and one Mr Moore and one Marshm̄ ar common cariers of papisticall bookes and letters from one papist to an other.

Richard Lacey.

This present Satterdaye beinge the [*blank in MS.*] of Marche my brother Henrye Lacey tould me that my brother Briane Lacey, my cosine Skott, and my cosine Charles Radclyffe wer together in Sowthwarke, and that he went to the Bridge with my brother Briane, but my brother Briane would not suffer my brother Henrye to go any further with him and this was sythence the end of the last terme.

Rich. Lacey.

XXVII.

THE MARTYRDOM OF JAMES BELL

April, 1584

Westminster Archives, iii, p. 364; Stonyhurst MSS., Anglia, i, *n.* 20; *Concertatio*, ff. 160*b*-163*b*.

The mutual relation of these texts is not perfectly clear, but it would seem that all are descended from some slightly older Latin text, which was edited with amended latinity in the *Concertatio* (=C.), and translated by the writer of the Westminster MS. (=W.). The Stonyhurst writer (=S.) probably had both the Latin and the English before him, for he sometimes distinctly follows the one, sometimes evidently copies the other. All the variations between W. and S. for the first two paragraphs are given, and they show that they are so near to one another that the further tabulation of minute variants is not necessary, the more important only are afterwards mentioned. It is not possible to give all the variations from the Latin of C., such few as are of any importance have been duly noted.

The Conuersion Apprehension and Martyrdom of the reuerend[1] Father James Bell Prieste, martyred at Lancaster 20th day[2] of April anno Christi[3] 1584.

1. Father James Bell, prieste, hauing conuersed with Heretikes[4] said englishe service and ministred their fewe bare Sacraments nere xx^ti^ yeares in diuerse places of England,[5] accordinge to the Institution of the English parlament,[6] in the yeare of our Lord[7] 1581, being then aboue[8] thre score yeares of age, and hauinge no benefice at all, nor any other[9] competent condition to liue vpon, repared into Lancashire, his natiue cuntrie[10] and there maide suite to say the english Seruice at a certayne chappell, without cure of soules, where[11] albeit he should haue but a very smal stipend, yeat he was contented (and desired[12] to bestow the remnaunt of his ould yeares *cancelled*[13]) therewith and[14] (being in part a catholicke), and not minded to serue at any parish church or[15] other place of greatter charge, only desired a poore liuing for the remnaunt of his ould yeares.[16]

2. He maid his suite to a gentlewooman whose husband had the placeing there of a Minister for that purposse. The good gentlewooman

[1] the reuerend, S. *omits*. [2] 20th day, S. the xx^tie^. [3] Christi, S. dñi. [4] hauinge . . . Heretikes, S. for xx^tie^ yeares & odde. [5] nere . . . England, S. *omits*. [6] S. *inserts* but. [7] S. *inserts* God. [8] then aboue, S. now about. [9] any other, S. noe. [10] his . . . cuntrie, S. where he was borne. [11] say . . . where, S. to be curate in a chappell that was without a charge and cure of soules, for the which. [12] contented and desired, S. contented. [13] This author's correction shows that the English is translated from the Latin. The first idea was to follow the order of the Latin exactly, as a comparison with *C.*, fol. 160, shows. The altered order is the result of a second thought. [14] remnaunt . . . and, S. rest of his life there. [15] and . . . or, S. rather then to serue in any. [16] only . . . yeares, S. *omits*.

being her selfe catholike and hauing pittie and compassion of his miserable estate in sinne, begane very earnestly and religiously to dehorte the old man from that vile and wicked kinde of seruice, which contrarie to his owne sacred function he had so long vsed. She put him in mind that he was maid Priest to say Masse and to minister the Sacraments after the catholike vse and manner in the vnitie of the catholike church. The which he had not only neglected to doe for xx^ti^ yeares more or lesse, to the great daunger of his soule, but had also exercised the contrarie abominable deuises of Heretikes, with many good woordes beseeching him to haue better care of his owne soule, and of the good which he might doe to others, both by his example and laboure in part of satisfaction for his former euel liffe. By which christian admonition, though the poore man was not fully at that time conuerted, yeat by Gods prouidence falling sone sicke immediatly after, then begane he to consider more effectually of the good counsell which had beene geuen him. This gentlewooman also visited him in his sicknes and once agayne exhorted him to remember his state and vocation, and to resolue him selfe to liue and die as it became his holy function.* Which tooke such effect, through God's special grace, that he fully resolued and presently promised to God to abandon al hereticall and schismatical actions and proceedings, betaking him selfe wholly to his priestly function agayne desired most earnestly to haue a catholike Priest to heare his confession, promising through God's grace to folowe his direction in al things, and to doe as he should be appointed. And the same day he was reconciled by a graue and vertuous Priest, whom the good gentlewooman brought vnto him within a fewe houres after.

3. Straight after his soule was thus happily cured, his bodie also recouered his former health, and so he exercised him selfe in the woorkes of penaunce with al humilitie and diligence, shewing forth the woorthie fruites thereof. And so soon as he had lerned agayne to say his Office in the Breuiarie and Masse, and was admitted agayne (after certayne monthes) to the holy Altare, he was very diligent and painful amongst poore catholike people, teaching and instructing them in sounde doctrine and good example of liffe.

4. When he hadd thus truly fedd the poore flocke of Christ by woord and example, for the space of towe yeares and more, in the month of Januarij anno 1584, as he was traueling alone and on foote from one catholikes house to an other, he mett with one of the common promotores† or spies. Of whom Mr Bell (thinkinge him to be an honest man) asked the way to a certayne towne. This naughtie felowe suspecting forthwith that this good old man was a Priest, begane to examine him whence he came and whither he would goe. Mr Bell making a stay to answere to theis questions, the felowe asked him

* to remember . . . function, S. *omits*, C. introduces a simile of the sheep saving the shepherd.

† So also W. C. "Quendam sycophantam obviam habuit ex eorum numero qui homines de maleficiis suspectos undique perquirunt, & magistratibus sistunt." *cf.* C. A. M. Fennell, *Stanford Dictionary*, *sub* Promotor, quotes Holland's *Translation of Plutarch*, 1600, p. 421—"The sycophant or false promotor."

what he was, to whom he answered boldly and freely that he was a Priest. "Wel" quoth the busie felowe, "then thou shalt goe with me," and so he went with him without any resistance at al.

5. The promotor brought the old father to a Justice of peace, before whom he confessed agayne that he was a Priest, but that he had not liued for manie yeares togeather according to his priestly function and calling, and that now he was reconciled and was desirous to say Masse, if he knewe where to haue a place and other things necessarie for that purposse. He tolde the Justice also, that very lately he had receiued authoritie to heare confessions and to absolue, and that the same authoritie came from the Pope. They dealt with him to goe to the church, which he vtterly refused to doe, lamenting and asking mercie at god's hand that he had euer sayde or heard their schismatical seruice. And so was sent to Manchester and there imprisoned, sometimes in the lothsome dongeon, sometimes in an other place amongst other Priestes.

6. In prison he was often examined tooching the reconciliation of him selfe and others, of the Pope's supremacie and authoritie in England, of the Queens vsurpation of spiritual superioritie, of Pius quintus bul, of her excommunication* and such like. And for his resolute and plaine aunsweres was carried to Lancaster at the next general Sessions in lent folowing, in very rude and barbarous manner, his armes pinyoned and his leggs bound vnder the horses belly, no respect had either of his reuerend yeares or sacred vnction.† There he was examined agayne before Hudleston and Parker in most of the same Articles, wherin his felowe martyr John ffinch and other towe Priestes§ were examined. Of his aunswers in particulare we haue no certayntie as yeat, but by the conclusion it is manifest that they were plaine and constant.

7. Vpon Wenesday in the Sise-weeke this vertuous ffather was indicted and arreigned (with the other three, as hath benne sayde before) for affirming the Pope of Rome to be head of the catholike church and that part of that church is in England. He aunswered at the barre very constantly, so often as he could heare what they said vnto him, for being something hard of hearing he answered not to somethings at al because he heard them not, which the Judge and other heretikes doe suppose to proceed of feare.

8. The other day therefore, after they had first examined John ffinch at the barre, they called this old man next, thincking verily (as diuers confessed afterwardes) that he would haue yelded in some thing or other to their willes for the sauing of his life. ffor it is noted to be an vsual and common practisse of the persecutors (in that cuntrie especially) to deale but seldome and that very secretly with such as seme most stout and constant, but to be very busie and importunate with such as they thinke be weake and frayle, making their aduantage when such do relent as well for their owne creditt with higher powres,

* of Pius . . . excommunication, C. and S. *omit.*
† no . . . vnction, C. and S. *omit.*
§ and . . . Priestes, C. and S. *omit.*

whom they seeke to please and flatter, as also for the ouerthrowe of other weaklings and the sclaunder of the catholike causse which they so barbarously persecute. But (God's name be glorified) they were once here ouereched in their diuilissh pollicie by the mightie operation of the right hand of the highest who chooseth the weakest things of the worlld to confound the strong.* For the whole cuntrie knoweth howe this poore old and impotent man was examined and threatened standing at the barre amongst theeues and murtherers and what terrible woordes and captious questions they vsed and proposed vnto him, exaggerating their crueltie which they ment to vse against him by declaring at large the manner of execution of Traytores, assuring him to be so handled except† he would shewe him selfe a good subiect and acknowledge his fault for extolling the pope's authoritie, and crave mercie and pardon thereof, discoursing also after their manner what a disloyall thing it is to be reconciled, to allowe the Pope's authoritie, to denie the Queene her emperial right and title (for so they call the denying of the quene's supremacie in spiritual causses). After much such speach they asked him whether he were reconciled or no. He answering (as he had donne often before)§ that he was reconciled. "O that is hiegh treason," say they. "It is nothing elles but the holy Sacrament of penaunce," quoth he. "Hast thou authoritie to reconcile?" saith one of the Judges. "I haue authoritie" quoth he, "to absolue from sinnes." "What," quoth an other, "canst thou forgeue sinnes?" "I,¶ that I can," saith he, "to him that will confesse his sinnes and be truly penitent for them." At this they‖ scoffed and made them sport a whyle. "Why," sayd the ould father unto them, "I forgeve not sinnes by myne owne power, but in that I am a priest and so have autoritie to absolve from sinnes." "I marry," say they, "thou hast autoritie from the Pope, but not from God." And then they laughed and scorned, as though the good ould man had answered absurdlye; and would not suffer him to declare his autoritie more at large. Then the Judge asked him whether the Queene weare supreame governour in all causes in England, as well ecclesiasticall as temporall. "Noe," sayth he; "for she hath not to iudge in spirituall causes and matters of fayth; but the Pope is to deale in those matters, and under him byshops and priests." "Whose part wouldest thow take, if the Pope or any other by his autoritie should make warres against the Queene?" "We ought," quoth he, "to take parte with the Church of God, for the Catholicke religion." "Call the rest," sayth the Judge. And soe he examined the other two priests of the Supremacie. They both confessed the Pope to be supreame head of of the Church in earth and denyed the Queene to have any such preheminence." "Well," sayth the Judge, "yow are rancke traytors too, and doe deserve to be hanged as well as the rest; for yow denye the the one halfe of her

* by the mightie . . . strong, S. *omits*.

† exaggerating . . . except, so also C. (but misprints *in* for *ni* = except), but S. *omits*. After this S. follows W. verbatim.

§ C. and S. omit the parenthesis.

¶ "I"=aye.

‖ The Westminster MS. breaks off here with p. 366. What follows is from Stonyhurst *Anglia*, i, *n.* 20, fol. 52.

Maiestie's right, but these other traytors (meaninge Mr Bell and Fynche) doe denye her all." These two weare examined noe farther; for the Judges had commaundement geven them by counsell (as it is knowne synce) to execute but two at the most at that syse. This not with standinge, the Jurie pronounced Thomas Williamson, Richard Hatton, James Bell priestes and Jhon Fynch guiltie of the crime wherof they weare all endited. The Judge gave sentence of death first upon John Fynch and then upon Mr Bell. Uppon the other two priestes he gave sentence of losse of goodes and perpetuall imprisonment, as in case of *premunire* for the first tyme of denyinge the Queenes supremacie in causes spirituall. Father Bell did not understand well which of the two sentences was geven against him; but asked of the shrives men, who repeated his sentence unto him word by word. When he hard and understoode what it was he thanked God very cherfullye and and lookinge upon the Judge sayd; "I beseech yow, my Lord, for the love of God adde also to your former sentence that my lippes may be pared and my fingers ends cut of, wherewith I have heretofore sworne and subscribed to hereticall articles and iniunctions, both against my conscience and the truth." All that night followinge (which was the last he had in this life) he bestowed in prayer and meditation, wishinge (if it pleased God) more tyme to doe penaunce in; and in very few woordes exhorted all the condemned prisoners to the Catholicke fayth and to true repentaunce, desyringe (as hath bene sayd) his fellow martir Jhon Fynch to instruct them more at large. In the morninge he reioyced greatlye in God and gave Him thankes for for all His benefites, utteringe these woords, "O blessed day, O the fayrest day that ever I saw in my life." He desyred a minister that was there, not to trouble him, "For I will not," quoth he, "beleve thee, nor heare thee but against my will." When he was taken of the hurdell, they caused him to looke upon his companion, that was a-quarteringe. When he saw the hangman pull out his bowels; "O why," sayth he, "doe I tarrye soe longe behinde my sweete brother; let me make hast after him. This is a most happy day." This beinge spoken, he fell to his devotions, prainge expresslye for all Catholickes and for the conversion of all heretikes, and soe ended this miserable life most gloriouslye, committinge his soule to almightie God: where it enioyeth, with the rest of the blessed sayntes, eternall blysse. Whether, by his prayers, our Lord bringe us by happy martyrdome; for Jesus sake, Who is the kinge of all martirs. Amen.

Endorsed by Persons — Apprehention and martyrdome of Father James Bell 1584.

XXVIII.

THE MARTYRDOM OF JOHN FINCH

20 April, 1584

Stonyhurst MSS., Anglia, A 1, *n.* 19.

For the relation of the text to the Latin life printed in the *Concertatio*, ff. 164–171, see the previous number.

The liffe and martyrdome of Jhon Fynch, martyred at Lancaster the 20 of April anno 1584.

Jhon Finch, borne of honest and welthye parents in the parish of Ecleston in the countie of Lancaster, was ever frome his chyldhode of a curteous and gentle nature. He followed his booke and lerninge till he was xx^ti^ yeres of age; at which age he lefte the schoole and went to London to certayne of his cosins *studentes* in the Inner Temple, through whose helpe and direction he sought for to serve some maister, under whom he might gett both credit and preferment, and also serve and honour God. But not fynding any to his contentation (for he was disposed to serve none but such a one as feared and served God syncerely), he stayed there for the greatest parte of a yere. In which space he marked and noted, more then ever he had done before, the diversities of opinions in matters of faith and religion; the dayly troubles and losses which many men sustayned constantly for the auncient and catholike religion; the contynuall mutations and changinges from Protesteancey to Puritanisme, and from that againe to infynite other sectes and heresies, with the great differences also of behaviours and manners which divers religions not only yelded, but also taught and mayntayned, especially concerninge the observation and violation of holy feastes, fastes, vowes of chastitie and such like sacred bondes, most religiously estemed of by all true Catholikes, smalely counted of by the Protestantes and utterly contemned by the Puritans and Athiests. By the consideration and wayinge of these thinges and of many other contrarieties in religion, through the especiall grace of God, he was moved (as he hymeselfe would often reporte) to thinke more deeply of the dreadfull day of death and iudgment; where, as he had lerned, ignorance in matters of such importaunce should not excuse any man. And there upon fully resolved with hyme selfe, never for any cause whatsoever, to transgresse the lawes and customes of the holy catholike church, by breaking such dayes of fastes and abstinence, as all his auncesters and forfathers, synce our nation was fyrst christened, had kept and observed before hyme. And so returned in this mynd home into his countrey againe.

Shortely after his retorne, by the aduise and counsell of his parents and frends, he matched in mariadge with a vertuous and modest yonge woman, with whom he had a good farme and stay to lyve upon, and was not so drawen thereby to follow the world, but that he remembered our Saviour's admonition, seekinge first and principally after the kingdom of heaven, exercisinge and occupyinge hyme selfe much in the former considerations and in fervent praier, ioyninge thereunto the good instructions and godly exhortations of divers Catholikes with whom he conferred ofte in matters partayninge to soules health, the true fayth and syncere servinge of God. Fynally he determined and resolved with hyme selfe to lyve and dye in the Catholike Romain church, and *procured hymeselfe to be reconciled to the same church.* After his reconciliation he carefully procured and diligently frequented the holly masse, Catholike sermons and catechisings. He went ofte to confession and received the Blessed Sacrament, he exercised much

* to * underlined.

prayer and all kind of good workes, making it his most special care and trade of life for many yeres together to guide and direct Catholike priests to Catholike men's houses, where hyme selfe also would very charitablie instruct and perswade the meaner and simpler sort in the necessary points and articles of the Catholike religion, labouringe by word and example to wynne sowles from schisme and other synne to the unitie of the Catholike Church and amendement of life.

By which charitable exercise, the more he pleased God and profited his [fellow] Christians,* so much the more the heretikes and pervers persons were moved to malice against him. In so much that, whereas they might at all tymes when they listed have taken hyme and caried hyme whither they would, yet deeminge his apprehension alone to be but a smale revenge and a meane pray, because they knew he litle feared them or their prisons, they fell to theyr ordinary shifte of crafte and subteltie, and dealte with a false companion, who had married a noble man's concubine, to request and desyre this diligent and zealous man to bringe one or twoe or moe Catholike priests, if he could fynde them, to a certaine place and church some wiues,† to heare confessions, to say Masse, to preach and to conferre with some (as he falsly pretended) which were desyrous to be Catholikes and to be reconciled.

This blessed man herkened to this request gladly and promised with all his endevour to satisfie his desyre. But because it was then the holy tyme of Christmas and all Catholike priestes were fully occupied in other places, he could gette but one and that was Mr George Ostlife§ seminarie priest, whom he brought to the place appointed, meaninge after Noeltyde to have brought thither Mr Laurence Jhonson (who was afterwardes martyred at London 30 Maij anno 1582) and some others if they should have thought it necessarie. This malicious fellow and his mates, albeit they would have bene content to have expected longer for a better pray, yet fearinge belike that none would come the second tyme, because they found in deed no such matters to be done as they had pretended, thought it good to sease upon the present *pray* [buttie *interlined*]. So that night they sent a glove to the Earle of Derbye (which was the token betwyxt them; the glove being well knowen unto hyme, because he had given the payre to his love before);¶ the which assone as he had received it, the Erle of Darbie [did] ride to the place hyme selfe in great hast with a few in his company; and so before day apprehended the good priest and this blessed man his guide and conductor.

Theis good men were no sooner in hold but the heretikes spread‖ a rumour immediatly that Jhon Fynche had betrayed a priest and caused

* MS. *reads*, his euen christian; *Concertatio*, piis hominibus utiliorem se praebuit.

† A line seems to have fallen out. *Concertatio*, p. 167, *reads*, ut . . . sacerdotes ad diem et locum condictum perduceret, ut mulieribus quibusdam post puerperium templum repetentibus benedictionem sacerdotalem ex ritu Catholico impertirent, confessiones acciperent, &c.

§ *Concertatio*, Osterlifus.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 165 *b*, omits the worst insinuation against the earl. Itaque comes Darbeius, accepta a foemina illa insidiatrice (cuius supra meminimus) chirotheca (hoc enim erat inter ipsos struendæ fraudis symbolum) noctu conscenso equo, &c.

‖ This is a correction. The original reading followed the *Concertatio*, "This good man was no sooner in hold but they, &c."

hyme to be taken, and that he had also bewrayed to the Earle many other Catholikes with whom he had conversed and in whose company he had hearde Masse. And, albeit that very few Catholikes and not many Protestantes did beleive this malicious lye (because both Fynches zeale and syncerite and the heretikes customable lyinge and impudencie were sufficiently knowne in that countrey); yet it was so faced out for a moneth or twoe, that few durst controule it, though every man almost knew it to be most false and fayned. And to make this slaunder more probable, or at the lest to be the longer uncontrowled, they would not send this holly confesser to any prison, but kept hyme still in the Earles house, but in such sort that no Catholike or suspected person was permitted to speake with hyme. And thus dayly they raised and fathered new slaunders upon hyme; for what soever they could lerne by any other meanes or probably coniecture of the Catholikes doings, they would geve out still that Jhon Fynch had bewrayed and revealed the same.

Whylest they kept hyme thus in the Earles house, they omitted no diligence nor arte to pervert hyme and to make hyme betray the Catholike causse in some pointe or other. Sometymes they would sett hyme in the stockes, otherwhyles threaten hyme with torments, often charge hyme with treasons. Then they would put hyme in mynde of the lacke and misery his wife and familie should sustayne through his constancie. An other tyme they would promise him great rewardes and preferment, if he would discover and disclose who were reconciled, where priests were intertayned, where they sayd Masse; if he would geve them the names of such priests as he knew, and detect unto them such Catholikes as he knew did not frequent theyr church; or if he would goe to theyr service and sermons hyme selfe; or to say only that he would goe. And if he would do none of this, yet at least to suffer them to say so for hyme and not to denye it. For which sylence only they would have accounted hyme a conformable man and sett hyme at libertie, with thankes and rewardes.

The earle used often and very vehement perswasions to perswade hyme to agree to all the forsayde, or at lest to the later pointes; and amongest other thinges he would have terrified the poore man, by laying to his charge that his doings declared hyme to be a traytor and not a true subiect. "For thou dost," sayth he, "obstinatly disobay her maiesties commaundement and shewest thy selfe to be an obstinat and rebellious traytor, in that thou refusest to goe to divine service at her maiesties commaundement." "No," sayd Fynch, "if it may please your lordshipe, I ame not obstinate, but I deny to goe to your church, or to any service or sermon, which is not allowed by the Catholike Church. I am a true subiect for all this; for the prince cannot commaunde any subiect to do any thing against the Catholike religion. In temporall causes I ame most ready to obay her, but to goe to church is a matter of religion and against my conscience." "What saiest thou then," quoth the Earle, "is not the Queenes maiestie supreame head of the church of Ingland and Irland in all causes both ecclesiasticall and temporall?" "No," sayth Fynch, "for the Pope's holyness is head of the whole church of God through out

the world and it is impossible for any woman or layman to be head of any parte thereof in spiritual causes." The Earle being in a rage with this answer, in a fury up with his fiste and gave the poore man a great blow upon the face, addinge thereto many rough and opprobrious wordes, unfytte and unseemely for a man of that howse and blod; all which the holly confessor bare most paciently and gave hyme this myld answer only. "If your lordship will needes aske me such questions, I must needes answer them."

This pageant beinge ended, albeit they suppressed it as much as lay in them, yet it burst out against their willes and was bruted abrod in most partes of that shyre. They move hyme once againe to goe to their service, which he refused to doe; whereupon he was committed to the new Flette, lately erected for Catholikes, at Manchester. And whereas he and many others were imprisoned there, for that they would not goe to their hereticall service and sermons, yet Chaterton the false bishop of Chester, Worsley the keper and others devised that every day at dynner tyme a minister should come in and read and expound a chapiter of their Genevian bible; so that the Catholike prisoners should eyther be constrayned to heare hyme or els to losse theyr dynner, as this good man and some others did very often until he had instruction and advise from one whom he durst trust and follow in such doutes of conscience: that, seeing he came to that place purposly and with intention only to take his meale and repast, and not to heare heresie eyther read or taught, he might saffly sit still at the table and eat his meal, especially protestinge there (as he did), that he abhorred all false translations of Scripture and detested al hereticall doctrine whatsoever. By this meanes at last, when the heretikes saw the ministrie and their minister to be so contemned and despised by the Catholike prisoners, they seased from this table exercise.

This blessed man and divers others which were not able to pay the great charges of the Fleet, were removed not longe after into a miserable and lothsome prison, which was made for the porer sort of Catholikes, the which is termed by the heretikes the Howse of Roges or of Correction. From thence they caused some of the prisoners to be drawne by force and streingth of men to the church, such was their folly or rather malice to torment their body. Which was not done neyther without their owne great travayle and paine; for in this styrre and wrastelinge, this Jhon Fynch, beinge of great streinth and very unwillinge to be brought to the place which of all other he lothed most, kepte iiij or v so occupied that they might have done any worke at whom with greater ease. This they did upon a stomacke against this man, especially because they sawe hyme most loth to shew any manner of conformitie or consent to their wicked service and procedings. They drewe hymee to the church with such fury and barbarous crueltie as though they had drawne a beast to the slaughter, hallinge hyme by the heeles through the streetes upon the stones in such sorte that his head was very sore wounded and all the stones besprinkeled with his blod. It was a pitifull spectacle to the beholders and much bewayled by the people.

To this affliction, insteede of a playster for his sore head, they

added divers other torments. Fyrst, after this combate, they thrust hyme into a deepe, darke, cold and stinkinge dongeon, which was in the myddest of a bridge, there to rest his werye bones upon the cold and moystye earth and to refresh his spirites with the unholsome and dankysh ayre.

Secondly they pinched hyme with extreme hunger; fedinge hyme on fishdayes with sodden beanes only, and upon other dayes with smale pecees of beasts lyvers, and they would be suer to geve litle inough of both. He contynued in this distresse, sometymes whole weekes and otherwhiles whole monethes together. In so much that he would often most hartely desyre his keper, for God's sake, that he might speake with the pseudo bishop, hoping by entreatye to have obtayned of hyme some release of his miseries. In the ende, after longe and ernest shut, with promise to his keper, that (if he might speake with the sayd bishope, he would goe to church) he was brought to his presence. Where beinge urged upon his promise to go to church, "I promised," quoth he, "to goe to the church in deed, that I might thereby come to your speach; but I ment the Catholike church." The heretikes were mervellously offended with this answer; for they had now geven out a rumour, which was spred both farre and neere, that Jhon Fynch had yelded to their religion, and so fell into al sortes of raylinge and vilanous termes against hyme. But he, litle regardinge their threateninge and barbarous words, requested the false bishop, that he might speake with hyme alone and aparte from al other companye. "No," sayth Chaterton, "I will not, except I have one sword and thou an other." "Why," sayd the poore man, "I meane no harme to your person. I beseech yow, let me be bound fast to a post, and so speake with yow." "Nay," sayth this stoute bishope, "I ame not a frayde of thee; but I will not speake with thee alone, except I have one sword and thou an other."

In fyne they appoynted certayne men to drawe hyme to church, as they had done often before. But Fynch seeing them ready to lay theyr handes upon hyme, chose rather to goe with them quietly then to put them and hyme selfe to that payne and travaile he had done before. But shortely after he greatly repented hyme selfe of this, and was much troubled in conscience therewith; partely because the adversaries triumphed over hyme, as though they had gotten some great victory; partly by reason of false reportes which were now freely spred abrode and brought to his eares of his relentinge and referringe hyme selfe to the queenes lawes; and partely for that in deed he doubted lest perhaps he had done amisse: for he was ever of a delicat conscience, and especially at this tyme, beinge kept close from all councel and conference with Catholikes. By reason of which thinges and peradventure for some other evil intreatinge, which as yett be not come to mens knowledge, he fell into great feare and anguish of mynde. In so much that the heretikes reported, if any man list to believe them, that he seemed to be in desperation; the certaine truth whereof no man could ever lerne as yet. This only is most certayne and true that being brought forth out of the dongeon on day, he desyred to goe on the backesyd of an howse, as it were to ease hyme, and there

he lept into a water: to what ende God knoweth; the heretikes say that he would have destroied hyme selfe; others thinke that he did it for penaunce, for his former suspected offence, for that he went so quietly and gently with them to ye church. Which is very probable; for that, being in the water, he stode still upon his feet, the greatest parte of his body being in the water, but his head drye and not once touched with any water at all. And there he contynued still without movinge, until they drove hyme out with stones, using no other meanes or violence to gett him out. From thence he was retorned into his lothsome dongeon and there kept very close and sure. In this meane whyle the heretikes were so farre from all charitie or confort for his soule, that they handeled hyme worse then ever they did before, in shorteninge of his diet and gevinge most rigorous and terrible wordes and threates: which is a playne demonstration that they ment by such meanes, if God had not extraordinally [*sic*] assisted His servaunt with singular grace, to have driven hyme into the gulf of desperation.

But the more his calamities encreased and the more they grew to extremities, the more our mercifull God, by His internal and secret consolation, did supporte and supplye the want of external confort; in such sort that His afflicted servaunt thyrsted every day more and more to dedicat life and blod for God's honor and in ye defence of ye Catholike fayth. He wished often and prayed fervently, as the heretikes them selves do reporte, that God would accept of hyme and make hyme worthye to follow Mr Laborne. And as the general sessions drew nerer, so he became more confortable and his zeale and desyre of martyrdome encreased. Especially upon Passion Sunday, which was the next day before the sessions begane, when he had heard that three priests were sent to Lancaster, there to be arrayned for religion (which is now termed treason), he lamented much that he was lefte behinde. "O Lord," sayth he like an other St. Lawrence, "why do not I goe, with my deare fathers, to be tryed whether I be a true member of Christ or no? For God's sake, let me goe after them. Carrye me to the sessions. Let me also go [? with] after Mr Laborne: I believe as he did; why ame I not suffered to be tryed as he was?" With these and other such speaches, he besought his keper to move his sute; that he might go to Lancaster to the Sisse.

Hereupon he was brought presently before the superintendent, who examined hyme of many thinges; and amongest other what he thought of Pius 5 bull, and whether the Queene were iustly excommunicated or no. He answered roundely that if Pius 5 had excommunicated her, she was indeed excommunicated, and that iustly to, as he thought. When the parliment bishop with others, saw him so ernest and so resolut, being hyme selfe very desyrous to be ridde of this blessed man (who never honored hyme but much disgraced hyme), contrary to his former determination had with others his fellow commissioners, now havinge gotten the consent of one or twoe, resolved to send the prisoner out of hand to the Sessions, there to be arraigned and tryed. And so upon Monday in the morninge this happie man was set upon a bare horse without any saddle, his armes pinioned and his legges tyed under the horses belly; and so the fyrst night he came to Preston,

which was xxiiij* myles of. All that night he was sett in a place called the Kydcotte, beinge a cold, lothsome and stynkinge place, the which had bene so defiled by certayne dissolut persones that had bene imprisoned there a litle before, that he could neyther lye nor sytt downe, but was fayne to stand all night longe till the morninge, without any slepe or rest [ease *cancelled*] at all. Assone as the daye appered he was taken from thence and carried forward in the same manner as before to Lancaster which was distant xx^ti^ myles more. He was no sonner come thyther, but they shute hyme upe in a very strayte and uneasye place a parte and severall from all other prisoners. Within twoe howers after his arryval, havinge as yet gotten neyther sleape nor meate, he was brought to be examined before Randall Hudelston and Brian Perker, both iustices of peace and commissioners in causes ecclesiasticall; men of all theyr fellowes the most busie, but of leste accounte and credite. Beinge come unto them he requested to have some tyme and convenient place to take his natural rest, before he should answer matters of importaunce, because that both his bodye and senses were much feebled and distempered with extreame labour and travaile after his so longe and so close imprisonment and want of sleepe; but his request was not graunted. Then he desyred that he might have the articles (whereunto he should answer), in wrytinge, and to be allowed penne and paper to writ his answers with his owne hand; wherto they willingly graunted. And presently that same Tewsday in the eveninge they gave hyme the articles, and received his answer; the summe [copies *cancelled*] whereof do follow.

Articles proposed to Jhon Fynch, with his answers.

1. Fyrst, whether he had bene beyonde the seas at any tyme, namely in any of the Pope's seminaries of Englishmen. *Answer*—"I was never beyond the seas."

2. Where he had bene and by whom he had bene releived the last six yeres. *Answer*—"I have bene in prison three yeres and three monethes [quarters *cancelled*] of the syx; the rest I was with my mother. And I ought not to revele such as have bestowed any charitie upon me."

3. What priests know yow, and what be their names; where do they remayne, and whyther do they resorte? *Answer*—"I ame not bound, neyther is it lawfull [for me *cancelled*] to answer to this question."

4. Have yow ever bene conversant with seminarie preests or with Jesuits? *Answer*—"I have bene conversant with some seminary priests; but not with any Jesuist, for which I ame sorry."

5. Are yow reconciled? *Answer*—"I trust I ame reconciled to God and to His Church."

6. Have yow hard Masse; where and how often? *Answer*—"I have hard Masse, I thanke God. I may not tell where, and I cannot tell how often."

7. What thinke yow of Pius 5 bull of excommunication of the Queene, and whether is it lawfull or no? *Answer*—"I have hard

* *Concertatio*, viginti miliaribus distat.

sometyme of that bull; but I know no certentie thereof, therefore I cannot answer."

8. Do yow take Queene Elizabeth that now raigneth to be the lawfull queene of this realme or no? *Answer*—"I take her to be, and do professe my selfe her subiect."

9. Did the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland with the rest of theyr associates in the North, take armes and rise lawfully against the prince or no? *Answer*—"I know not for what cause they rose, nor what warrant they had; and therefore I cannot answer."

10. Do yow take the Queene to be head of the church of Ingland and Irland or no? *Answer*—"The Pope's Holynes is head of the whole Church in earth; and it is impossible that the Queene or any other woman or layman should be Head of the Church."

11. Whose parte would yow take, if the Pope or any other by his authoritie should make warres against the Queene for reforminge of religion? *Answer*—"If it were fore [the Catholike *cancelled*] religion; then would I take parte with the Pope and Catholike Church."

12. Have yow bene perswaded or have yow perswaded any other to forsake their alleageance to the Queene or no? *Answer*—"I was never perswaded, nor perswaded any other."

13. Have yow reconciled any or no? *Answer*—"I ame not of that highe vocation to minister that sacrament."

In the ende of his answers he added these wordes:—"Whereas I, beinge a privat man, may erre in these my answers, I referre my selfe herein and in all my doings to the iudgment of the Catholike Romaine Church.

By me Jhon Finch."

Assone as he had delyvered up these answers he was retorned againe to prison.

The next day beinge Wenesday, three priests: father Thomas Williamson, father Rychard Hatton, father James Bell and this laye man Jhon Finch were arraigned and indited, that they had advisedly and maliciously affirmed the Pope and Bishop of Rome to have authoritie and iurisdiction in Ingland and to be head of the Catholike Church and that a parte of that Church is in England, *contra formam statuti in hac parte provisi anno Elizab. 1°.* The inditement being read, their answers were required. They all severally, repeating in effect the same wordes againe, confessed that they so beleived; but pleaded "Not Guiltie," because that so to say is no treason.

Upon Thursday they were brought all fower to the barre againe amongest theves and murtherers. And fyrst of all Jhon Fynch was further examined by the iudges and vehemently urged concerninge Pius 5 bull of the queenes excommunication; what authoritie the Pope had to depose her; and whose parte he would take, if the Pope or any by his authoritie should make warres against the queene for the restoringe of the Romish religion; with such other bloddy questions. To which he answered very resolutly that he was to follow and obay whatsoever the Pope should commaund or appointe to be done, for the reforminge of religion, and that he was to take parte with the

Catholike Church against whomesoever. After hyme father Bell and the other twoe were examined at the barre; and so the Jeurye was sent out. Who at their retorne, beinge asked their veredict of Jhon Fynch, answered "Guiltie." Which when the blessed man heard, with smyling countenaunce he gave God thankes. The Iudge gave sentence that he should be drawne hanged and quartered, etc.* This sentence being pronounced, the holy man loking upon the Iudge with a cherfull countenaunce and lowd voyce sayd; *Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore, semper laus eius in ore meo*, and turninge hyme selfe to the people added the next verse followinge, *In Domino laudabitur anima mea, audiant mansueti et laetentur.* He prayed most most hartely for the iudge, confessing hyme selfe much beholding unto hyme, wishinge (if it pleased God) that he knew by what meanes he myght gaine the iudges soule to God; and told the shirefes men that he would gladly take any payne whatsoever to have the iudges soule or any of theirs also.

After his condemnation he was put in a larger prison together with father Bell (who was condemned also for ye same cause) amongest the common prisoners that were condemned for capitall crymes. There, by God's providence, opportunitie served so well that he confessed hyme selfe to his fellow Martyr father Bell. When he had done, his owne brother and divers others of his kinsmen and neighbours came to hyme to comfort hyme in this his last conflict and affliction; but they found hyme so merry in God and so ioyfull of the next dayes banket (which he expected) that they were all mervelously comforted and edified by his rare fortitude.

All that nyght, by the advise and consent of father Bell (who, for age and weakenes was not so able to take paine hyme selfe), he most ernestly and Christenely exhorted the condemned felons to the Catholike fayth and true repentaunce; assuring them and pledging his owne soule for theirs, that (if they beleved the Catholike fayth and desyred to be confessed of all theyr synnes, with full purpose of amendment of theyr life and never to synne deadly againe, if they should lyve longer), that they should most certenly obtayne the kingdom of Heaven; though not without some temporall paynes first suffered for their synnes past. Whereupon some of the prisoners shewed great signes of hartye repentaunce, and so dyed in great hope of salvation; though others had not grace to be so happie.

Upon Fryday the xx^{ti} daye of April 1584, the executioners came at the accustomed hower. This blessed man most ioyfully byd them welcome and thanked God for His infynite and innumerable benefyts (especially for this death, which now he went to receive); exhorted all the people to the Catholyke fayth and to good life; and desyred a minister (who was there to perswad hyme) not to trouble hyme. "For I ame not," quoth he, "of your religion, neither will I be for any thinge that yow can say. God geve yow grace to amende." And so used very few wordes, eyther upon the hurdell or upon the [gallowes *cancelled*] ladder; but contynually occupied hyme selfe in secret prayers

* *Concertatio*, f. 171, gives the sentence in full.

and meditation, until by gloriouse martyrdome his blessed soule forsoke the body and was made partaker of the everlastinge and unspeakable ioyes.

Endorsed by Father Persons.—The martyrdom of Jhon Finch 1584.

XXIX.

THE EXAMINATION OF GEORGE DOUGLAS

13 August, 1584

Record Office, *Dom. Elizabeth*, clxxii, *n.* 65.

We have hitherto known very little about the early life of George Douglas, the Scottish priest martyred at York on 9th September, 1587, so little indeed that one cannot conclusively prove that the George Douglas, who here comes before us, must be identically the same person, though the indications, which we have, look that way. Two Yorkshire writers have left us such few details as they could pick up about the stranger, who only came among them to suffer and die. The one is in *Collectanea F*, printed by H. Foley, *Records S.J.*, iii, 733; the other in *Collectanea E*, in Pollen, *Acts of English Martyrs*, p. 327. They say that he was an "old" priest (*i.e.* one ordained before the Seminarists, who at the time of writing served most English missions), that he had spent some time as a "schoolmaster" (*i.e.* as a tutor), that he studied and taught in Flanders. These details agree well enough with what "this examinate's" answers tell us of his previous life, and indeed there is nowhere any serious difficulty in making the identification, whilst it would have been extraordinary that two Scottish priests of the same Christian and surname, should have succeeded one another in the same country, at the same period, and have suffered for the same cause. I therefore treat them as the same person, though there do remain some doubts. Thus the writer of *F* "heard" that Douglas left England "with" Dr. Harding (*i.e.* about 1560), whereas "this examinate" was teaching at North Luffenham till about 1574, when he went abroad (which, however, might be represented as going "to" Dr. Harding). Again the writer in *Collectanea E* understood that the martyr had failed to confess his faith in its entirety until his confinement in York Castle, whereas "the examinate," though too canny to run unnecessary dangers, does not seem to have prevaricated on any point of principle. Perhaps, too, the term "old priest" may be used explicitly for "Queen Mary priest," and this would increase our difficulties considerably.

When the *House-Books* and other Records of York have been made accessible to students, we may hope that further light will be thrown on this and similar questions.

> To the right Honourable Sir Francys Walsingham Knight principall Secretary to the Quenes Maiesty geve these with speede.

Maie it please your honour to be advertised that there was at Glaston in the Cowntie of Rutland apprehended and brought before us one George Dowglas a Scottishe Prieste (as he saith) apparelled in course canves doublit and hose, and being demaunded what Pasport he had, said that he had a Pasport of the Mayor of Dover and that it was taken awaie from him at Gravesend by a boye in his chamber, in the night, and being searched we fownd no letters abowt him wheruppon we sent him over to Apethorp to Sir Walter Mildemay his honour, who returned him vnto us wishing in his letters that we should

staie him untill his Examinacion in writing might be sent to your honour And that we might heare from yow. Whervppon we have sent herinclosed his examinacion desiring y^r^ honours direction how we shall further proceede in the said Cause.

From Wing the xiij^th^ of August 1584. Humbly y^r^ Honours at Commandement—Anthony Collie, Sherriffe of the Countie of Rutlande. Jamys harrington, Kenelme Dygby, R. Smythe, Henry Herendon.

Post note.—Stamforde the xvij daye of Auguste at viij in the night.
Endorsed.—Thexamination of George Douglas, Aug. 1584.
Paper seal.—

[*Enclosure*]

Rutland. The examynacion of George Dowglas Scott born in Edinburgh son unto John Dowglas Burgis of Edenburghe taken at Wing in the County of Rutland the xiij^th^ day of August A°Dñ 1584 before us Anthony Collie Esqre High Sheriff of the said county Sir James harrington Knight, Kenelme Digbie, Roger Smith & Henry Herenden Esquires, fower of the Justices of the quenes maiestie for the peace for the said county aſsigned.

The said Examinate being apprehended at Glaston in the said county for travelling without a Passport or license and brought before us, being examined confeſseth as followeth, videlicet That about July last past he came from Antwarp to Flushing and sailed from Flushing to Callys for fear of the Spaniards lying besides Graveling and Dunkirk. And from Calais the same night sailed to Dover, and was by the way between Flushing and Calais robbed by pirates who robbed the self same time a boat of Dover laden with rye and other victualls. And at his landing at Dover one Mr Barnes one of the masters of the Queens Majestys ships, was there present. And that he went to the Mayor of Dover and had a Passport to paſs into Scotland either by sea or by land. And at Gravesend a boy who lay in Chamber with him stole his doublet and the passport in it, which dublitt a Scotsman called Gilbert Ruyle dwelling in Gravesend gave him the same night. And so went to London and there talked with a Schoolmaster called Mr Monkaster and requested him to get him a passport by that token that he hath an usher under him which is a Scot. And from London went to Oxford and there talked with Doctor Omfrey and desired a paſsport of him and sent a Sadler a Scott dwelling in the same town to Mr ViceChancellor to procure a paſsport, but could get none. And from thence came to Northampton and so into Rutland because he had acquaintance in Rutland having kept a Latin School in North Luffenham in the said Cowntie about sixteen years last past. Which upon our own knowledge is true that he hath been there schoolmaster. And being demanded whether he were Priest or no, he answered that sithence his going out of Rutland about ten yeres past he was made Priest at Parys at Notredames Church. And within a quarter of a year after he was made Priest he went into Flanders and kept school in divers places there and read Philosophy and Arithmetic & such like. And now being desirous to paſs into his country was robbed by the

sea as before he saith. And further he saith that he is known to Mr Archibald Dowglas son to the Lord of Wittingham in Scotland who as he saith ys now remayning in London. And that Mr Archibald Dowglas and this Examynate were brought up Scholars under John Dowglas Archbishop of St Andrews Uncle to the said Examinate, who saith he is of the house of Byngedward of the Earl of Anguishe his house* and desiered of us to have a paſsport.

George Dowglas.

Anthonie Collie Sheriff
Jamys Haryngton
Kenelme Dygby
R. Smythe
Henry Herendon.

XXX.

THE CAROLS OF RICHARD WHITE

1577 to 1584

Llanover MSS., and Cardiff Free Library—Welsh MS. 23, Ph. 2954 (vol. i, p. 255).

Of the witty and courageous martyr Richard Gwynne or White, we already possess two accounts which are fairly ample. The one in Latin in Bridgwater's *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, 1588, pp. 173–203; the other in English, the contemporary manuscript of which is at St. Beuno's College, North Wales. It has been printed in *The Rambler*, 1860, pp. 233–248 and 366–388. The English Life says, "As for his knowledge of the Welsh tongue he was inferior to none in his country, wherein he hath left to posterity some precedent in writing, eternal monuments of his wit, zeal, virtue and learning" (p. 235).

The following verses, which have been not long since discovered and identified by Mr. Hobson Matthews, fully justify the biographer's praise. "Wit, zeal, virtue and learning" are all clearly there; though we, who cannot read Welsh, must of course forego the most charming part of the poems. The "zeal" of the writer is inevitably overemphasised in a literal translation, and even if we imagine the edge taken off some of the harder sayings by charm of rythm, cleverness of epithet, or the swing of alliteration (a point which the poet has evidently at heart), we should still not be able to deny that this spirited Welshman was sometimes carried into the faults usual to men of his ardent character, and that he was a good hater as well as a warm lover. The paean over the

* Archibald Douglas, called the Parson of Glasgow, one of the murderers of Darnley, was at this time in exile at the court of Elizabeth. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's was John Hamilton, not John Douglas; indeed there was no John Douglas among the Scottish Bishops of that period. This variation of Hamilton for Douglas is nevertheless to be noticed, because we find a constant tradition among the later writers of Catalogues, that about the year 1583 or 1585, a certain N. Hamilton (N. stands for *Nomen*, *i.e.* Some name or other, as we should say X), a Queen Mary priest, suffered either at York or Lincoln (see *above* Table of Catalogues). It is not impossible that this is a confused report of our martyr.

The Douglases of Bongedward, or Bonjedburgh (two miles north of Jedburgh), are mentioned not unfrequently in the *Registers* both of *Privy Council* and of *the Great Seal*, of Scotland for this period, and in particular George "the younger." Thus indirectly pointing to the existence of a George the elder, such as "this examinate." We shall see below that some at least of this family were on the side of Queen Mary and the Catholics.

assassination of the Prince of Orange was, no doubt, not unnatural considering the circumstances. It is true that "There has not in Europe been a dismal man nurtured of old like this man." Both the good and the bad qualities of the prince were calculated to irritate his opponents beyond bearing. The hyperbolical praises lavished on his memory were just what was likely to draw out the exaggerated strictures from this warm-tempered Welshman. The hypocrisy of persecuting the Catholics in this country (and White amongst them) because of a political assassination in Holland, might, with reason, have exasperated him. Nevertheless, the poem is one which we must now regret, and indeed condemn, for it is plainly wanting both in forbearance and in good feeling.

It should be added, however, that the other records of the martyr show that under other circumstances he could be and was both calm and patient, and even merry under his troubles. Though he had his moments of weakness, as his biographers declare, he was a very amiable character, a devoted husband and father, a "teacher of youth," who won and kept the strong affection of his scholars.

The Carols of Mr. Richard White were, as I have said, discovered not long since by Mr. J. Hobson Matthews, and the text, translation and comments which follow are his, with the exception of some suggestions and expressions of opinion on obscure passages (of which there are unfortunately many) by a high authority on old Welsh—Mr. David Lloyd Thomas, M.A., and they bear his initials. Some further thoughts and more elaborate suggestions from him will be found in the Appendix. The translation has been intentionally kept as literal as possible. J. H. P.

Carols I to V are from the Llanover MSS., dated 1670, which is written in the North Wales dialect. The copyist was William Pugh of Penrhyn in Lleyn, Carnarvonshire, of good family and a good Catholic, who died in Monmouthshire in 1680. He had been a captain in the King's army at Raglan, and practised as a physician, but was a priest and a monk of the Order of Saint Benedict.

✠

CAROLEY Mr RICHARD WHITE, MERTHYR.

Carol I.

[The Church of God is One.]

1 Gwrando gyngor gwr oth wlad
Di ai cay fo yn rhad y Cymro
Yw fyfyrio or bath* ir gell
Di a fyddi well oddiwrtho
Ni chadd Adda, cynta dyn,
Onid vn Paradwys
Ag vn Eglwys fru, ar frynn,
sydd, lle maer cymyn cyñwys.
Ni roed i Noe vn llong ond vn,
10 Yw gadw i hun rhag boddi,
Ag vn Ffydd ond vn nid oes
A hon a roes Duw Celi.
Mae achey hon, o lîn i lîn,
O Fab Duw Frenin freiniol,
Yr Hwn ai rhodd ar Beder Sant
Ag ar ei blant ysprydol.

Hear the counsel of a man of thy country;
Thou shalt have it freely, Cambrian,
To meditate upon, from the pathway to the bower;
Thou wilt be the better for it.
Adam, the first man, had
But one Paradise;
And there is one Church, up on a hill,
Where is right communion.

There was given to Noah but one ship,
To save himself from drowning;
And there is no Faith but one;
And God Most High gave that.

Her genealogy, from line to line,
From the Son of God, the gracious King,
Who placed her upon Saint Peter
And on his spiritual children.

* This is possibly the English word "path" gallicised. [D.L.T.]

May hi yn amlwg fal yr haul,
A hon ywr ddidrael ddodren,
Er mynd mwg o din y Fall
Rhwng y dall ar wybren
Ffydd Cuffredin, rowiog raith,
Mewn tair iaith* may hi tarrio
Mewn cydvndeb ar bob gair
Ag vn Mab Mair ywr Athro.
Dwr a lludw ag escirn saint
Sydd fawr ei braint ai gwrthiau
Fal i cnyddis ym mhob gwlad
Faint yw rhad y creiriau.
O gwnaeth Luther, glafer glec,
Yn dyscu ffrei o newydd
I rioed etto wrthiay da
Minne a golia yw celwydd.
Nag o gallan brofio chwaith
A dwyn im rhaith ddiogel
Blannu o Luther hon yw mûsc
Heb gaffel dusc gan Cythrel.
Os cyttunodd dau yn i mûsc
Ar bynciau dysc o newydd
Minne fyth i ddwyn ei clôd
A fynne fod yn drydydd.
Mae nhwy yn gwadur Scrythur lan
Gidai maen gelwydde
Ar Doctoriaid, gidar Saint,
Oedd fawr ei braint ai gwrthie.
Gochel hon a chais y Ffydd,
Rhag bod dy ddydd yn agos
I roi cyfri ar ben brynn,
A meddwl hynn, ddechreunos.
O gofynnir pwy ai cant:
Dyn dan warant Ieſsu,
Yn dymuno ar Dduw bob dydd,
Ar ddwyn Ffydd i Gymru.
Richard White ai cant.

She is conspicuous as the sun,
And she is dowered beyond price,
Though smoke mounts from Satan's pit,
Between the blind man and the sky.

The Universal Faith, abundantly right,
In three tongues it tarries
In unity on every word,
And the only Son of Mary is the Teacher.

Water, and ashes, and bones of saints,
Of great privilege and miracles,
Increase it in every land;
So great is the grace of relics.

If Luther, the cunning flatterer,
Teaching strife anew,
Ever yet wrought good miracles,
I myself would believe his lie.

Or if they can prove, either,
And bring to my sound judgment,
That Luther planted it [the Faith] in their midst,
Without being taught of the Devil—

If two have agreed in their midst,
On points of new doctrine,
Myself would ever bear their praise,
And be a third [amongst them].

They deny the Holy Writ
With their mean lies,
And the Doctors, with the Saints,
Of great privilege and miracles.

Beware of this and seek the Faith,
Lest thy day be near
To give account on topmost hill;
And think of this when night shades fall.

If it is asked who sang this:
A man under the protection of Jesus,
Begging of God, every day,
To bring Faith to Cambria.
Richard White sang it.

Carol II.

Duw a ro yr awen i brudydd o Bryden
I ganmol y Seren Siriol
A wnaeth iawn dros Eua gynt,
An dûg ni i hynt annianol.
Pymtheg meddwl yn gyfan yn gwbwl
Oi gwybod, mae gobaith mawr inni
A down ni i wybod Pllaswyr Fair,
A hon a gair, yn weddi.

[The Rosary.]

God grant inspiration to a poet of Britain,
To praise the cheering star
Which made amends for Eve of old,
And brought us to an amazing course.
Fifteen thoughts, entire altogether;
By knowing them there is to us great hope.
Let us come to know the Psalter of Mary,
And that is got in praying.

* The "three tongues," in which *par excellence* the Scriptures were preserved, were Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

Pymtheg Pader ir Gwr yn Ei gader,*
Cadarn yw ceidwad môr a thir;
A deg Aue ar ol pob vn,
I Fair i hun a ddwydir.

Fifteen Paters to the Man in His chair,
Strong is the Saviour of sea and land;
And ten Aves, after each one,
To Mary herself are said.

The next Carol contains a summary of Father Robert Persons' *Brief Discours contayning certayne Reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church*, the introductory letter to which was signed "John Howlet." It bears date 1580, and must have come out at the end of that year (*C.R.S.*, ii, p. 28). The "Reasons" are all given by White, but of course only in brief poetic way. The references to Persons' rare volume are taken from the copy in the British Museum.

Carol III.

[Against going to Protestant Service.]

Gwrandewch ddatcan, meddwl maith,
Sydd o waith perreryn
Gwñ a gyrch garchar dwys,
Cynn mynd i Eglwys Calfyn.

Hear a song, a great thought,
Which has been made by a pilgrim.
I know one who will go to a deep prison,
Sooner than go to the church of Calvin.

A naw achos gantho sydd,
A rhain y fydd tystiolaeth
I fanegu i chwi paham
Nad af fo i gam wasanaeth.

And reasons nine has he,
And these will be witneſs,
To show you why
He will not go to a wrong service.

Cynta rheſswm yw haint dûn
Fal glûd y glûn y coegni
Wrth dy feddwl dug yn dwyll
I ddwyn dy bwyll ath siommi.

The first reason ✠ is the infection to a man,
Like a canker in the bone, their [naughtiness
Will infest thy mind as a deceit,
To steal thy reason and to cheat thee.

Yr ail yw scandal, neu syrhad,
A gwae pob gwlad ai caffo
Hynnu yw achos mawr oth wall
Su yn peru i arall syrthio.

The second § is scandal, or injury,
And woe to every land which is infected with it!
This is the great cause of thy fault,
Which makes another man to fall.

Y trydydd sydd, ragorol nôd,
Dy fod o Ffydd Gatholic,
Oddiwrth i llann, ymgadw yn gall,
Rhag mynd mewn gwall ddychymu.

The third ¶ is—a special point,
That thou art of the Catholic Faith.
From their church keep thyself wisely away,
Lest thou walk into a pitfall.

Od ei dithe yn i musc
I wrando dusc dy elynnion,
Dyna arwydd digon clyr
Nad wyt ti gowyr Gristion.

If thou goest amongst them,
To hear the teaching of thy foes,
That is a sign clear enough,
That thou art not a true Christian.

Y bedwerydd, ddadyl dwys,
Rhag mynd mewn i eglwys estron,
Ydyw Scysma, penna hw̃r,
A ddoeth or Tw̃r o Babilon.

The fourth ‖—a matter for grave debate—
Against going into an alien church,
Is Schism, chiefest whore
That came from the Tower of Babylon.

* 'Y Gwr yn Ei gader,' 'The man in his chair.' An ancient bardic phrase to describe the Almighty.

✠ "The first Reasone—Perill of Infection" (*Persons*, p. 6).

§ "The second Reason—Scandale" (*Ibid.*, p. 7).

¶ "Thyrd Reason—Goynge or not goeynge to the Church is now made a signe distinctive" between Catholic and Protestant. It is in practice accepted as such by both sides, and therefore to go is accepted as a sign of confessing or denying the church (*Ibid.*, pp. 15 v.–18.)

‖ "The Fourth Reason—Schisme" (*Ibid.*, pp. 18–29.)

Hon su yn yscar Duw a dûn,
A gwae bob vn nis gochel,
O gyttyndeb yr Holl Saint,
Y ddwyn tan ddaint y cythrel.
Y gainc oddiwrth y prenn a dyrr
Ni wna hi ar furr ond crino,
Ar aelod elo oddiwrth y corph
Ni ddaw mor ymborth iddo.
Os Eglwys Dduw a ddwaid paid,
Mi a wn nad rhaid ond hynny
I ddûn ffyddlon su yn y bûd,
A rotho ei frûd a gredy.
Y neb ni wrando ar Eglwys Dduw,
Mae hwnnw yn buw yn anghyfion,
Ag ai gwado yn ei fuw
Fo ai cymmer Duw fo yn estron.
Y pymmed peth, heb gydd heb gêl,
Pob vn a ddel yw gwrando,
Mae yn gyfrannog o bob bai
Fal pad fai fo yn athro.
Rhag difsemblio, yw'r chweched peth,
A drwg ywr areth honno,
Dangos bod yn beth nad wyd,
Fal vn mewn rhwyd yn rhodio.
Rhwng y ddwy stôl nid ym dawr,
Maer dîn ir llawr yn llithro,
Dau wynebog Duw nis câr,
Rhag maint y bar sydd arno.
Gochel hon, ywr seithfed saeth
Su yn gweithio gwaeth nag ange,
Os drwg melltith Dduw in plith,
Mae yn ddrwg i llith ai llyfre.
Y Beibl Seisnig sydd chwym chwam,
Yn llawn o gam ddychmygion,
Ar gwennidog chwannog chwith
Yn llywio llith ir llygion.
Am bregethwr, fritt o daliwr,
A fo yn dilior seintie,
Ne riw bedler llesc o radd,
A fettro ladd y Pabe.
Am yr scythyr su yn beñ
Rhyw sarrig señ ganddeiriog
Nid a honno buth yn lân,
Nes mynd mewn tân yn ffaglog.
Yn lle allor, trestel trist;
Yn lle Christ mae bara,

'Tis she that severs God and man,
And woe to everyone who does not beware, [All Saints,
Going from amid the communion of
To filch the fire from the Devil's fangs.

The branch which is cut from the tree,
Doth but shortly wither;
And the limb that goeth from the body,
Food cometh no more to it.

If the Church of God saith "Forbear,"
I know it needs but that
To a faithful man who is in the world,
Who will give his mind and believe.

He who hears not the Church of God,
He lives unrighteously;
And he who shall deny her in his living,
God will take him for a stranger.

The fifth thing* (without hiding, without concealment),
Everyone who will come to hear them
Is participator in every wrong,
As if he were a teacher.
For fear of difsembling is the sixth thing,†
And bad is that saying— [are not,
To show yourself to be the thing you
'Tis like a man walking in a net.
Between two stools, if he does not mind,
The man slips to the floor.
God loveth not the double-faced,
For the greatnefs of the wrath which is on him.
Beware of this, the seventh shaft,§
Which worketh worse than death;
If bad (is the) curse of God in our midst,
Bad are their lefsons and their books.
The English Bible is topsy-turvy,
Full of crooked conceits,
With the greedy, awkward minister,
Colouring a lefson to the laymen.

For preacher, a slip of a tailor
Who destroys the saints;
Or any pedlar, feeble of degree,
Who can attack the Popes.

Instead of Scripture, which is chief,
Some surly, angry scoff—
It will never come clean,
Until it goes blazing into a fire.

Instead of altar, a sorry trestle;
Instead of Christ, there's bread;

* "The fifte Reason—Participation" (*Persons*, pp. 29–33).
† "The Syxth Reason—Dissimulation" (*Ibid.*, pp. 33 v.–42).
§ "The Seventh Reason—Noughty Service."

Yn lle offeiriad, cobler crîn,
Yn cammy i fîn yw fwyta.
Yn ller creirie, tinker tôst
Yn gwneuthyr bôst oi gnafri;
Yn ller delwe, gwagedd sal,
Ar rhain ni thal moi codi.
Ag fal dymma'n wythfed rann,
Od ei di, yw llan vn amser,
Dy holl grefydd, peth sudd waeth,
I gîd it aeth yn ofer.
Mewn scymyndod, gormod gwall,
Ni wyr y dall moi gyflwr,
Ni chaiff dûn vn gronyn grâs,
Mwy na Syddas Fradwr.
Colli rhinwedd Eglwys Grîst,
Treigyl trîst tragwyddol,
Gwrthod gwrthie gwaed yr Oen,
Ag ynnill poen vffernol.
Collir gerdod, ympryd maith,
A cholli gwaith a gweddi,
A Saith Rinwedd Eglwys Dduw,
Ag yno buw mewn brynti.
Colli cymmyn yr Holl Saint,
A cholli braint awdyrdod
A roes Ieſsu Grist i Hun
I ddun i fadde pechod.
Ag fal dymmar nawfed hawl,
Or sawl ag sydd anffyddlon
Mewn gay grefydd trwyr holl fûd,
Am fynd yng hud ar estron.
Nid â'r Pagan llesc i ddusc
I ymgymmysc ar Iddewon;
Nid ar Twrc su fab y Fall,
Att y llall, su Gristion.
Gweision Diawl, ni chyll moi gradd,
Dros ddiodde, i lladd ai llosci;
Tithe yn was ir Gwr an gwnath,
Ei dithe yn waeth na rheini.

O daw gofyn, er lleshâd,
Ym mhle i câd y cantor,
Syr Sion Howlet, Brydydd fraeth,
A gwae na wnaeth i gyngor.
Mr Richard White ai cant.

Instead of priest, a shrivelled cobbler,
Making crooked his lip to eat it.

Instead of holy things, a miserable tinker,
Making a boast of his knavery;
Instead of the images, empty niches,
And those it will not pay to put up.

And then there is the eighth part:*
If thou go to their church at any time,
Thy whole religion (what is worse)
Has for thee altogether gone in vain.

In excommunication (too great a lofs)
The blind man knows not his own state;
A man will get not a grain of grace
More than Judas the Traitor.

'Tis to lose the virtue of the Church
(A misfortune sad, eternal), [of Christ
To withstand the wonders of the Blood of the Lamb,
And to gain the fire infernal;
To lose charity and long fasts,
And to lose work and prayer,
And the Seven Virtues of the Church of God,†
And there to live in foulneſs.

To lose the communion of All Saints,
And to lose the privilege of authority
Which Jesus Christ Himself did give
To man to pardon sin.

And then there is the ninth argument,§
Derived from those who are unfaithful
In false religion throughout the world,
For they go astray together.
The wretched Pagan will not go to learn,
To mingle with the Jews;
The Turk, son of Satan, will not go
To the other who is Christian.
Servants of the Devil, they will not lose their degree [*i.e.* caste], They would rather suffer themselves to be killed and burnt. Thou, a servant of the Man who made us, Thou dost become worse than those. [tage),
If there comes a question (for advan-
In what place is found the singer—
Sir John Howlet the fluent Bard,
And pity that his counsel has not been followed.
Mr Richard White sang it.

*"The Eyght Reason—Loosing the Benefit of Catholique Religion" (*Persons*, p. 44v.).
†An old Welsh phrase for the Seven Sacraments.
§ "Nynth Reason—Example of Infidels and heritikes" (*Ibid.*, p. 52).

Carol IV.

[The Reformation.]

Adda ag Efa ar Neidir fraeth
Ar prenn an gwnaeth ni yn gaethion;
Gabriel, Mair ag Iesu a'i Groes,
Y rhain a'n rhoes ni yn ryddion.
Dwaid Ave mewn gwir Ffydd,
Llawen fydd yr angylion;
Yna y crynna'r cythrel coch,
A llawer och i'w galon.
A bregetho yn erbyn Mair
Ni cholia'i air a ddwytto,
Y mae hwnnw yn fab i ddiawl,
A lloniad Pawl, tra fynno.
Nid wrth fwyta cig yn ffêst
A llenwi'r gêst Wenere,
A throi meddwl gida'r gwynt,
Yr aethon gynt yn Seintie.
Nid wrth wisco llowdwr mawr,
A thynnu i lawr eglwysi,
A chyscu yn hîr wrth dîn y drwl,
A chanu llol i'r babi.
Gwadu Aberth Crist yn llwyr,
A gwrthod cwyr yn olau,
llosci'r delwe, cablu'r Saint;
A gostwng braint y gwiliau.
Tincer, pedler, cobler, crydd,
A gwydd oddiwrth y brwyde,
Pibydd, cogydd, cigydd, côg,
Sy'n llowio llôg bregethe.
Os da gan arth i baittio wrth bawl,
Os da gan ddiawl i groesi,
Mae yn dda it tithe wrando i llath
A myn'd ym mlith i cogni
O daw gofyn pwy wnaeth hyn—
Dyn a fynn fanegu
Na char nai trwst nai trestel prenn,
Dros roddi i ben yw dorry.
Mr Richard White ai cant.

Adam and Eve and the smooth-tongued serpent
And the tree made us slaves,
Gabriel, Mary, and Jesus and His Croſs,
These set us free.

Say *Ave* in true faith,
Joyful will the angels be.
Then will tremble the red Devil,
With many a groan from his heart.

He who preaches against Mary,
Believe not a word that he may say;
Such an one is the son of a devil,
And the cheerfulneſs of Paul,* when he may.

Not by eating fleſh speedily,
And filling the paunch on Fridays,
And turning one's opinion with the wind,
Were folk made saints of old.

Not by donning big pantaloons,
And pulling down churches,
And sleeping long by the side of the couch,
And singing lullabye to the baby.
Denying the Oblation of Christ entirely, And opposing wax for light, Burning images, speaking evil of the Saints, And contemning the privilege of the holy-days.

Tinker, pedlar, cobbler, shoemaker,
And a weaver from the looms,
A piper, a turnspit, a butcher, a cook,
Handle the profit of sermons.

If a bear likes being baited at a pole,
If a devil likes to be bleſsed with the sign of the croſs,
You should like to hear their talk
And go amongst their empty chattering.

If there comes a question who made this—A man who wills to show That he loves neither their noise nor their trestle of wood, But would rather allow his head to be cut off.
Mr. Richard White sang it.

The following Carol describes the well-known sequel to the trial of the Oxford bookseller, Roland Jenks, at the Oxford Assizes, 5 July, 1577. After he had received the barbarous sentence of having his ears cut off for selling Catholic books, there was an outbreak of gaol-fever, which attacked the Lord Chief Baron Bell, about half the members of the Bar then present, and numbers of the bystanders and neighbours, and carried them off in very few hours. See below, p. 139, Challoner, *Missionary Priests*, vol. i, Introd., p. 12.

* I would suggest that "Pawl" is a scribe's error for "Sawl," and that *lloniad* is used ironically. The reference would then be to the witch of Endor. [D.L.T.]

Carol V.

Angau su yn y Seſsiwn Mawr,
A swrn ar lawr Rhudychen;
Fo ddug bym cant dan i raw,
I yrru braw yw berchen.
Cythrel ffyrnig, safnog swrth,
A bachey wrth ei gynffon;
Hwn sydd waeth nar Ystys Bel,
A fu yma yn hel tylodion.
O grud Ieſsu, hud y groes,
Nid oedd i oes o ond penyd;
Iawnyn ninnay fynd ar i ôl
I gael tragwyddol fowyd.
Gwnawn yn penyd, tra fôn buw,
Ni ai cawn o yn Dduw trigarog;
Ef an gelwiff, ni bernhawn,
Ag yno i cawn yn cyflog.
Dan y Bigael rhaid in fod,
Cyn cael y cymmod cymwys;
Mewn cytyndeb Duw ar Saint,
Fal dyna fraint yr Eglwys.
Llei bûr gwenith, llawn ywr gwŷg,
Yn llôg, mae llug yn darllen;
Cymmer dithe gyngor call,
A nâd ir dall dy arwen.
Dithe ddwydi: Mi â yn i musc
I gymryd dusc o rywbeth;
Mi ochelar peth sudd ddrwg,
Rhag mynd mewn gwg ag affaeth.
O bydd nadroedd, garw i rhith,
Ag yn i plith lysowen,
Od ei di yw dal a ddwylo noeth,
Nid wyt na doeth na chymen.
Gwell it fyned, peth sydd fwy,
Ym musc y clwy gwahanol,
Na mynd vnwaith yn ei musc
I geisio dusc ysprydol.
Os wrth ei ffrwyth i adweinir prenn,
Mae yn sal y senn er es ennyd;
O dei di geisio ffigs ar ddrain,
Nid wyt lain nag ynfud.
Os da peswch ir hên wrach,
Os da bach ir pyscod,
Os da du rew hanner hâ,
Mae nwythe yn dda i cydwybod.
O daw gofyn pwy ai cant,
Athro plant o Gymro
Sydd yn cymryd carchar beth,
Yn buw mewn gobeth etto.

[Death at the Oxford Assizes.]

Death is at the Great Seſsion,
And his fetlock on the ground of Oxford;
Five hundred have been brought under his spade,
To strike terror into their owner. *
A fierce devil, of fell jaws,
With hooks on his tail;
He is worse than Judge Bell,
Who has been here persecuting poor people.
From Jesu's cradle to His Croſs,
His life was naught but penance;
Just it is for us to walk in His footsteps,
To gain eternal life.

Let us do our penance whiles we live;
We shall find Him a merciful God;
He will call us, we shall be judged,
And then we shall obtain our reward.

Under the Shepherd must we be,
Ere we can gain our proper peace,
In the unity of God and the Saints,
For such is the privilege of the Church.

Where the wheat was, full is the vetch;
For lucre a layman is reading.
Take thou counsel wise,
And let not the blind lead thee.

Thou sayest: "I will go amongst them
To take knowledge of something;
I will avoid the thing which is evil,
Lest I go my way under disfavour and frowns."
If there are adders, of fierce aspect,
And in their midst an eel,
If thou goest to take hold of it with bare hands,
Neither wise nor commendable art thou.
It were better for thee to go (what is more)
Amidst the plague,
Than to go once into their midst
To seek spiritual knowledge.
If by its fruits a tree is known
(The taunt is a poor one for a moment);
If thou goest to seek figs upon thorn-trees,
Thou art nothing leſs than a fool.

If a cough is good for an old crone,
If a hook is good for the fish,
If a black frost is good at midsummer,
Those people have a good conscience.
If there comes a question who sang it—
A Cambrian teacher of children,
Who is undergoing imprisonment,
Yet lives in hope.

* The allusion seems to be to the Queen, or the Protestant leaders. [D.L.T.]

Cowydd Marwnad yn llawn cabledd ir prins o Orens.

Tydi Orens tew daeredd
da gan bawb dy gau n y bedd
Ti yrraist draw in tristau
tydi weithian taw dithau
pan glywais o drais adrodd
araith imi wrth y modd
mi genais nid oedais daith
Te dewm tua dwywaith
dyn a gwn da iawn ei go
ai lladdodd wellwell iddo
oer fegin a yrr fygiad
gwyddiad dyn mae 'go oedd ei dad
gyrru heb serch Anherchion
a dyn a fydd dan ei fôn
fon dŷn oi din dan adur
distrewi dwst ir awyr
ai ben ir rhiw buan yrhydd
paff oi flaen pwff flonydd
Llycheden mewn llwch ydoedd
yn gyrru oi flaen garw floedd
lle discynno tro trais
taer gigle tyrr y goglais
Chwistrell yn daenell o dan
o ryw dwll a red allan
rhyw fellten oer gethrengau
a phawl ing a phel Angau
ni cherdd vn cam heb framu
ni phaid er dim o phowdwr du
goreu rhaith fu gwaith y gwr
vn roi dyrnod ir darniwr
Golias gwael fu ei awydd
a las gynt oi luaws gudd

Corr a las fel cawr yw lu
o llas hwn mae'n lles hynny
lles goleu llas y gelyn
llwydded Duw fu r lladdiad hyn

llaw dduw gwyn yn llwyddo gwir
ydyw discyniad dysc enwir
discynnodd eu dysc vnwaith
mewn poeneu rhoed eu pen rhaith
drwg y gedy drwy gydias
Dylie wawd diawl ei was
or wlad isaf ryfelwr
ir isaf ei gyd fo roes y gwr

Funeral Ode, full of reproach of the Prince of Orange.

Thou Orange, fat (and) tedious,
Everyone is glad that thou art enclosed in the grave.
Thou drivedst yonder to sadden us;
Do thou thyself now be silent.
When under oppreſsion I heard
A speech recited to me which pleased me,
I sang aloud (I did not wait)
Te Deum about twice.
A man with a gun (very good [was] his understanding)
Slew him (well done to him !).
A cold bellows will drive a smoking.
(Be it known that his father was a smith.)
To send salutations without love
A man there shall be under the stock.
A stock tight at its bottom under the breach
Sneezing dust to the air,
And its head to the slope; Quick will it give
A lump from before it, a puff of trouble.
It was a lightning flash in dust,
Driving before it a harsh shout.
Where it [the bullet] alighted, there was a time of oppression.
(? Quick it heaps up flesh for tickling)
A syringe squirting forth fire,
From a sort of hole it runs out
Like lightning, cold spikes,
And a narrow pole, and a ball of death.
It will not walk one step without exploding, [powder.
It will not cease for any black [? magic]
According to best judgment was the man's work, Giving a blow to the [?] breaker-in-pieces. Goliath (vile was his eagerneſs) Was slain of old amid his manifold coverings. ✻
A dwarf has been slain, like the giant his host, If this man has been slain, that is an advantage,
It is a bright benefit that the enemy has been slain;
God's prospering was that slaying,
It is the hand of the Bleſsed God prospering the True.
It is called the descent of learning.
Their learning descended once;
Their Sovereign was put in pains. ✝
Thou wilt keep evil through the junction, The Devil owes a panegyric to his servant. The warrior from the Low Countries, This man was given to the lowest of all—

✻ The allusion is to Goliath's body being hidden in armour.
✝ The reference may be to the fall of Satan, or to Luther the Heresiarch. [D.L.T.]

lle mae Luther cerfer cig
ai swm adwyth somedig
lle mae vffern llem affaith
am lysu'r gwir laswyr goeth
lle mae Baram oll heb oeri
A Bel hwnt yn ei bol hi
lle mae Ridley llwm yw'r adladd
yn y su ei groes isa gradd
lle mae Juel ai ffel ffau
ai goel Addysc gelwyddau
lle mae Salbri'n sorri n surr
ar trwyn slwt y translatiwr
lle'r a'r llwynog difiog ei don
ai gau nifer genafon
lle ra Goodman i dramwy
i ddilio mant na ddel mwy
lle ra ffwlk yn llwyr i ffo
fol di orffwys fel y darffo
lle ra Dafydd lled yfwr
ap Howel goch apla gwr
lle'r ewch i gyd trwmfyd tro
oni mendiwch in mundo
a'r gwr caeth ar garre ci
dan Beilad yn din Baili
o chae Orens ni cherir
mewn poene tan penyd hir
ni bu'n Europ yn oerwr
ar faeth gynt o fath y gwr
od oes ei fath diswydd fo
llwyddiant i r neb ai lladdo.

Mr white.

Where Luther is, that carver of flesh,
And his sum of disappointed mischief;
Where Hell is, the sharp effect
Of rejecting the true pure psalter;

Where Barham is, all without cooling,
And Bell* far off in its [*i.e.* Hell's] belly;
Where Ridley ✝ is, bare is the aftermath,
[?] In the hiſsing his croſs of lowest degree;

Where Jewel§ is, and his crafty den,
And his belief, a doctrine of lies;
Where Salisbury is, chafing sourly,
The dirty-nosed translator;

Whither the Fox will go, of ferocious tone, And his false number of miſsionaries; Whither Goodman¶ will go to walk about, To work (his) jawbone let him come no more;
Whither Ffulk will go, in full retreat,
An endleſs belly as he finished.
Whither David will go, the copious drinker, [prudent man.
Son of Howel the red,‖ the more
Whither you will all go (a hard fate),
Unleſs you mend *in mundo*.
And the captive bound with the [?] thongs of a dog,
Under Pilate in the court of a bailiff.‡
If thou shalt get Orange, he will not be loved,
In pains of fire a long penance. [man,
There has not been in Europe a dismal
Nurtured of old, like this man.
If such there be, may he be without office;
Success to the man who shall kill him.

Mr White.

* Sir Robert Bell, Lord Chief Baron, and Sergeant N. Barham, who were struck down at the Oxford Assizes mentioned above.

✝ Ridley and his cross appear to refer to Bishop Nicholas Ridley, but the meaning is obscure.

§ The reference to Bishop Jewel is clear, and Salbri seems to mean William Salisbury, who translated the New Testament into Welsh. But he was still living, so that one would have expected *bydd*, "will be," not *mae*, "is."

¶ John Foxe, the martyrologist, and Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster, who assisted the translation of the Welsh Bible. The latter had taken part in the persecution of White (*Rambler*, p. 236).

‖ William Fulke, the Puritan divine, who disputed with Campion, and David Powell, the historian.

‡ *Ci*, "the dog," is a name for the devil, and the allusion would be to sinners, but the meaning, especially that of last line, remains obscure. [D.L.T.]

XXXI.

INDICTMENTS AT NORWICH OF THOSE WHO RECEIVED BLEST BEADS FROM MONFORD SCOTT

5 Dec., 1584

Record Office, *Coram Rege Roll* 26, 27 Elizabeth, Michaelmas. Crown side, rot. 3. Formularies repeated at full length in the roll.

[*Abstract*]

INDICTMENT found on Friday, April 24th, 26 Elizabeth, at the Gaol delivery of the Guildhall of Norwich, before the Commissioners and Judges of the commission of oyer and terminer, *viz.* that Mumford Scott, late of the above city, cleric, on 1st June, 24 Elizabeth (*i.e.* 1582), brought into this realm, that is to Norwich, from the See of Rome, one "orbiculus consecratus," called in English "a hallowed beade," and afterwards on the 20th of June gave and delivered the same to John Nedeham, vintner in the same city, with the intention that the said John should carry and use the same in contempt of the Queen, and in contempt of the Act of Parliament of the 2nd of April of the 13th year of the present Queen. ALSO that the said John Nedeham, on the said first of June, knowingly, &c., received the said bead, &c. ALSO on the same Friday, at the same Gaol delivery, the Jury found that the said Munford Scott [*as before*] brought into the country a hallowed bead, on the 1st of October, 24 Elizabeth, and gave it, on the 20th day of January, 25 Elizabeth (1583), to Robert Dunne of the same city, mason [&c., *as before*].

ALSO that a person unknown brought in a bead on the 1st of September, 25 Elizabeth, and on the 27th of September, 25 Elizabeth, gave it to James Haber, vintner [&c., *as before*].

Venire for trial awarded, and writ to sheriff to bring up prisoners.

Saturday next after the 18th of St. Martin (*i.e.* 5th December), Robert Dunne and Dorothy his wife and James Haber appear and render themselves prisoners, and are committed to the Marshal.

Asked how they will be tried, they severally produce their pardons under the great seal, dated 17th November, 1584, under condition of finding securities for good behaviour. They are released.

ADHUC DE TERMINO STI. MICHELIS: REGINA

Civitas Norwici: ss. per indictamentum xxvi E.R.

ALIAS SCILICET die veneris vicesimo quarto die Aprilis Anno regni dne Elizabeth nunc Regine Anglie vicesimo sexto ad deliberacionem goale Guihalde civitatis predicte de prisonariis in ea existentibus ea vice deliberandis ibidem tentam, coram honorabili viro Henrico domino Cromwell, Thoma Gawdye, milite, uno justiciario domine Regine ad placita coram ipsa tenenda assignato, Francisco Wyndham uno Justiciario suorum de Banco, Willelmo Heydon milite, maiore Civitatis Norwicensis pro tempore existente, Francisco Gawdye seruiente ad legem, Edwardo Flowerdewe seruiente ad legem, Nathaniele Bacon Armigero et aliis Commissariis et Justiciariis dicte domine Regine, virtute et aucthoritate literarum patentium ipsius domine Regine eis et aliis directarum ad inquirendum &c. de quibusdam prodicionibus &c. et ad audiendum et terminandum assign[atis]—per sacramentum xii^{cim} juratorum extitit presentatum quod Munfordus Scott nuper de dicta Ciuitate, Clericus, primo die junii, Anno regni dne Elizabeth Regine nunc Anglie &c. vicesimo quarto, intulit in hoc

regnum Anglie, videlicet apud Ciuitatem predictam a sede Romana unum orbiculum consecratum, Anglice vocatum *a hallowed beade*, et postea videlicet vicesimo die Junii anno vicesimo quarto predicto apud Norwicum predictam in Com. ciuitatis predicte, tradidit et deliberauit predictum orbiculum Johanni Nedeham de ciuitate predicta vintner, adtunc et adhuc subditus dicte dne Regine, ea intencione quod idem Johannes dictum orbiculum gereret et uteretur, in contemptu dicte domine Regine, & contra formam statuti in parliamento dicte domine Regine nunc secundo die Aprilis anno regni sui decimo tercio apud Westmonasterium in hoc casu editi et prouisi; et contra pacem dicte domine Regine &c. Et quod predictus Johannes Nedeham, sciens predictum Munfordum Scott predicto primo die junii Anno vicesimo quarto supradicto in hoc regnum Anglie, videlicet apud Norwicum predictum in Com ciuitatis predicte, predictum orbiculum consecratum a sede Romana predicta sic vt prefertur intulisse, postea videlicet dicto vicesimo die junii anno predicto apud ciuitatem predictam de predicto Munfordo Scotto predictum orbiculum consecratum recepit et acceptavit ea intentione ad illum orbiculum gerendum et vtendum in contemptu dicte domine Regine &c. et contra formam statuti predicti et contra pacem domine Regine &c.

Civitas Norwici per indictamentum anni xxvi E.R.

Item alias Scilicet dicto die veneris vicesimo quarto die Aprilis Anno vicesimo sexto supradicto ad deliberacionem gaole Guihalde, civitatis praedicte, coram prefatis commissionariis et justiciariis per sacramentum xii^{cim} juratorum predictorum similiter extitit presentatum quod Munfordus Scott nuper de dicta civitate Clericus primo die Octobris Anno regni dne Elizabeth Regine nunc Anglie vicesimo quarto intulit . . . orbiculum consecratum . . . et postea videlicet vicesimo die Januarii Anno vicesimo quinto &c. tradidit et deliberavit predictum orbiculum consecratum Roberto Dunne de civitate predicta, mason, &c. [*exactly as before*].

Civitas Norwici per indict. xxvi E.R.

Item Alias Scilicet [*as before*, rot. 3° v] extitit presentatum quod Munfordus Scott, . . . primo die Decembris anno regni . . . vicesimo sexto intulit . . . orbiculum &c. . . . et postea videlicet decimo tercio die Decembris anno vicesimo sexto . . . tradidit & deliberavit predictum orbiculum consecratum Dorothee Dunne modo vxori Roberti Dunne &c. [*at full length as before*].

Civitas Norwici per ind. xxvi E.R.

Item Alias Scilicet dicto die veneris vigesimo quarto die Aprilis . . . extitit presentatum quod quedam persona ignota primo die Septembris, Anno Regni Elizabeth . . . vicesimo quinto . . . intulit vnum orbiculum . . . et postea videlicet septimo die Septembris, anno vicesimo quinto . . . tradidit ac deliberavit predictum orbiculum consecratum Jacobo Haber de civitate Norwici vyntener &c. [*as before*].

Que quidem seperalia Jndictamenta domina Regina nunc coram ea postea certis de causis venir. fec. terminand—— Per quod precept fuit vicecomiti quod non omitt &c. quin attach. eos ad respondend &c.—— Et modo scilicet die Sabbati proximo post xviij Sti Martini isto eodem termino coram dna Regina apud Westmonasterium venerunt predicti, Robertus Dunne et Dorothea uxor eius et Jacobus

Haber in propriis personis suis, et reddiderunt se prisone Marreschalli Marescalcie dne Regine coram ipsa regina occõnibus predictis. Qui committuntur prefato (?) marreschallo &c.

Et statim de premissis eis et eorum omnibus superius seperatim impositis seperatim alloquuntur qualiter se velint inde acquietari, seperatim dicunt, quod dicta domina Regina nunc de gratia sua speciali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu suis literis suis patentibus pardonavit remisit et relaxavit eisdem Roberto, Dorothee [Jacobo] . . . . . [Propterea] . . . proferunt hic in curia Robertus, Dorothea, Jacobus litteras patentes predictas premissa testificantes, que sequuntur in hec verba.

Elizabeth dei gratia &c. omnibus &c. cum Robertus Dunne [*Robert Dunne's indictment is here recited verbatim, then that of Dorothy Dunne, then that af John Nedeham, then that of* Margareta Nedeham, uxor dicti Johannis, *in the same form as the others, but* "Munford Scott intulit *the hallowed bead* die primo Octobris et postea die decimo quinto Octobris et decimo tertio die Decembris tradidit et deliberavit duos orbiculos," *to the said Margaret—then the indictment of Haber as before—and the pardon of all*] ita tamen quod stent nomina eorum ra*cordata* in curia nostra, et ita quod iidem Robertus, Dorothea, Margareta, Jacobus bonam et sufficientem securitatem inveniant iuxta formam Statuti anni tertii Eduardi regis tertii de se bene gerendi . . . teste meipsa apud Westmonasterium, vicesimo septimo die novembris, anno vicesimo Septimo.

Et ita Robertus Dorothea et Jacobus eant et quilibet eorum eat inde sine die etc.

XXXII.

THE BANISHMENT OF PRIESTS

20 December, 1584, to 29 May, 1586

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clxxv, *n.* 38; holograph, and *Declared Accounts*, Pipe Office, 542.

After the assassination of the Prince of Orange, 10 July, 1584, a notable change came over the character of the persecution. The murder was a disgraceful crime, which, however, had been promoted by Spain, the great Catholic power. Of course everybody knew even in those days that assassination could not be permitted, but an excuse was found in this way. The prince was born a subject to the King of Spain, and it was his violence which now prevented ordinary legal measures being taken against him, wherefore, said the politicians, he must be dealt with extra judicially. The crime in its results was disastrous, not only to the cause of Spain, but also to Spain's co-religionists, and especially to the English Catholics. The English politicians raised the cry that Elizabeth was in danger of a fate like that of the prince, though in truth her life was never for a minute in peril. The country responded with enthusiasm, but, alas! religious animosities were also excited to the utmost. A new parliament was elected, which passed the laws known as those of the 27th year of Elizabeth, making it high treason for priests ordained by jurisdiction derived from Rome to enter England, and there were proportionate punishments for all who entertained them. This legislation marks the highest pitch of cruelty reached by the persecution. So grim and thorough was the method, that priests in prison were to be banished, in order that if they returned, proceedings

under the new act might be taken against them. In the following paper we see Elizabeth personally urging on the execution of the decree of banishment. The Royal Commission of which mention is here made is extant (*Dom. Eliz.*, clxxvi, *n.* 9), but it bears date 15 January, 1585. The more important paragraphs have been printed in H. Foley, *Records S.J.*, iii, 288. Twenty priests were banished accordingly:—John Hart, Edward Rishton, William Tedder, Samuel Conyers, Arthur Pitts, William Warmyngton, Richard Slacke, William Hartley, Richard Norris, William Deane, William Bishop, Robert Nutter, Thomas Stephenson, John Collyton, Christopher Thompson, Thomas Worthington, John Barnes and William Smyth; also Fathers Jaspar Heywood and James Bosgrave, of the Society of Jesus, and a gentleman, Mr. Henry Orton.

Though all are described as Jesuits, only Heywood and Bosgrave had been enrolled in the Society, though one or two others, Hart and Stephenson, afterwards joined. Hartley, Deane and Nutter were afterwards Martyrs; Worthington became President of Douay College.

On the 28th of February an account of their sufferings was sent by Doctor Allen to Rome (*Letters of Cardinal Allen*, p. 248). Another account is given by Edward Rishton at the end of the third book which he added to Nicholas Sander's *De Schismate Anglicano* (*English Translation*, ed. D. Lewis (1877), pp. 326–331). Dr. Worthington also commemorates the event in his various *Catalogues of the Martyrs*.

Eleven of these exiles had been prisoners in the Tower, and were "dismissed" from thence on the 21st of January (*C.R.S.*, iii, 18). On the 28th of February, and again on the 15th of July and 22nd of November, 1585, and finally on the 29th of May, 1586, various payments for the transport of the priests were made by Privy Council warrants. We do not know the days of the various shipments, and these payments are of course long after date. The *Douay Diaries* (p. 13) records the fact of twenty-two priests being sent from York in September, with thirty more from London, as well as two laymen. But only twenty-four names out of the seventy-two priests are there given. (See also p. 193.)

(i)

THOMAS WYLKES TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM

May it please your Honour, I had only conference with Mr. Attorney General and delivered unto him the several minutes drawn by me for the conveying away of the Jesuits, praying him according to such direction as I received from the Lords to confer with the Lords Chief Justices and others, and upon view of the commission to set down in what sort those warrants were to be made, and what course were fyttest to be held in the execution of the commission, according to the contents of the same, wherein I required him that all expedition might be used, for that her Majestie had been earnest with your honour and the Lords for the dispatch thereof: and this is as much as I can report thereof unto your Honour and so I take my leave most humbly this xxth of December 1584. Your honours most bounden

Tho. Wylkes.

Addressed.—To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight, Principal Secretary to the Queen's Majesty.

Endorsed.—1584, 20 Dec. From Mr Wylkes.

(ii)

PAYMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE CHAMBER

(Rot. 67*a*.)

To WILLIAM BOWLL one of the ordinary yeomen of her Majesty's chamber and ANTHONY HALL citizen and skinner of London upon the Council's warrant dated at Somerset House ult° Feb. 1584 being appointed and authorised by the Lords of her Majesty's privy Council to have the charge of the conducting and transporting of certain Jesuits and seminary Priests out of this realm into the parts of Normandy in France in consideration of their charges and travail in that service—x^li.

(Rot. 69*b*.)

To JOHN HART of Dover in the county of Kent Mariner upon a warrant signed by Mr. Vicechamberlain and m^r Secretary Walsingham dated at Greenwich xv° Julii 1585 for his pains being employed as pilot in the Transporting over of such Jesuits Seminaries and Mass priests as were banished and sent over under the charge of William Bowll one of the yeomen of the guard, and Anthony Hall the space of xij days—xl^s.

(Rot. 79.)

To ROBERT ASHBURNHAM and Edward Bell upon the Council's Warrant dated at Richmond xxij° Novem. 1585 for conveying into the parts of Normandy (by direction given by the Lords of the Privy Council to the Lord President and Council at York) xx^tie ij Seminary priests which were imprisoned at Hull and York, and by her Majesty's commandment banished the Realm, which priests they received and landed at Newhaven in Normandy, in performing whereof they employed their travail by the space of five weeks for the transporting of the said xx^tie ij Seminary Priests and for their own expences and diets with other charges disbursed in the said service as by certificate appeareth—lij^li.*

(Rot. 81.)

To ANTHONY HALL and Thomas Stocker upon the Councils warrant dated at Greenwich xxix° Maii, for transporting into the parts of Normandy certain Jesuits and Seminary Priests banished out of the Realm by order from the Queen's Majesty, wherein they have disbursed more than was imprest unto them, as [by] their particular accounts appeareth, viz. as well for their said surplusage as for other their pains and travail in that service,—xiiij^li.

XXXIII.

REPORT TO THE COUNCIL ON CATHOLIC PRISONERS BY TOPCLIFFE AND OTHERS

18 March, 1585

British Museum, Lansdowne MSS., clvii, f. 167. Draft, with insertions by Topcliffe, which are below printed in *italics*.

It does not appear that the inquisition here described decided the fate of any Martyr in particular, but it is very interesting because of

* On the same day Ashburnham obtained £10 for bringing a prisoner from York to be tried for high treason.

the important part played in it by "the bloody question"—Will the prisoners fight against the Pope?

For the import of this question, and the consequences of not answering according to the liking of Elizabeth's courtiers, see Dom Bede Camm, *Lives of the English Martyrs* (1905), xxxiv–xxxvi; J. Morris, *Life of Father John Gerard* (1881), 225, 226; *The Month* (Nov., 1904), civ, p. 514; *Acts of English Martyrs*, pp. 78–81, 113, 267, 297, 301; Allen, *Modest Defence* (1584), p. 62, &c.

Of the prisoners in question, Edward Shelley and Thomas Webley were subsequently martyred. William Wigges is to be distinguished from another priest of the same name who was martyred in 1588. The priest here mentioned seems to have been an M.A. of St. John's College, Oxford, who died not in 1588 as was erroneously reported, but at Wisbeach some time after the year 1596 (J. Morris, *Troubles*, ii, 235–237. See also *C.R.S.*, ii, 239, and T. G. Law, *Jesuits and Seculars*, p. 136). Hyde had been arrested at Highgate by Newall and Worsely before 16 February, 1585 (Record Office, *Treasurer of Chamber*, Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 542, m. 66), and from the same source we learn that Christopher Tailby had been arrested by the same pair of pursuivants before the 26th of January. The *Prison Lists*, in *C.R.S.*, vol. ii, mention them and William Bennet frequently. From the same Lists it appears that [William] Crab, who we see here yielding to go to church, was afterwards arrested trying to fly the realm, and committed to prison again. But eventually, in order it would seem to provide room for those who were to be arrested in connection with Babington, he was released again (*C.R.S.*, ii, 242, 244, 251, 254). His name does not appear in the *Douay Diaries*, so it may be a pseudonym.

[A draft of a letter to the Lords concerning the Seminary Priests, &c. 18th March, 1584.]

Our humble duties done to your good Lordships, may it please the same to be advertised, that wee have (with as greate care and diligence as wee might) examined of late divers Seminarie priests, recusants and dispersers of traiterous bookes, and others of the same kinde with whom (howsoever it is perchaunce other wise reported) we have proceaded with as great favoure as possiblie we might. For wee have reexamined moste of them hoping to winne them, and manie of them thrice examined, in confidence to doe them good: but every one of them, savinge only Crab *at the last tyme for his going to the Church onely*, th' oftener examined the more froward and pervers.

In which examinacions wee have not dealt with them concerning any point of religion whereof to take advauntage or to encrease the straitenes of their imprisonment, neither have committed any of them to close prison, but such only as uppon our consciences we knowe unworthy to live under her Maiesties protection. Of which sort are Christopher Tailby and William Bennett priests, Leonard Hide and William Wiggs Seminary Priests. Rafe Emmerson, Edward Shelley and Thomas Weblie dispersers of traiterous bookes. Eche one of them being so farre from acknowledging theire former faultes, that being demaunded whether the pope hath done well in excommunicating her Maiesty, in pronouncing her noe lawfull Queene, in discharging her Subiects from theire obedience to her, in moving them to take armes against her, and thereuppon being offered theire othe, theire answers

are, they will not sweare, or els they will not answer, or els they knowe not.

And being further demaunded whose part theie would take, if any Saunders, Erle of Westmerland, or the like, authorised by the Pope, should by force assaile her Maiestie or her dominions, they answer that they would take part with the Catholickes, or els when the time cometh, then they will tell us, *and most of them denye or refuse to Sweare y^t^ they bee Queene Elizabeth's lawfull or trew subiects.* Of all which wee have thought good to certifie your Lordships to th' end that, knowing of our proceedings with them, you maie in your godly wisedomes *consider* [oppose *cancelled*] the truth hereof certified under our handes against th' untruth of such libellers and supplicationers, who albeit theie speak faier, yet they *seeme to* carrie fowle and traiterous harts, and if they hurt not, it is not for want of will to attempt it, but for lacke of force to accomplish it. *So redy to serve at your honors commandments, we cease for this tyme to trouble your Lordships. At the Gilde Haule.*

Endorsed by Dr. J. Caesar.—A draught of a letter to the Ll. concerning the Seminary Prests, etc. 18° Martij, 1584.

XXXIV.

ARTICLES FOR ALFIELD AND ROE

30 March, 1585

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clxix, *n.* 42. Walsingham's autograph.

The articles deal with the broad political questions of the time. The Protestant party, in their boundless dislike and distrust of Catholics, thought it good policy to keep up the cry of danger from a "Papal league" of Catholic princes. The object of this paper is to elicit information in support of that policy. It is now plain that no such league was ever formed or even decided upon, but there had been talk of an alliance between Spain, Scotland, Lorraine and the Pope, in the years 1582 and 1584 (*C.R.S.*, ii, 30; iv, 60, 111. *Letters of Cardinal Allen*, xxxvi, lxiv, &c.). But everything then turned on the King of Scots, and as it was uncertain whether he was really master of his kingdom, and which side he would have taken if he were so, nothing could be decided.

On the 10th of June, 1584, the Duke of Anjou, heir to the French crown, died, and the next in the line of succession was the Huguenot, Henri of Navarre. Catholic France would not accept such a one as king, and a renewal of the religious wars in France thus became inevitable, and in them the Duke of Guise would be opposed to his sovereign. The first six articles refer to this state of affairs, and especially to the revival of *La Sainte Ligue*, amongst Frenchmen for the preservation of Catholicism.

Article 7, regarding Morgan and Paget, was presumably occasioned by the plot of Dr. Parry, who had been executed the month before. Elizabeth was then intensely keen on obtaining evidence against Morgan.

The eighth article on the "repaire" of the Bishop of Ross to Scotland, appears to be born of those erroneous informations with which Walsingham's spies supplied him so liberally. The Bishop of Ross did not leave France at this period, but he had talked of going, and his secretary, Patrick Adye, together with Father William Crichton, S.J., had been arrested

on their way to Scotland and were now in the Tower. This explains Walsingham's desire for news about them. On Father Holt, see *C.R.S.*, iv, 92.

It is unlikely that either Alfield or Roe could have answered these questions. Allen, in a letter to the Nuntio in Paris, expressly states that the former was not acquainted with the plans of the party (*Letters*, p. 226). The explanation of his being questioned in this manner was presumably the dishonourable trick played upon him by John, afterwards Sir John, Davis the great explorer. As a *ruse* in the warfare of piracy maintained against Spain, Davis pretended to be disgusted at the base employment put upon him by the English Government, and through Alfield proposed to Dr. Allen that he should fill his ships with Catholic sailors, and take service under the Pope or King of Spain against the Turk or other enemies. Allen sent Alfield to the Nuntio at Paris (20 March, 1584), and the matter was referred to Rome (2 April). The Pope accepted Alfield and Allen's letters as signs of Davis's *bona fides*, but did not desire his services (23 April), which, however, might be offered (it was suggested) to Spain (*Cardinal Allen's Letters*, pp. 226, 228, 422, 423). This was apparently the end of the intrigue so far as regarded Davis's attempts to trick the Catholic powers. His treachery was more successful in hunting to death the priest on whose good nature he had too successfully imposed, as will be seen below.

Of this intrigue with Davis, Anthony Tyrrell heard something, and it is instructive to compare the first-hand papers printed in *Cardinal Allen's Letters* (*ut supra*), with his characteristically exaggerated version which is found in his *Fourth Declaration*, Record Office, *Mary Queen of Scots*, xix, 81, § 1.

"In October last was 7 months [*i.e.* 1585] Aufield, a notorious traitor, then living, informed D. A[llen] and ye D. of G[uise] that he had corrupted one Davies, as I take it a western man, that was in great credit with the Council with [Sir] F. W[alsingham], and should have had committed to his charge three of her Majesty's best ships for the annoyance of the K. of S[pain]. His intent and purpose was to have had one of the best ships of the three to be manned with men of trust, such as would willingly condescend unto anything that he would. The other two, of whom he would make no account, should be taken at an advantage and fired or else spoiled. With the other he would to the service either of the D. of Guise or of the K. of S[pain]. This practice Aufield made Fortescue [Ballard] privy unto, and should have been made acquainted with Davies at the Marshalseas, who was accounted a fellow so politic and deep of dissimulation, that of the Council, who thought to employ him, he was without all suspicion. But more of this matter I never heard, for A[ufield] the principal agent came over with A[llen's] books and was hanged."

On Christopher Roe, called Thomas in the endorsement, and also in the *Calendar*, see the Tower Bills (*C.R.S.*, iv, 19, 20). He seems to have been released on the 4th of August, 1585.

xxxth Marche, 1584

Articles to be mynstred vnto Tho. Avfelde and Roe

1. Whether they were made acquaynted with the cause of the Duke of Gwyses takyng of Armes, &c., ageynst the Frenche K[yng], by whom he is set on, and for what purpose he hathe taken them.

2. What partye they have hearde that the sayd Duke shoold have within the realme of Fraunce, and what lykelyhod there is y^{t} he shoold prevayle.

3. Whether they have not hearde that the D. of Gwyse after he hath gotten his purpose in Fraunce shall be imployed eyther in Scoteland or England.

4. Whether they have not charge from the ynglyshe Catholykes in France to put the catholykes in England in hope of delyveraunce by the Duke of Gwyse with the assistaunce of the Pope and the King of Spayne.

5. Whether they doe not knowe or have hearde that there is a plott layde for the depryving of the K. of Navar, of his Successyon.

6. Whether they do think or knowe that the Frenche King hathe any secreat intellygence with the Duke of Gwyse.

7. What practyce they have ben made acquaynted withall for the delyverye of the Scottish Queen and whether he had no speeche with Tho. Morgan or Charles Paget for that purpose.

8. What plot they knowe hathe ben layd for the changing of relygyon in Scotland, and what is the cause of the Bishop of Rosses repayre thither, and what opynion they have of the scot K's relygyon.

9. Whether they be acquaynted with Creyton the Jesuiste, and what was the cause of his repayre into Scotlande.

10. Whether they know not Howlt the Jesuiste, where he now is, and when they last hearde from him, and, 11, what intellygence hathe passed between them towching the proceadings in Scoteland, and whether the sayd Howlt hath put them in compfort of the K[ing] of Scotts revolte in relygyon or any of the nobylytye of that realme.

Endorsed.—[i] Articles to be ministred to Tho. Rowe March 1583 (*sic*). [ij] Interrogatories for Aulfilde.

XXXV.

THE EXAMINATIONS OF EDMUND REYNOLDS AND OF JOHN BARBER

1 May, 1585

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clxxviii, *n.* 36.

These papers show that a new line has been taken in the examination of Alfield, the articles printed in the last section having presumably led to nothing. It appears from the third answer that certain informations had been given to the Vice-Chancellor, but what they were does not appear.

John Barber's story is somewhat confused; he is evidently very anxious to excuse himself. But what a picture of the times! A vice-chancellor searching in a privy to recover Allen's admirable work, in order that he may burn it publicly in the streets. A fitting manifestation of the moral degradation and shameless violence which characterised the prosecution of this Martyr.

> The examinacon of Mr. Edmunde Raynoldes, taken by D. Underhill Vicechancellor of the University of oxford the first of Maye 1585.

1. First the said Edmunde Raynolds beinge examined wheather he knewe one Alfeilde of Gloucester, he confessethe that he knowethe Alfeilde the schoolmaisters sonne, and that he had bene in his company

twise, once v or vj yeare since, and the last tyme was betwixt Midsomer & Michaelmas last in oxford.

2. Item the said Rainoldes beinge examined wheather he received anie books of the said Alfeilde, and of what names they weare, saythe that he received ij books, the one against the execucon of Justice, the other against Whittakers, &c., latelie made by this examynate his brother William Raynolds. And he further saithe that the said Alfeild delivered those twoe foresaid bookes unto him from his said brother as sent vnto this examynate, and saithe that he payed nothinge for them.

3. Item this examynate being demaunded whether he ever received any other books then those aforesaid of any other, or dothe knowe if the said Alfeilde delivered any suche books to any other man in oxford, or to any other elswheare. He utterlie denyethe that ever he received any others then those aforesayde, and saythe that he is not privie of any delivery to anie others. And as for a dosen bookes to be delivered to this examynate by the sayd Alfeild or to any other for him, he saythe it is a great untruthe and cannot be prooved.

4. Item the sayd examynate beinge asked what he dyd with those ij foresayd bookes, saythe that he burned that against the execucon of Justice, and the other he hathe in his owne Custody.

John Barber examyned saith as followethe

That he received a tronke with certayne bookes therin directed unto him by a superscription, as he thinks from Mr. Awlfeild, to be conveyed to Gloucester, and that he opened the same Tronke, and saw therin one booke agaynst the execucon, and shutt the Tronke agayne and carried it to on Joyners howse, and so it was sent (as he thinkethe) to Gloucester. Hee saythe he never did see any bookes delivered by the sayd Awlfeild to the sayd Mr. Reynolds, or to any others and that his wyffe opened the Chest as she wrytes and conveyed the bookes into a Privye wheare by the sayd vicechancellor's meanes they weare fownd, and after burned in the open strete, the sayd examinate saythe that he knowethe not whear his wiffe lyethe or remaynethe. Jo. Underhill Vicecha^r oxon.

Addressed.—To the Right honorable Sr Frauncis Walsingham Secretary to her Maiestie and one of her Maiestie's most honorabe privie Counsell.

Endorsed.—1585. Thexamination of Edmond Reynolds.

XXXVI.

THE ARREST OF THOMAS HOLFORD

18 and 23 May, 1585

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clxxviii, *n.* 67.

The reader is already acquainted with William Chaderton, the Protestant Bishop of Chester. His victim this time is Thomas Holford, a native of Cheshire, who had been ordained at Laon (below Lahounde) on the 7th of April, 1583, and had returned on the 4th of May (*Douay Diaries*, 194, 195). The bishop had examined him with rigour, and records one of his answers, which is wanting in the Martyr's written replies, that "either Tyburn or Boughton shall have his carcase," *i.e.* he was ready to suffer in London (but there were other Tyburns else-

where), or at Great Boughton, two miles east of Chester. To London he was sent, but escaped after a remarkable adventure from his conductors, who had got drunk. The story is told in Mr. Davis's *Relation concerning Mr. Thomas Holford*, but the narrator is in error, as we see, in putting the escape after the Babington plot. There is an early copy (1626) in the Westminster Archives, vol. iv, *n.* 1, and a copy in Alban Butler's papers at Oscott, p. 342. Challoner has printed it entire. But in my edition, 1874, p. 122, line 35, *after* "what lack you, gentlemen," *insert*, "a shoeing horn"? "Yea," said he. The tapster showed him a horn tied to a string. But the tapster being gone, &c. &c. *Also in line* 38, *to* "the little lane into Gray's-Inn-fields," *add*, "which I think is called Turning lane." See also J. Morris, *Troubles*, ii, 54, 58, 60.

The Bishop of Chester to the Earl of Derby

Righte Honourable, my verey Singuler good lord my humble duty remembred. I do right hartely thanke you for both those y^r^ Lordships most honoured letters of the 6 and 8 of this Instant mervaylinge greatly howe some (of whome your Lordship wrytethe) are become so presumptuous, and withal beinge most joy-full of my dear good frend the Lord Chamberlayne his advancement to that place of trust and Servyce* wyshynge with all my harte and dayly prayinge God to move her Maiestie your lordship may succede hym, beinge as well qualyfyed to discharge that place, as you have bene thoughte very well to deserve yt. I am fully perswaded her Maiestie ys so gracyous a lady, that she will not send your Lordship home into your country unrewarded.

The Comiſsyon was never more needfull, for the Contrey is full of Semynaryes, and the people are bolde and contemptuous. Of late Mr Sherif and Mr Lyversage being at the Nant Wyche apprehended one Holforde a Semynary, and exaymined hym, but he wolde not confesse any matter of importaunce, notwithstandynge because he was suspycyous they sent hym to Chester, where I examyned hym, with the Assystaunce of all the Justyces of peace present at this last Quarter Seſsyons (for I durst not deale by Commiſsyon) and he confeſsed hym self to have bene made priest in Fraunce, and to have come over purposely to perswade her Maiesties subiectes to the Catholyque faythe of the Churche of Rome saying that he will not departe the Realme, but that ether Tyburne, or Boughton, shall have his Carcase, nether will he be perswaded by any meanes to the contrarye, whereupon we have committed him as a traytor to close prison, etc. If your Lordship thinke good, you may advertise my Lords of hym, for he knowethe muche, but will nether take othe, nor utter any thynge. I send y^r^ Lordship Inclosed his examination and description and so for this tyme with most humble Commendacions commyt your Lordship to the Almighty Who longe kepe y^r^ Lordship with muche healthe, and honor in his feare and her Maiesties most gracyous favor.

Chester this 23 of May 1585.

Y^r^ Lordships most bounden aſsured and faythefull poore frend alwayes to commaund to my deathe.

W. Cestren.

* Charles Lord Howard's promotion to be Lord Admiral.

Truly Mr Sherif and Mr Lyversage deserve great Commendacion for there Servyce.

Addressed.—To the righte honorable my verey singular good Lord the Earl of Derby one of her Maiesties most honble Pryvye Counsell, at the Courte hast these.

Endorsed.—23° May 1585. Bishp of Chester to the Earl of Derby.
1. Obstinacy of Holford a Seminary priest.
2. Necefsety of renuing ye Ecclesiastical Commifsion.

[*Enclosure*]

Maij 18° Anno Regni Domine Elizabethe Anglie Regine xxvij° coram Reverendo in Christo patre Willelmo Cestrensi Epō, Hugone Cholmondley, Rowland Standley, Georgio Calveley militibus et aliis Justiciariis Domine Regine ad pacem servandam in Comitatu Cestrensi, &c.

Thomas Holford of the age of xliiijtie yeares being examyned, &c. . . . answerethe, that he was made a Canonicall Preist, according to the order of the Churche of Rome, viz. of the Catholique Churche at a place called Lahounde in France, but by what Bishop he knowethe not. Moreover the saide Holford being examyned for what cause he returned over into England, &c., answeareth, he came over into England of purpose to perswade the people to the Catholique faith of the Churche of Rome, and to minister the Sacraments, according to the use thereof which he hath done now by the space of ij yeares last past, for so long it ys since his last coming into England. Last of all being demaunded whether he wold conforme him self to her maiesties Lawes, and come to the Churche, &c. . . . he answeareth that he will not, for that yt is against his conscience.

W. C.

The said Holford, is a tall, blacke, fatte, stronge man, the crowne of his head balde, his beard marquezated,* his apparrell was a blacke cloake, with murrey Lace,† open at the sholders, a strawe couloured fustion dublet laide on with red Lace, the buttons red, cut and laide under with redd Tafeta, ash coloured hose, laid on with byllmit§ lace, cut and laid under with blacke tafeta, A little blacke hatte lyned with veluet in the brymms, a falling band,‖ and yealow knitted stocks.

W. C.

Endorsed.—Examination of Tho: Holford Seminary Priest.

* Marquezated—"all shaven except the mustachoes" (Murray's *Dictionary*, vi, p. 180).

† Murrey lace—*i.e.* of mulberry, dark red colour.

§ Byllmit—See Murray's *Dictionary* under "Biliment." This word is an abbreviation of "habiliment," and signifies "that which is worn on clothes," "trimming."

‖ A falling band—A collar of cambric falling on the shoulders, as opposed to a ruff, which stood out.

XXXVII.

RECORD OF THE TRANSFER OF ALFIELD TO NEWGATE

[14 June, 1585]

Record Office, Controlment Roll, 27 Elizabeth, Trinity.

The date may be gathered from the Prison Lists, which, after Alfield's death, record that Leonard Hyde and William Wigges (here erroneously called Edward) had been in Newgate since the 14th of June, 1585 (*C.R.S.*, ii, 270).

Adhuc de termino Sancte Trinitatis: Sandes

Turris SS. london

Leonardus Hyde clericus, Edwardus Wyggs clericus, Thomas Alfield clericus et Franciscus Arden generosus per Owinum Hopton Militem locum tenentem Turris Domine Regine london virtute literarum dicte domine Regine de habeas corpus ad subijciendum etc. ei inde directi, et coram domina Regina ducti cum causa, videlicet quod predictus Leonardus, Edwardus, Thomas et Franciscus ei commissi fuere per speciale mandatum Dominorum Privati consilij Domine Regine salvo custodiendi causis ei adtunc penitus incognitis. Qui committuntur marescallo &c.; Et postea predicti Leonardus, Edwardus, Thomas per curiam committuntur Gaole domine Regine de Newgate ibidem remansuri sub custodiam vice-comitis comitatus Middlesex salvo custodiendi quousque &c., et prefatus Franciscus Arden committitur Marescallo salvo custodiendus quousque &c.

Committuntur vic. Mid. & Mar.

XXXVIII.

THE INDICTMENT OF ALFIELD

5 July, 1585

British Museum, Lansdowne MSS., xxxiii, *n.* 58, f. 130.

It has already been noted that Alfield was pursued to death with unusual violence, and this paper affords a new proof of it. The statute under which it was determined to proceed was the second chapter of the acts of the 23rd year of Elizabeth's reign, directed against the publication of ballads and tracts derogatory to the Queen's Government, a law under which various Puritans suffered in later years. The book which moved the persecutors' spleen was Allen's *True, Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholiques* (1584), which answered, with conspicuous moderation, the defence of *English Justice*, published by Lord Burghley in order to justify the charges against the martyrs. Allen's book took some time to print, and the presentation copy to the Pope was sent from Paris on the 11th of September, 1584 (*Cardinal Allen's Letters*, pp. 239, 240, 424). The copies, therefore, which were disposed of by Alfield on the 10–20th of September, within the parish of All Saints', Bread Street, as mentioned in the indictment below, will have been among the earliest copies that reached England.

The book was as Alfield protested "a loyal book," tending powerfully to induce the English Catholics to remain attached to Elizabeth in spite of all the cruelties they had to endure. Loyalty to her was always a characteristic of the Catholics in England; and also of the exiles abroad, except when some unusual strain prevented their keeping in touch with their kinsmen at home. In his *Modest Defence*, Allen was forced by his challengers to face the most thorny questions, the effect upon allegiance

of the Queen's illegitimacy, of her insufferable persecution, of her excommunication, &c. Europe was changing its ideas on these subjects, and the principles on which Allen wrote were neither distinctly medieval nor distinctly modern, but they were decidedly "loyal" and moderate. The best possible proof of that is furnished by the four extracts given below. They were, from the nature of the case, the worst that could be gathered; they were supposed amply to justify Elizabeth's Government before the world for executing the priest who introduced the book into England. Yet, if we look into the contexts of these extracts, we find that even the appearance of extremity, which they may seem to bear, is due to the dishonesty with which that context has been curtailed or suppressed.

In the first extract Allen's meaning is, "*If Campion and the rest had rejected Elizabeth*, they might have said so at their deaths, *but they never did so.*" The indictment, as will be seen below, by dropping the context makes him say, "Campion *might* have rejected Elizabeth at his death."

The second extract is equally unfair, though the context suppressed is not in such immediate contact with the passage incriminated, as it was in the last case. The passage in question, "By the fall," &c. (p. 114), comes at the end of an argument extending over chapters iv and v, and can only be understood by looking back at the initial statement of the argument (pp. 60, 61). Allen says, "We have committed nothing by word or deed against our Prince or lawes, but have done all actes of honour & homage vnto her, & suffered meekelie what punishement so euer she would lay vpon vs for our Religion. For so most part of all sortes of Catholiques haue done both in England & Ireland for this twentie fiue years space, onelie a verie few nobles of both countries taking once armes for their defence in all this long time of intollerable affliction. Patience like this you shall hardlie find in Protestantes. . . . No one tooke armes in all England vpon the Bull of *Pius Quintus*, nor anie time since the publication therof. . . . The Clergie use all due reuerence & respect, vttering in no preaching, speech or booke anie disloyal worde against her Maiestie. . . . No not anie one priest of the Societie or Seminaries can be prooued to have absolved anie one man liuing from his allegiance, or to haue euer ether in publique or priuate disswaded anie one person in the Realme from his obedience. Furthermore it is certain that neuer Priest had anie such commission giuen hitherto, by ether the Pope's Holines or other superiors in Religion or College, to deale in anie such matters . . . Even in our [theological] course concerning the Pope's preeminence no matter of depriuing or excommunicating Princes is disputed, not so much as in generalities, and much less particularising our Queene's case" (pp. 60, 61, *cf.* 65–67).

But because "they are ashamed of their statutes of new treasons, as it seemeth," they now "vnduelie seek out our opinions by force & feare," as to the limits which may be set to tyranny in matters of religion; and our answers "which are not condemned by anie Christian school in the world, nor vttered by vs but vpon forcing interrogatories," are wrested into treason to her Majesty (pp. 61, 62). Allen then protests that though he is now forced to treat of this delicate question, he will do so, without any application to England, in general terms which will suit Catholics such as the Kings of France and Spain, not less than any others (p. 73). He then shows how Luther, Calvin, Goodman, have maintained that the powers of kings had limitations, that there were innumerable instances of the enforcement of such restrictions in the Old Testament, that the laws of England had in the past recognised the Pope's rights in this matter, and that in the early church, still recognised by Protestants,

there were many precedents for it. Near the end comes the argument that, were there no such restraints, the providence of God would seem to be deficient. "Let no man marvel that in case of heresy the sovereign loseth his superiority," &c., as quoted below.

Who can fail to see that by omitting the commencement of Allen's argument, its meaning will be entirely misrepresented when placed before a prejudiced Protestant jury.

The third quotation given in the indictment seems to be made *ad captandum vulgus*. Allen is saying, With what justice can you torture and kill all priests *now*, for what some Pope did years ago, in a way no wise compromising others, and in "a quarrel which *he thought* most just and godly?" The prosecutors cry, "The Pope's quarrel just and godly! O scandal!"

The fourth extract is made in a like spirit. Allen is saying, After all, your fears, your alleged dangers from religious wars are of your own making. It was you who began. "Our contry's scourge proceeding wholly of our notorious forsaking the Catholike Church." The prosecutors reply, "Elizabeth has never left the Church. To say that she has is to call her a heretic, and that is treason."

After considering the worst which the advocates of Tudor tyranny could say against Allen's book, it will not be amiss to hear criticism from an exactly opposite standpoint, that of a Papal theologian of a somewhat rigid or medieval type. Father John Bridgwater's *Concertatio Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, comprises a Latin translation of the work of Allen, and in my copy there is a curious note written in the margin against this very chapter iv, on account of which Elizabeth's Government took Alfield's life. The writer was Fr^{a} Aug^{s} Pustola, Inquisitor of Verona, and this worthy watchman over orthodoxy comments as follows:—

"In hac materia bullae Pii V^{ti} plura, tum in hoc capite tum sparsim per totum hoc volumen dicuntur quae (meo iudicio) sunt caute legenda et benigna piaque interpretatione adiuvanda. Alias si simpliciter et ruditer intelligantur, videntur ei Bullae et auctoritati pontificiae detrahere, vel laudare catholicos quia Bullae non obediverint. Et id[eo] memento tu, qu[od] in quacunque materia est inhaerendum firmissimae doctrinae Sanctae Ecclesiae catholicae Romanae, et specialiter in hac materia Bullae, quam censeo iure emanatam esse, et robur firmissimum habuisse, qu[ia] emanavit, in omnibus, ut disposuit [*sic*]. Et ita ecclesiam Romanam Catholicam tenere opinor, cui in omnibus et singulis obsequentem me perpetuo firmissime profiteor: quam tamen bullam forte Gregorius XIII, successor Pii V, moderatus est, ut catholicos subditos Angliae in conscientia non obligaret, quominus possent obedire in civilibus Elizabethae: et forte innuitur infra, carta 323 [in fine], et carta 324. Et pro Bulla vide cap. 5 et 6" [*the last words are clipped and uncertain*]. Again, p. 329, the same writer writes, "Hic et carta 335 cum sequentibus auctor aperte innuit Bullam Pii V robur habuisse, quia certum est Helisabetham praetensam reginam fuisse tempore quo Bulla emanavit schismaticam et haereticam: et idem aperte innuitur per totum cap. 5 et sextum."

The indirect conclusions to be drawn from these words is more important than the opinion which they convey. They show that Allen was here carrying loyalty to Elizabeth to a length which the foreign Catholics, that is the majority of Europe, thought if anything too advanced.

Endorsement.—Hawfield's Inditement.

London ss. Jurati pro Domina Regina presentant quod, cum per quemdam Actum in Parliamento Domine Regine nunc tento per prorogacionem apud Westmonasterium sexto decimo die Januarij anno

regni sui vicesimo tertio, editum et provisum inter alia inactitatum et stabilitum existit Authoritate Parliamenti illius quod si aliqua persona sive persone post finem quadraginta dierum proxime sequentium post finem illius Seſsionis eiusdem Parliamenti infra hoc Regnum Anglie vel in aliquo alio dominiorum Domine Regine nunc vel in aliquo alio loco extra dominia dicte Domine Regine, advisate et cum maliciosa intencione versus dictam Dominam Reginam nunc, devisarent et scriberent, imprimerent vel exponerent, devisaret et scriberet imprimeret vel exponeret, anglice *sett forthe* aliquem librum Rythmum Canticum vocatum *a ballade*, literam sive scriptum continens aliquam falsam sediciosam et scandalosam materiam ad defamacionem Regie Maiestatis vel ad animandam excitandam vel movendam aliquam insurrectionem vel Rebellionem infra hoc Regnum aut aliquod dominiorum eidem Regno spectantium, vel si aliqua persona seu persone post finem predictorum quadraginta dierum sive infra hoc Regnum aut alia dominia ipsius Regine vel in aliquo alio loco extra dominia dicte Domine Regine advisate et cum malitiosa intencione versus dictam Dominam nostram procurarent vel causarent, procuraret vel causaret, aliquem talem librum Rythmum Canticum vocatum *a ballade*, litteram sive scriptum scribi imprimi publicari sive exponi, anglice *sett forthe*, et offensores illi non existentes punibiles per statutum factum in Anno vicesimo quinto Regni nuper Regis Edwardi tercij concernens prodicionem sive declaracionem prodicionis vel per aliquod aliud statutum per quod aliqua offensio facta sive declarata fuit prodicio, quod tunc quelibet talis offensio reputaretur et adiudicaretur felonia, et offensores in eodem inde convicti et attincti existentes paterentur tales penas mortis et forisfacture prout in casu felonie usitatum fuit absque ullo beneficio clericatus sive sanctuarii allocando offensori in ea parte prout per statutum predictum inter alia plenius apparet. Cumque hoc non obstante quidam Willelmus Alleyn Theologie profeſsor desiderans dictam Dominam Reginam supremam Dominam nostram in odium et malevolenciam apud omnes subditos suos inducere et quantum in ipso fuit efficere ut omnes subditi ipsius Domine Regine existimarent quod dicta Domina Regina fuit heretica et elapsa a vera Christiana fide, et quod fuit apostata Princeps, advisate et cum malitiosa intencione versus dictam Dominam Reginam quendam librum in partibus transmarinis imprimi fecit continentem quam plurimas falsas sediciosas et scandalosas materias ad defamacionem dicte Domine Regine nunc et ad excitacionem insurreccionis et Rebellionis infra hoc Regnum Anglie et ad subvercionem vere et sincere Dei religionis in eodem Regno recte et pie stabilitam, videlicet in uno loco in eodem libro hec Anglicana verba sequentia.

They (innuendo Edmundum Campion, Radulphum Sherwin et alios falsos proditores nuper de alta prodicione attinctos) *might have spoken theire minde*[*s*] *boldely nowe at theyre paſsage and departure from this worlde, as sythence that tyme we understande* [*that*] *a* [*certaine*] *worshipfull lay gentleman* (innuendo quendam Jacobum Leyborne nuper similiter de alta prodicione attinctum) *did, who protested both at his arraynement and at his death that her Maiestie* (innuendo dictam Dominam Reginam nunc) *was not his lawfull Queene, for two respects:*

*the one for her byrthe, the other for the excommunicacion, her Highenes havinge sought neyther dispensacion for the first nor absolucion for the seconde.**

Et in alio loco in eodem libro hec Anglicana verba sequentia, *By the fall of the Kinge from the fayth the daunger is so evident and inevitable, that God had not sufficiently provided for our salvacion and the preservacion of his* [holy *cancelled*] *Churche and holy lawes yf there were no waye to deprive or restraine Apostate Princes* (falso innuendo dictam Dominam Reginam fore Principem Apostatam). *We see howe the whole worlde did runne from Christe after Julian to playne Paganisme, after Valens to Arrianisme, after Edwarde the vj^th^ with us into Zwynglianisme, and would doe into Turcisme yf any powrable Prince will leade his subiects that waye. Yf our fayth or perdicion shoulde on this sorte passe by the pleasure of everie seculer Prince and no remedie for yt in the state of the Newe Testament, but men must hold and obey him to what infidelitie soever he fall, then we were in worse case* (innuendo cunctum populum huius Regni Anglie) *then heathens and all other humayne commonwealthes, which both before Christe and after have had meanes to deliver themselves from such tyrants as were intollerable and evidently pernicious to humaine societie* (falso pretendens per illud dictam Dominam Reginam fore intollerabilem et perniciosum tyrannum societati subditorum suorum). *The bonde and obligacion we have entred into for the service of Christe and the Churche far exceedeth all other duety which we owe to any humaine creature. And therefore where the obedience to the inferior hindereth the service of the other which is superior, we must by lawe and order discharge our selves of the inferior. The wyfe yf she cannot live with her owne husband beinge an infidell or an heretique without iniurie and dishonor to God, she maye departe from him, or contrarywyse he from her for the like cause. Neyther oweth the innocent partie, nor the other can lawfullie clayme, any coniugall dutie or debt in this case. The verie bonde slave which is in an other kinde no lesse bounde to his Lorde and Master then the subiecte to his Soveraigne maye also by the auncient imperiall lawes departe and refuse to obey or serve him yf he become an heretique yea* ipso facto *he is made free. Finally the parents that become heretiques lose the superioritie and dominion they have by lawe or nature over their owne children. Therefore lett no man marveile that in case of heresie the Soveraigne loseth his superiority over his people and Kingdome* (innuendo per illud quod dicta Dña Regina nunc perderet superioritatem suam super subditos suos).

Et in alio loco eiusdem libri hec Anglicana verba sequentia *And as for his Holines' accion in Ireland* (innuendo invasionem per medium

* The context immediately preceding this passage is as follows: "And plaine it is, that now at the houre of their death, being past further feare of men's lawes, yf they had ment any thing against the Queene's person, or had received order by their Superiours, or had thought it agreable to their spiritual profession to deale in other matters then religion and conuersion of soules by preaching, persuasion, praiers, & other preestly means; they might," &c. (*as above*).

The passage in the original is continued thus: "But none of all our Priestes made any such answere, nor otherwise vttered any vnlawful speach that might ether offend her Maiestie or the state present, irritate enimie or scandalize frend" (p. 29).

Romani Episcopi in Hibernia factam), *we that are neyther so wyse as to be worthie, nor so mallaparte as to challenge to know his intencions, Councell and disposicions of those matters, can nor will neyther defend nor condemne. Onely this is evidente that these small succors which were given by him* (innuendo dictum Episcopum Romanum) *to the Irishe or rather suffered at theire owne adventure to goe into those warres, came uppon the ymportunate sute of the sore afflicted Catholiques and some of the cheifest nobilitie of that Countrye, of whose continuall complaints, knowne calamities, and intollerable distrefses of conscience and otherwyse, yt maye be, he was moved with compaſsion and did that in cause of religion against one* (innuendo dictam Dominam Reginam nunc) *whome he toke in his owne iudgement rightly by his predeceſsor's sentence to be deposed and in a quarrell in his sight most iust and godly* [. . .] *And perhaps he* (dictum Episcopum Romanum innuendo) *was the rather readie to doe this for Irelande, for that the Sea Apostolique hath an old clayme to the Soveraigntye of that Countrie.* Et in alio loco in eodem libro hec Anglicana verba sequentia. *And this our Countries scourge* (innuendo hoc regnum Anglie) *proceedinge wholye of our notorious forsakinge the Catholike Churche and Sea Apostolique* (innuendo Sedem Romani Episcopi) *began first in King Henrie the eight beinge* Radix peccati *of our dayes*, Ubi revera Domina Regina nunc non fuit nec est heretica nec elapsa a vera Christiana fide nec fuit nec est Apostata Princeps, nec incidit in heresim, nec perdidit superioritatem et ius super cunctum populum et regnum suum, et in quibus regnis revera nullus Episcopus Romanus habet potestatem deprivandi sive deponendi aliquem Principem. Quidam tamen Thomas Allfild nuper de London Clericus statutum predictum minime ponderans felonice ut felo dicte Domine Regine nunc, decimo die Septembris Anno regni dicte Domine Regine nunc vicesimo sexto, apud London, videlicet in parochia Omnium Sanctorum in Breadstreate in Warda de Breadstreate London advisate et cum maliciosa intencione versus dictam Dominam Reginam nunc predictum librum predicti Willelmi Alleyne continentem predictas falsas seditiosas et scandalosas materias in Anglicanis verbis superius recitatas et quam plurima alia ad defamacionem dicte Domine Regine nunc, et ad excitacionem insurreccionis et Rebellionis infra hoc regnum Anglie diversis subditis dicte Domine Regine publicari et exponi causavit, Anglice *did cause to be published and sette forthe* contra formam statuti predicti in hoc casu provisi et contra pacem dicte Domine Regine nunc, coronam et dignitatem suas.

Endorsed.—Hawfieldes Inditement.

XXXIX.

REPORT OF ALFEILD'S TRIAL.

5 July, 1585

British Museum, Lansdowne MSS., vol. xlv, *n.* 74.

The effect of the substance of the matter, that was done and spoken at the Arraignement of Thomas Allfeild a Jesuett Preiste, att Newgate vppon Mondaie the vth of Julie 1585.

First, he and his ffellowes were brought from Newgate & placed at the barre: my Lord Maior, my Lord Buckhurste, the M^{r} of the

Rolls, my Lord Anderson, Mr Sackforth, Sr Rowland Hayward, Mr Owen, Mr Younge, and the Recorder, sett downe vppon the Benche.

Mr Towne Clarke redd the commyssion of Oire & determiner. After this a Substannciall Jurie of the best Comminers to the nosmber of twentie, or there abowtes were sworne to enquire, &c.

Then the Recorder gave that speciall Charge that belongeth to that Commission. After that done the enqueste of Inquirie went vpp into the Councell Chamber at the Sessions hall, in which place Mr Attorney & Mr Soliciter did reade vnto the enqueste, the three seuerall Indictments. There the offenders, vppon good Evidence geven, were indicted, and *Billa vera* was sett vppon euerye one of them. The enquest was returned to the Courte; and, beinge called by name, they presented the Bylls to the Courte.

The Towne Clarke received them and deliuered them to the Recorder and he openned them, and shewed them to the rest of the Justices, howe they were fownde. And there vppon the Towne Clerke was willed to call them to the barr, and soe to arraigne them, who begane first with Allfeilde.

The indictment redd, he was demaunded whether he were gyltie of the matter conteyned in that Indictment. To the which he would make noe answere and prayed that he might be hard speake; and therevppon he vsed a certen ffrivolous speache, conteyninge noe matter, the effect whereof was that the cause in question was such, that the same owght to be tryed before learned men in divinitie and not before layemen. After, with much adoe, he pleded not gyltie; and beinge asked howe he would be tryed, and also beinge tolde that he owght to be tryed by God and the Countrie, he made a longe staye, and saied that it was noe reason that xij Ignoraunt men should trye a matter of Religion, but that it owght to be tryed by Learned men. And then was it told him that a matter in ffact was laied to his charge, *vizt.* for bringinge into the Realme and vtteringe of a certen slaunderous & lewed booke against her Maiestie and the Realme, devised by one Doctor Alen.

To the which Allfeild aunswered & saied expresslie that the same booke was a loyall booke, a lawfull booke, a good & a true booke, and that the same was prynted in Parrys, vnder the king's Priviledge there; and was allowed for a good & a lawfull booke throwgh owt all the vniversities in Christendome beyonde the seas, and that it towched nothinge butt matters of Religion. And beinge asked whether it were a matter of Religion that the Pope had authoritie to depryve the Quene of England. And he aunswered that in generaltie it was a matter of Religion that the Pope had authoritie *to deprive any kinge, yf he sawe cause;* ffor that the Pope was a Regall kinge and Prince, and that he might take Armes in hand aswell as other kinges might doe. Yt was aunswered him that the Courte sate, not to trye matters of Religion, but a matter *de facto:* that whether he browght the said slaunderous bookes into the Realme and whether he had disparsed them. To the which he aunswered that he had brought ffyve or syx hundreth of the same bookes into the Realme and that he had disparced them, as he sawe occacion;

and further he affirmed expreslie that the booke was a good booke and lawfull, and declared, as he had before done, howe the same was allowed, &c.

And after he was vrged to put him selffe vppon his tryall, and was put in remembraunce what the punishment of the lawe was, yf Judgement were geven against him, *de payne ffort et dure.* And thereuppon yt was asked him howe he would be tryed, and he aunswered by God and the Countrye. And then he was tolde by the Courte that, vppon the Evidence geven, he should be hard att large. And then was a Jurie of verie sufficient Commoners called and he was especiallie warned by the Towne Clerke to take his Challenges vnto them, as they should come to the booke to be sworne. The Jurye beinge sworne, the Indictment was redd; the which conteyned divers faulse, lewed and slaunderous parts of Doctor Alen's booke, tendinge playnlye by expresse wordes, not onelie to Treason, but most manifest and shamefull slaunders against her Maiestie. Yet did Allfeild not sticke to saye that *it towched not the Quene any moore then it did the ffrenche kinge or Spanishe kinge.* He travelled verie much to make the Commissioners to beleve that they vnderstood not *the slaunderous booke; addinge this withall, the same booke was especiallie devised and wrytten by Doctor Allen, to aunswere him who had wrytten the booke of Justice of Englande, and not to slaunder the Quene.* And after much speache vsed and manye repeticions, all to one effecte, by Allfeilde, there was deliuered to the Jurye one of the bookes, to compaire the words of the Indictment with the booke and the Examinacions. And they fyndinge them to agree, and hearinge him soe stowtlie to iustifie the same to be a loyall booke, they retourned after a competent tyme, and beinge called by name and the prysoner beinge called to the barre, they were asked first of Allfeild, whether he were gyltye of the offence that was conteyned in the Indictment, the fforeman sayed *Gyltie*, &c.

And after beinge asked what he could saye whye Judgment of deathe should not be geven against him, he aunswered that the Offence was pardoned. The pardone was redd; and yt was told him that his offence was excepted owt of the pardone.

And then did the Recorder call him fourthe and recyted the effecte of the Indictment, and howe that he was fownd gyltie. And told him that he wondered that his ffather in kinge Henries daies beinge an vsher of Eaton and of a good Religion and had brought vpp many learned devynes and other that served the Quene in temporall causes, whereof hundrethes, the Recorder him selffe was one of the meanest. And that the same prisoner passed thorough the same Colledge, and so to the king's Colledge, beinge both of the Quenes highnes foundacion; and nowe had he so vnnaturallie and beastlie behaved him selffe that he was become the first that ever was arraigned of ffelonye of any that ever passed those Colledges by the space of these fiftie yeres and moore. And then saied the Recorder: "Ye knowe that Christ paied trybute to Cesor and Commaunded that Cesor should be obeyed, and that eche man should yeld to Cesor his dewties. And that St. Paule, in the end of

the Acts, was accused for Religion by the Jewes, and it was told him that he should be sent to Jerusalem to be tryed before the Preist there. And he aunswered that he stoode before the Tribunall or Judgement-seat of Cesor, and there he owght to be tryed." And soe he appeled to Cesor, where his cause was hard, and he dismissed. "Here," quoth the Recorder, "ye see that Christe Commaunded that Cesor should be obeyed; he saied not, deposed. And St. Paul did appeell to Cesor, and not to Peter; because he tooke Cesor to be his lawfull kinge. And all men knowe that Cesor was not of the faith of Christ, nor yet did he beleve as St. Paule did." And after a fewe wordes moore he gave Judgement and Commaunded the Sheriffs to doe execucion.

This Allfeild appered to haue noe skill at all eyther in the old or newe Testiament; there appeared noe manner of learninge in him; he was bolde, stowte and arrogant. He behaved himselffe moore arrogantlie then any that ever the Commissioners had hard or seene in theire tymes. His words were such against her maiestie that all the people fell into a murmer. He never vsed one worde of reverence towards her highnes. And att his passage to execucion, the people offered to praye with him, and he refused theire offer, and saied that, if there were any Catholicks there he would be glad to have theire Assistaunce.

Endorsed.—5 Julij 1585. Theffect of ye proceading against Hawfield ye Jesuite.

XL.

RECORDER FLEETWOOD TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM

7 July, 1585

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clxxx, *n.* 6.

This letter should be compared with No. vi; *supra*, when Fleetwood addresses Burghley on a kindred topic.

Sir, Not only myself but all the benche at Newgate do most humbly thank you for the furthering of the execucion of Awfeld who used himself most trayterusly against her Maiestie. Our Lord preserve your Honour in helth. This Wednesday the 7th of July [15]85.

Your good ho: most bounden,
W. Fletewoode.

XLI.

EXAMINATION OF EDWARD STRANSHAM

17 July, 1585

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clxxx, *n.* 32.

Edward Stransham (or Strancham, or Transam *alias* Barber) matriculated at St. John's at the age of 18, and afterwards supplicated and determined for B.A. on the 23rd and 29th of February, 1575–6 (*Oxford Registers*). The answer to the sixth interrogatory gives us a useful clue to his career at Douay and Rheims, which cannot otherwise be traced with certainty from the *Douay Diaries*, as there were two or three other Stranchams in the college at about the same time. But on p. 118 we read that one Mr. Transam arrived *for the first time* on the 18th of

April, 1577, in company with "Nicholas" (*blank*) and (*blank*) Nayler. This, so far as it goes, agrees with Answer No. 6, and shows that in Answer No. 5 the Martyr should have said that he came "about nine years since" *or less*, and not "*or more*."

We next find him visiting Cambrai, 14 to 16 August, 1577 (p. 128), and his journey "with rest of the company to Rheims" (Answer No. 8) will have taken place in April, 1578. Later on he went back to England, 14 October, 1578 (p. 145), in company with the William Slade (not the Martyr) of whom mention is made in Answer No. 4. He returned once more to Rheims, 5 June, 1579, "having recovered from the illness which had been the cause of his journey" to England, and he brought back with him four fresh students for the college (p. 153). He was ordained sub-deacon at Laon in September, 1579, deacon in March, 1580, and priest at Soissons in December. After his first mass on St. John's day, Dr. Allen made an impressive address to the college, of which a record is preserved in the *Diary* (p. 174). He left for the English Mission on the last of June, 1581. Answers Nos. 7 to 17 below cover this portion of his life.

Though he confesses nothing about the objects of his return, and says that "other commission he had not" besides those which all the missionaries had, still we can see that the persecutors had their suspicions of him and of some connection with Francis Throckmorton, perhaps because of some traitor's informations. In fact we actually know one such piece of intelligence which might have given occasion to these interrogations.

It is an unsigned paper, which was sent on from the English ambassador in Paris, Sir Edward Stafford, on 1-11 June, 1584, and begins, "Thomas Parsons departeth the seventh of June nexte, with three absolut pardons from the Pope. The firste for m^r^ Throgmorton now prisoner in the Tower, to be conveyed by Edward Transoom preste, called by the name of Fraunces Wyllece. The second for Robert ——— of Longford in Countie of Derbie, Esquier . . . The third for Mr. Talbot of peper hill in the countie of Stafford Esquior . . ." Further on we read, "Edward Transom prest, called by the name of ffraunces Willec ys habred by Mathew Wallen gent and student in lyons inn: which Traunsom goeth in a sheeps collered gowne and every nighte lieth in the chamber of the said mathew Wallen within the inn."

Stafford sends this on saying to Walsingham, "I have sent you a note, I praie you by well searching of the parties, trie whether the partie that gave yt me be a good advertiser, and send me word of yt. Yf the note be true, I will better trust other things, *and kepe him for a Jewel*." (Record Office, *French Correspondence*.)

How long Stafford continued to treasure his "jewel" we do not know, but how little value we ought to set upon informers of this class is evident, when we remember that Stransham was at this very time in Paris nearly dying of consumption, and only kept alive by asses' milk for a more glorious combat on an English scaffold (*Acts of English Martyrs*, p. 257).

To return to the point whence we digressed, Stransham's return to England in 1581. His plea in Answer No. 17 amounts to this, that his health was then so bad that he was not expected to do ordinary work, and though he was given ordinary missionary faculties, he held them more or less *per accidens*, "to do the best he could" under the circumstances. We now know that he was also the bearer of a letter, which was of some interest and importance though its import was not new. He brought over from Paris the *votum* or "opinion" of Father (afterwards Cardinal) Toledo, on the illicitness of attending the Protestant churches

out of obedience to the laws of 23 Elizabeth, which had lately been passed. This opinion is printed in Father Henry More's *Historia Provinciae Anglicanae* (1660), p. 66, and there bears date 14 June, 1581. Father H. Garnet in his *Treatise of Christian Renunciation* (a very rare booklet of which the only known copies seem to be at Cambridge and Oscott), says at p. 159, that "Mr. Edward Stansham now a Saincte in Heaven," brought over this paper to England.

It may be that Stransham was not actually acquainted with the purport of the letters, which he presumably delivered to some older priest. In any case, even though he was, as we see, one of those who thought it the lesser evil to confess boldly when directly questioned, it is easy to see why he should have answered as he did to the general question put to him, for the Toledo's letter only confirmed the ordinary teaching of the missionaries.

Of his stay in England he confesses nothing (Answers Nos. 18 to 20), but speaks freely enough of his return to France in 1583 (Answers Nos. 20 to 24). The *Diaries* show, however, that while it was true to say that "not any priests went over with him," he did in fact have the honour of escorting to Rheims on this occasion a band of not less than ten students for the priesthood, who arrived 22 July, 1583 (*Diaries*, p. 197).

Answers Nos. 26 to 29 regard his arrest, and here perhaps the most interesting reference is to "One Roger, the man who was taken with him." The Martyr refused to swear that he had never known him before, but this may not mean anything as he had refused all oaths. This Roger, however, may now be identified with the spy Rogers *alias* Berden, once the servant of George Gilbert, and one of the most baneful of Walsingham's spies and *agents provocateurs*, who had perhaps seen Stransham in Paris during the year 1584. Though arrested with Stransham he was allowed next month to go out on bail and to leave the country. He kept, however, in his hands various things belonging to the Martyr, which he made use of in Paris in order to worm himself into the confidences of the Catholics there. "I have delivered the token of Transam *alias* Barber to Thomas Fitzherbert," so runs Berden's report of 11 August, 1585, "who upon sight thereof has received me into his company most willingly, and has given me credit with all the Papists of Paris" (Record Office, *Dom. Eliz. Add.*, xxix, *n.* 38). Thus there seems good reason for believing that not only was our Martyr betrayed by this rascal, but that the scoundrel made the one villainy a stepping-stone to others of even greater importance. For Berden's object in Paris was to foment the discontent among Mary Stuart's friends, which in fact did soon after culminate into the Babington plot. We do not know the exact measure in which Roger *alias* Berden contributed to this result, but we know enough to say that his share in it was a considerable one.

Examinatus xvij Julij 1585

Edwardus Barber Presbiter ætatis circiter xxx^{ta} annorum oriundus in civitate Oxon. oblatis ei sacrosanctis scripturis recusavit juramentum præstare unde examinatus absque juramento dicit prout sequitur.

1. *Interrogatus* where he was brought up in schools and what degree he hath taken: *respondet* that he was brought up in St John's College in Oxford not having any preferment or maintenance of living in the house and proceeded bachelor of art betwixt nine and eleven yers past.

2. *Item. interrogatus* whither he went from thence: *respondet* that he went directly from thence to Douay in Artois.

3. *Item. interrogatus* by whose counsel and procurement he went thither: *respondet* that he received a letter from one Browne* who served D. Allen being then in Douay whereby he was thereto persuaded.

4. *Item. interrogatus* where and how he was acquainted with the said Browne: *respondet* that there was one Slade at that time when he received the said letter in Douay with whom this examinate was long before acquainted in Gloster Hall, who as he thinketh persuaded Browne to write to this examinate, but he never did see Browne in England.

5. *Interrogatus* what time he went over: he sayeth it was about nine years since or more.

6. *Interrogatus* what scholars or others went over with him: *respondet* that there went not over any scholars with him but two Englishmen whom by chance he met at Dover one of their names was Nicholas & the other Richard.

7. *Interrogatus* by whom he was maintained there: *respondet* he had his maintainance in the Seminary there and not from any of his friends any where nor he doth not know how the relief came but only by the direction of Doctor Allen.

8. *Interrogatus* when he was made priest: *respondet* that he tarried at Doway till the house was dissolved, viz. the space of a year and then went with the rest of the company to Rhiems where after three years he was made priest.

9. *Interrogatus* by whom he was made priest: *respondet* by the Bishop of Soisson.

10. *Interrogatus* how long since he was made priest: *respondet* it was about four or five years since.

11. *Interrogatus* what time of the year and how many English men were made priests with him: *respondet* it was about xpmas time last was five years or four years and some English men were then made priests how many they were or who they were he doth not remember, as he saith.

12. *Interrogatus* how long he tarried there after he was made priest: *respondet* he tarried there half a year and about midsummer time next after he was made priest he came into England, viz. about this time five years.

13. *Interrogatus* where he took shipping to come into England, in what ship and where he landed in England: *respondet* he took shipping at Dieppe in an English ship and landed in a little haven called Newhaven besides Lewes in Sussex.

14. *Interrogatus* what occasioned him to come into England: *respondet* that he was so sick of a continual flux which caused him to come over for remedy.

15. *Interrogatus* what money he had delivered him of the house to bring him over: *respondet* one Mr. Bailie of that house delivered him viij or nine crowns as his coming into England, which he hath undertaken to restore again when he is able.

* This will have been Henry Browne, who is frequently mentioned in the *Douay Diaries*, and who died 4 July, 1582.

16. *Interrogatus* what letters of commendation, message or other instructions he had to deliver in England: *respondet* that he had not any letters message or other instructions to any in England.

17. *Interrogatus* what commission he had from D. Allen at his coming into England: *respondet* that he made Dr. Allen privy of his intent that he would come into England for his health, who gave him leave to come over and willed him to do the best good he could there, and that he gave him authority to hear confessions here in England and to absolve and to reconcile to the Catholic Church. Other commission he had not.

18. *Interrogatus* whether he went at his coming over and to what place, and where he continued during his being in England: *he sayeth* he will not answer because it doth concern others besides himself, and he will not accuse any other nor himself in this point.

19. *Item. interrogatus* whether he know Francis and Thomas Throckmorton or was ever in the Lady Throckmortons house near Paul's wharf called Throckmorton house, *he saith* that Francis Throckmorton he knew here in England by sight, Thomas Throckmorton he hath known in Paris, and not elsewhere, and also Thomas Morgan he hath known in Paris since his last going over.

20. *Item. interrogatus* how long he continued in England at his first coming over: *respondet* he tarried about two years.

21. *Interrogatus* where he took shipping at his departure what letters he carried with him and what priests went in his company: *respondet* he took shipping at Rye and carried not any letters with him, nor there were not any priests went over with him.

22. *Interrogatus* whether he went at his departure: *respondet* he landed at Dieppe went from thence to Rouen and from thence to Paris, from thence to Rheims and from thence back again to Paris.

23. *Interrogatus* how long he continued in Paris: *respondet* from his coming thither after he had been at Rheims he continued there till his coming into England, viz. about a year and half, saving that some times he went to Rouen.

24. *Interrogatus* when he came from Paris: *respondet* it was about six weeks since at what time he came to Rouen where he tarried about three weeks from thence he came to Dieppe where to took ship about the xiijth or xiiijth of this July according to the new account, at his coming he landed in Sussex being set on land by a fisherman of Dieppe at no common port, giving the fisherman iij or iiij crownes for his passage over.

25. *Interrogatus* what Englishmen came in boat with him: *he saieth* not any nor any man was set on land with him and saith the first day that he came into England which was about the xvth day of this July according to the said account he lodged in Coppinges-court in Sussex being xxxv^{tie} miles from the place where he was landed, coming all that way on foot. The next night he saith he laid at Farbarrow in an alehouse, the third night he came to London all the way on foot. The first night of his coming to London he lay in an alehouse, as he sayeth, where he lay two or three nights, the name of him who ought that house or in what street it was he cannot tell,

nor whether be any sign or not, from thence upon Saturday at night last he came to Mr. fferres house beyond Bishop gate to M^rs^ fferres, whom he had seen twice or thrice at his last being in England.

26. *Et interrogatus* how he knew she was in London: *respondet* he heard it in France and by whom he knoweth not, and saith that he asked in the Street the way to Mrs. fferres house because he knew it not, and as soon as he came thither he was let in by a gentlewoman, who brought him to his chamber, and brought him meat and drink, and Mr Ferres he saith he did never see. Who were then in the house he knoweth not for he was a stranger in the house. The man who was taken with him was one Roger, whom he never knew before the morning that he was taken, and being asked, whether he will upon his oath say that he never knew him before, he refuseth to swear.

27. *Interrogatus* who brought him the chalice, the Mass book, the cope, albe, amice, stole, super-altare, pale, paten and the rest, which he had when he was taken, whether they were there before he came or brought in the morning: *respondet* they were brought in the morning, who brought them he cannot tell for he was saying his service.

28. *Interrogatus* whether he confessed any whilst he were there or no: *he answereth* he did not.

Endorsed.—Examination Edward Barber Priest.

In the margin there are notes in a different hand, repeating briefly Answers Nos. 8, 10, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26. The note on Answer No. 25 runs, "Comes into England about the 15 Julii, according to their computacion."

XLII.

EXAMINATION OF GEORGE ERRINGTON

30 August, 1585

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, clxxxi, *n.* 78, iii.

The Tower Bills inform us that Errington was imprisoned there from 2 June, 1585, and he was released on bond 3 February, 1586–7 (Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccv, *n.* 13). The examination now printed shows his persecutors vainly endeavouring to obtain evidence against him. He has been arrested, it appears, while or shortly after taking ship near Newcastle to carry over some letters to Catholics in France, and also a boy, presumably an intending student for the Seminaries. Robert Hethfield, a merchant, who had given letters to Errington, has been arrested too, and the object of the prosecution is to make the two prisoners implicate one another, but the matter extracted from them seems to be very trivial, and in the covering letter (*Ibid.*, *n.* 78), Barker says he has had to write for more papers against Errington to the Attorney-General, who was away on circuit. Hethfield's courage, however, fails him, while Errington stands firm.

Edward Barker, Walsingham's inquisitor, sends up together with this examination another which he has taken of a poor Catholic named Allen Eglanby, who also stands firm under difficult circumstances and makes a noble confession of his faith. It is sad to see that the magistrate who sends up Eglanby to prison for his faith, is Edward Unton, the same it seems, who had been set free from the Inquisition of Milan the year before, not without promise, we may be sure, of showing favour to Catholics (*C.R.S.*, ii, 34, 184).

30 Augusti, 1585.

George Errington's examination taken in the Tower of London before Sir Owen Hopton Knight and Edward Barker xxx° Augusti 1585.

1° Being demanded how many letters he had to convey over with him, he saith he had nine whereof he had five of Robert Hethfield and four of Johnson.

2° Being demanded whether Robert Hethfield were acquainted with his journey into France, he saith he was acquainted therewith the evening before this examinate took water at Sandgate, at which time he saith nobody was with him but the boy which he was to carry over.

3° Being demanded what money he had from any to carry over, he saith he had only four pounds & six French crowns from Johnson, which was to be delivered to one Brown in Rouen.

4° Being demanded and required to tell the truth where he received the boy, and what persons came with him, he saith that he received the boy in the street at Newcastle, and that nobody came with the boy. Being afterwards put in mind that the boy was brought him to Neville's Cross by his elder brother, and there met him and Miles White, he confessed that indeed he received the boy there, and that he and Miles White rode with the boy to the water's side about one mile and a half from Newcastle, where the French man lay and stayed for them.

5° Being again demanded, what money he had about him at the time of his apprehension, he saith he had in all about twenty three pounds, whereof eight pounds was the boy's, five pounds ten shillings came from Johnson and the rest was his own.

6° Being demanded whether he can be contented to go to the Church, and to conform himself like a good subject in matters of religion, in case her majesty would vouchsafe to pardon his former offences against the laws, he saith that he would pray for, and serve her highnefs with his body and life, but as for going to the Church his conscience as he saith will not permit him.

7° Being demanded whether he be reconciled to the Pope he saith that he is a Catholic and so fully resolved, and farther answer he cannot make as he saith.

8° Being demanded whether he knoweth Nicholson he saith no otherwise then by the boy's naming of him.

Being demanded what intelligence he hath had with the authors of any libels or seditious books he saith that about Lent last in a place at Newcastle which he remembereth not, and in company which he knoweth not, he heard one Richardson say that one was taken at Scarborough with books against my lord of Leicester.

Owen Hopton George Errington
Edward Barker

Endorsed.—Errington's examination 30 Augusti 1585.

30 Augusti 1585.

Robert Hefield of Newcastle merchant examined by Edward Barker he saith

1° That he never was in France, but only twice, nor never in any other town of that kingdom but only Newhaven, Dieppe and Rouen, and that he is bound by the Lord President of York, not to crofs the seas because he had been an intermedler for the conveying over of one Hawfield who was lately executed for treason.

2° That he hath for his conscience as he saith, abstained from church these twelve months.

3° That he was never made acquainted with any of George Errington's journeys beyond the seas, but only this last when the boy went with him.

4° That he delivered unto George Errington at his last going to sea, only two letters, the one from one Garthe to Brown of Rouen, the other from himself to Valentine Taylor a Priest in Rouen, uncle to this examinate.

5° That he never knew of George Errington's going to sea but even as he was going aboard.

6° That he is not acquainted with any fugitive or English Priest remaining beyond the seas but only with his uncle Taylor, and one Woodwarde.

7° That he knoweth no priest in England but one Hartlie, but he knoweth not where he may be found, for he saw him not as he saith, since Christmas was a twelvemonth.

8° That he hath not intermeddled with the affairs of any papist remaining beyond the seas. Robert Hefeild.

Endorsed.—Hethfield's examination taken 30 Augusti 1585.

Ultimo Augusti 1585.

The confronting and examination of George Errington and Robert Hethfield in the Tower of London the last day of August 1585 before Sir Owen Hopton Knight and Edward Barker.

1° Hethfield and Errington upon their interview did one know the other, and then Errington being demanded of the last time, that he saw or spake to Hethfield before that time when he took water, saith that the last time he saw or spake to Heathfield, was about three weeks before he took ship, and that he then met him between Newcastle and Gosforde about ten of the clock, at which time they staid in the high way on horseback about a quarter of an hour, and talked together, but he knoweth not as he saith of any thing that they then talked of, saving that Hethfield told him he rode suspiciously like a Priest, and he saith further that about six days before his taking ship, he rode through Newcastle, but neither stayed there, nor talked with any.

2° Afterwards they being demanded of the letters which were taken with Errington, Hethfield persisted in his former examinations, and said that he delivered to Errington only two letters, the one from himself to Taylor, the other from one Garthe to Browne, but

Errington maintained to Hethfield's face, that he delivered him as he was going into the boat, the five letters which he hath before confessed to have received from Hethfield, and in this contradiction they did both persevere confidently.

3° Hethfield being demanded when was the last time that he saw Errington before his going over now last: he saith that it was about a month, or six weeks before his taking ship, and that in Newcastle in the house of one Edward Taylor a merchant, at which time he saith they two drank the one to the other but there paſsed no manner of speech between them at that meeting, and otherwise he saith that he saw not Errington at any time but only in Yarmouth road, before Lent last, since Errington's coming out of France.

4° Afterwards Hethfield being urged to acknowledge the delivery of his letters, he saith that indeed he delivered three, the one from Garthe, the other from himself, the third from John Taylor son of Edward Taylor, and that he was never privy that George Errington should, or would go over until he saw him come to the water side with Miles White. And yet being urged, upon what occasion he delivered Taylor's letter to Errington and when he received the same, he saith that fourteen days before Errington's taking ship Taylor wrote that letter, and acquainted this examinate that George Errington would go over, and therefore prayed him to deliver that letter to Errington if he went. And other knowledge he saith that he never had neither by Miles White, nor any other of Errington's journey until he saw him ready to take ship.

5° Hethfield being urged to remember his meeting of Errington upon the highway as he was going to Gosford confeſseth that indeed he met him upon the highway, but he remembereth not as he saith any speech that paſsed between them save only this that this examinate asked Errington for one Hartley a seminary Priest, and desired the said Errington to commend him to him when he saw him.

6° Hethfield being demanded whether upon grace, and favour from her Majesty and forgiveneſs of his misbehaviours against her highneſs, and her laws, he can *and will* be contented to reform himself and become a new man, as well in his dutiful obedience, as in matters of religion, he protesteth humbly with tears, that if he may now receive favour and be forgiven he will for ever become a new man, and resort to Church and do all things as a faithful and loving subject.

Owen Hopton George Errington Robert Heitfeild
Edward Barker

Endorsed.—The confronting & examination of Hethfield and Errington. Ultimo Augusti 1585.

XLIII.

THE TRIALS OF NICHOLAS WOODFEN, EDWARD STRANSHAM, WILLIAM THOMPSON AND RICHARD SERJEANT, &c.

19 January, 18 April and 27 June, 1586

British Museum, Harleian MSS., vol. ccclx, f. 35.

The precise meaning of the words "next impression," mentioned in the marginal note, can hardly be decided now. But in general the drift is that the acknowledgment of the religious reasons for the execution of the Martyrs was too clear, and that it would be "bettar" to make more of the allegation of treason.

Sefsions of oier and terminer at Justice hall in the olde bailly holden the xixth of Januarie 1585.

Nicholas Devorax alias Woodfen condempned for treason in being made a Seminarie priest at Reymes in ffrance by authoritie of the B. of Rome since the feast of St. John Baptist in anno primo of her Ma^{ts} reigne, and in remayninge here after the tearme of xl^{ty} days after the Sefsion of the last parliament.

Edward Barber being made priest as aforesayd and comyng into thys realme after the sayd terme of fforty dayes after the Sefsion of the last parliament was then also condemned for treason.

In the Sefsions of oier and terminer at Justice hall in the old bayle the xviii of Aprile 1586.

Wiłłm Thompson alias Blackborne made priest at Reymes in ffraunce by the authoritie of the B. of Rome and remayning w^{t}hin this realme after the tearme aforesayd was condemned there for treason.

Richard Lea alias Longe made priest at Laon in ffraunce as afforesayd and remayning here in this realme after the tearme aforesayd was then condempned for treason.

Sefsions of oier and terminer at Justice Hall the xxvijth of June 1586.

Henry Elkes Clerke and bachelor of arts for counterfeyting the Quenes Signe manuell to presentacon of the personage of All Saints in hastings directed to the Archbishopp of Cant: or to his vicar or Commiſsary generale (the sea the Diocese of Chichester being void) that he might be instituted person there.

[*In the margin are written the following words, which presumably apply to the whole paper.*] This is to be set doune bettar in the next impression.

XLIV.

CHRISTOPHER BALES TO FATHER AGAZARIO

before 12 March, 1586

From Father Grene's transcript, *Collectanea N.* ii, p. 1, Stonyhurst MSS.

He heads his transcript with these words: "Copia epistolae Christophori Balaei Martyris, datae Rhemis ad P. Agazarium, Rectorem huius Collegii

anno 1586, ante diem 12m Martii: transcripta ex autographo hoc die 9 Augusti 1676." He has later added: "Another copy of this letter libro meo M. fol. 106." In this copy he adds the following note on the date: "There is no date to this letter. It seems to have been written shortly before 12 March, 1586, for he says he was born on that day 1564, and that he had not yet completed his 22nd year. He had left Rome September, 1584, from Rheims he was sent to England in the year 1588."

The *Douay Diaries* tell us that Bales was ordained at Laon, 28 March, 1586 (p. 214). So unless this letter crossed the dispensation, which he here asks for from Rome, our letter may have been written a couple of months before that date.

Emanuel

Quoties (Per Revde) insolitam tuam benevolentiam commemoro, (commemoro autem ut teneor quotidie) toties in animum meum induco, si non tandem aliquando pro tam inaudita clementia Paternitati tuæ me gratum ostenderem, non solum officium negligere me, verum pietatem prodere: hac ratione igitur commotus statui quidem multoties antehac (si adversa valetudo non impedivisset) ad Paternitatem tuam litteras dirigere, quibus et animum gratum pro tam inaudita clementia ostendissem, et officium meum, nimirum quod est filii erga patrem declarassem. Nunc igitur, mi Pater, quod toties volui statuo perficere, paucis tamen; si enim omnia propter quæ Reverentiæ tuæ devinctum me intelligo recenserem, finem vix aut ne vix quidem scriptis imponerem; propterea illa proloqui non est opus, quoniam res ipsa aperte indicat. Nam, ut omnia alia omittam, verissimum illud verbum quod a Ra tua toties prolatum audivi, "Me patrem, P. Ministrum* tamquam matrem, (o utinam diutius ita me licuisset habere) habebitis." Verissimum inquam esse satis abunde cognitum et compertum habeo. Quid igitur mihi restat nisi quod filii est erga patrem, idipsum erga tuam Ram facere. Hoc equidem meum est, hic restat actus, in hoc elaborandum est mihi ut satisfacerem expectationi tuæ, quemadmodum tua paternitas in omnibus mihi satisfecit, sic etiam nunc peto et obsecro ut in altero satisfaciat.

Novit Ra tua quam imbecillis et infirmus natura sum; novit etiam, ni fallor, quod non sufficiunt anni ad illud munus suscipiendum, ad quod vocatus a Deo, et ad quod suscipiendum vestra Ra consentiente, propria etiam voluntate dictante, adjuratus sum; vigesimum enim et secundum adhuc non peregi annum, natus autem fui, vel saltem renatus 12 Martii anno Dñi 1564; ita ut si non remedium aliquod quærerem duo adhuc anni essent peragendi antequam sacerdotale munus in me possim suscipere. Tempus hoc sane longum, valetudo est adversa, et ad valetudinem recuperandam nihil tam accommodatum quam nativus aer. Deinde, Deo aspirante potest contingere quod aliquod parvum emolumentum patriæ exhibeam. Quapropter, mi Pater, si V.Ra in hac re mihi succureret, haud dubie et opus charitatis et mihi pergratum præstiterit; succurret autem si vel dispensationem procuraverit, vel D. Præsidem ut procuret, in memoriam redegerit. Allocutus sum D. Bayleum de hac re ut meam causam apud D. Præsidem sollicitaret; fecit quod desiderabam; sed vereor ne D. Præses gravioribus negotiis implicatus immemor mei sit. Obsecro

* Father Grene notes:—"Father Leonard Magnano seems to have been Minister at that time."

igitur, mi Pater, ut memorem mei te præbeas. Hæc autem pro hoc tempore scripsi: plura quidem posthac cum tempus et occasio sese offerent. Deus tuam R^am^ diu servet incolumem, cui me totum dico dedicoque. Filius tuus obedientissimus

Christophorus Mallettus
sive Baleus.

[*Translation*]

As often Revd Father, as I call to mind your unwonted goodness (and I do so daily) I come to the conclusion that unless I show myself grateful to your Paternity for such signal kindness, not only shall I neglect my duty, but even play the traitor with filial piety. Moved by this reason I had already resolved many a time, had not my health interfered, to write to your Paternity to show my gratitude for your fatherly interest, and declare my filial sentiments towards you. Now therefore, Reverend Father, I will do what I have so often intended to perform. I will be brief however, for if I were to recount all my obligations I should be unable or hardly able to stop. Nor is there need to mention them, the thing is manifest.

To omit the rest. How true are the words so often pronounced by your Reverence, "I will be your father and Father Minister your mother." Would that I could have longer enjoyed your care! This is indeed most true, as my experience has proved. What then is now my duty except to deal with you, as a child with his father? Yes, it is my duty and I will now do it. I must endeavour to live up to your expectations of me, as you have in all points satisfied mine of you. I must also now beg and pray you to satisfy me in one point more.

Your Reverence knows my weak and sickly constitution; you know also, if I am not mistaken, that I am not yet old enough to accept the sacred office to which I am called by God, and which at my own desire and with the consent of your Reverence, I have sworn to receive. I have not yet attained my 22^d^ year for I was born, or at least baptised, on the 12th March in the year 1564, so that unless I obtain a dispensation, I must wait yet two years for my ordination. This is a long time and my health is bad; and nothing is so well calculated to restore health as one's native air. Moreover I might also hope, with God's assistance, to be of some trifling service to my country.

Wherefore, Reverend Father, if you would help me in this affair you would surely perform a great act of charity and one for which I should be very grateful, and my turn would be served whether you yourself procured the dispensation or reminded Mr President to do so. I have spoken on this subject to Dr Bayley, begging him to plead my cause with Mr President, and he has done what I asked. Now I fear lest Mr President, engrossed in more important business has forgotten me. I beg you therefore, dear Father, to show yourself mindful of me.

Thus much for this time, more afterwards when time and opportunity allow. May God long preserve your Reverence in health.

Your obedient & entirely devoted son

Christopher Mallett *or* Bales.

XLV.

TWO EXAMINATIONS OF SWITHIN WELLS

9 August, 1586, and [5] March, 1587

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, cxcii, *n.* 18; ccvi, *n.* 77.

Swithin Wells, "sixth son of Thomas Wells of Bambridge near Winchester, Esq., and brother to that worthy confessor Gilbert Wells, Esq.," is first met with in the annals of the persecution, 25 May, 1582, when

the Privy Council ordered the sheriff of Wiltshire to search for "Wells the schoolmaster" at Monkton Farleigh (*Acts of Privy Council*, xiii, 403). His Catholic biographers seem to have thought that he was always a Catholic, whereas according to this confession, if it be really a full one which one may doubt, he seems to have been a Protestant till 1583. Perhaps, though a Catholic at heart, he may have yielded for a time to the violence of the times, and have conformed at that date.

When the trouble began which caused the examination given below, is not clear, for it appears from *C.R.S.*, ii, 261, 267, that he had been released by Justice Young from Newgate upon bonds, on the 4th of July, six weeks earlier (see also next paper). The immediate cause of his examination at this time was evidently the Babington Plot, as the answers on that topic prove. The cause of suspicion against Swithin Wells appears more clearly from the examinations of Mrs. Bellamy's servants on the 14th of August (R.O., *D.E.*, cxcii, *n.*40). Two of the conspirators in their flight had hidden in the woods near Uxendon, the house of the Bellamys, and Jerome Bellamy, the youngest son, gave them some food, for which the poor boy was hung, drawn and quartered, and the family nearly ruined (Morris, *Troubles*, ii, 48, 49). The depositions of the servants make it clear that Swithin Wells had been to Uxendon and left again before the relief to the conspirators was given. The deponents vary in the dates they give for Wells' arrival. Richard the butler and another man-servant said Sunday; two maid-servants said Friday and Thursday. The ploughman did not notice him coming or going. The others all agreed that he left on Monday, the man-servant, Mascrett, adding that it was "Monday or Tuesday," and that he went "with one, whoe had been att his mistress' house, three or foure miles uppon the waye to direct him towardes London."

Wells, nevertheless, seems to have escaped further imprisonment at this time, and the next examination shows that, though closely watched, he was rather successful in avoiding the hands of the persecutors. The date of the second examination appears to have been about a week after "Schrift Monday," which in 1587 was 27 February.

(i)

The examynacion of Swithune Wells gent[leman] now of St Andrewes parishe in Holborne of the age of l [50] yeares or thereabowts, taken the ixth day of August Anno 28 Elyz. Regine. Saieth that he hath lyved in Monton Ferley near to Bath in the County of Wilshire abowt three yeares agone, and kept a schole for ientilmens children in his howse for the space of vj yeares or thereabowts, sith which tyme, he hath lyved amongest his frends, and now lyveth upon the benevolence of his frends, as of his brother Gilbert Wells & others of his frends. And he saieth he doth not know one John Savage that lately did lye by Barnard's Inne in Holborne, & he saieth he doth know one Babington a ientilman, but he hath not bene acquaynted with him otherwise than in saluting one an other by name as the mett in the stretes. The meanes how Mr Babington knew him, as he taketh it, was this: That he was a meanes to one Harrys, a servant to Mr Babington, to be a meane to his master, when Mr Babington purposed to have gone byyond the see by licence, to have taken a ientilmans sonne one Thos Higgens into his service. And he saieth within this thre yeares, he is now become, as he termeth it, a Catholick & so remayneth, but before he was a protestant

and used the church, & reseved the comunyon. And he saieth he hath not bene at London, nor abowte London for the space of a dozen yeares together, & his comynge to London was abowt the latter end of the last terme, & he hath remayned so long abowt London, for that his abilite was not to carie him selfe & his wife, who hath bene late sick, owt of London into the contrey, first into Hampshire amongest his frends & then into Wilteshire, whither he porposed to go.

per me Swythune Wells

Taken by me William Danyell.

Endorsed.—Swythyn Wellys his examynacion taken by Mr Danyell 9° of August 1586.

(ii) [March, 1587.]

I have made my abode at Weton in berks at the howse of Francis Pakins esquier my nephue since before christmas, from whose howse I came on Shrift Munday last to Mr. Pawlet of Heryote, where I lay that night. From thens the nexte morninge I came to Mr. Coles howse in the parishe of Berington, there I lay that night, the next day I came to my cosin George Cottons of Warblington, there I lay that night: from thens to Mr. Kempes of Slindon, there I lay that night. The next day to Michelgrove, where I have remained untill this day.

Munday night at Mr. Pawlets } Where I found none but his mother & her famyly

Tewsday night at Mr. Coles
Wensday night at Mr. G. Cottens
Thursday night at Mr. Kempes } and so of the rest
Fryday night at Michel grove
and there till this present

per me Swythune Wells

Francys Parkins esquier my sisters sonne procured my liberty owt of prison abowt midsommer last paste. The bandes of my suerties contayninge the day of my enlargement, and the days in which vppon calling I ame to appere are regestred in Justice Yonge's office at London, as hathe bene since vppon my appaurance before Syr Christopher Hatton and Syr Francys Walsingham two of Her Maiestie's Pryvy Counsell manifested by the sayd Justyce Yonge unto theire honors. And whereas you require of me whether I have conveyed any lettres, bookes, messages or tokens from or to any of the suspected in religion any tyme this twelve monethe, I answere that I have not delt in any suche actions this twelve moneth and more, and my cominge to Mychelgrove was to see my frends, with intent not to stay longer then fowr or fyve daies at the moste.

per me Swythune Wells

Endorsed.—Swythune Welles his confession, beeing a Recusant, concerning places of his abode, &c.

XLVI.

THE LANDS AND LEASES OF Mr. RICHARD LANGLEY

n.d. [Jan.], 1587

Record Office, Miscellany of the Exchequer, $\frac{15}{3}$, *n.* 6.

This memorandum bears no date, but the next is dated 8 January, 1587. Mr. Langley was executed 1 December, 1586. His attainder will, I presume, have been that passed by his sentence in court.

Ebor. Longley executed for receyving of Jesuyts and he had lands and leases.

He had a lease of a parsonage of the Lord William Howard the name is Grymthorpe, made when the leassee was under age.

Longley had lands which he conveyed to his owne use for life the remaynder to his sonne and his heyrs who died before the father's attaynder.

[*Mem.*]—To inquire of all other attaynted in the northe.

XLVII.

EXAMINATION OF EDWARD CAMPION, WITH A NOTE BY CHIEF BARON MANWOOD

22 and 27 April, 1587

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, cc, *nn.* 36, 45.

Campion's true name seems to have been Edwards, but he was received at Douay "under the name of Campion" on the 22nd of February, 1586 (*Douay Diaries*, p. 209), and having rapidly completed his course there, returned on the 18th of March, 1587.

On the 23rd of April, 1587, John Amyas received a reward from the Treasurer of the Chamber, for bringing up a prisoner from Sittingbourne to the Council at Greenwich, and on the 28th four more prisoners were sent up from Canterbury (Record Office, *Declared Accounts*, Pipe Office, 542, m. 95), but the month is written December, apparently a slip of the pen. The first prisoner was certainly Campion, as appears by the second paper. The second batch of prisoners would probably have included William Chaddock. These two may be traced through the "Prison lists" in the Marshalsea, Newgate and Wisbeach, whence the latter, a priest from the English College, Rome, was eventually exiled after Elizabeth's death. We shall meet with Campion again later. His conversion may, perhaps, be somehow connected with his service with Lord Dacre, for Gregory Fiennes, tenth Baron Dacre of the South, had married Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Sackville, whose family had a strong leaning to the ancient faith (*C.R.S.*, ii, 2, 239; *Month* June, 1900, &c.).

(i)

xxij Die Aprilis 1587 Anno Regni Rñe Elizabethe xxix°.

Edward Campion borne as he sayeth at Ludlow in Shropshire, and brought up by ye space of ij yeres in Whitehall now called Jhesus College in ye University of Oxon, late servant wth the L. Dacres of the South, confeſseth that he hath been reconciled, and is a catholike priest, and hath lately been at Rhemes. He sayeth that the religion wch we

now pfefse in England is hereticall, and sayeth that the Quenes Ma^ty in ecclesiasticall causes is not his head or chief governo^r, butt only in temporall. Edward Campion.

Endorsed.—The examination of Edward Campion priest taken the xxij^th of Aprill 1587.

(ii)

May it please your honour, The Romish preist William Chadock here stayed, now saith that his fellow stayed at Sittingbourne and sent up calling himself Campyon is beyond sea called Edwardes, and affirmed to be born at Ludlow that also may be further examined, if that this Chadock should long remain here till thafsizes for his arraignment of treason.

Therefore I have thought meet to send him up to Newgate in safe custody to the intent that after you shall have caused him to be further examined and dealt with as you shall see good, he may be at the next Newgate Sefsions in London arraigned and receive his desert, or otherwise at your pleasure. From my poor house St Stevens near Canterbury this xxvij^th of April 1587.

Your honour's servant
Roger Manwood.

Addressed.—To the right honourable Sir Francis Walsingham knt. Principal Secretary to the Queen's Majesty.

Endorsed.—27 April 1587. From the L. Chief Baron.

XLVIII.

FOUR LETTERS OF ROBERT MORTON

May–July, 1587

Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, i, *nn.* 31, 33, 34, ff. 73, 75, 76; and *Collectanea M.* f. 205. The first three are autographs.

Robert Morton seems to have commenced the ecclesiastical career in 1573 at Douay College (*Diaries*, p. 6), but to have broken it off again. This may, perhaps, have been due to the death of his father, Robert Morton of Bawtry, whose will was made 24 July, 1574, and proved 20 January, 1575. There were then alive four brothers, Anthony the heir, born of the first marriage; Robert, Daniel and Samson, the children of Anne, daughter of John Norton of Norton Conyers, and relict after 1546 of Robert Plumpton. She had, however, died, and his father had married a third time.*

We hear no more of Robert till twelve years later, when he arrived in Rome in company with his uncle, Dr. Nicholas Morton, D.D., and was received at the English Hospice, 9 December, 1586, and remained there the usual period of eleven days. After this he seems to have entered the college at his own charges, that is to have become a "convictor." But, as his uncle was in failing health and died on the 27th of January following, we may imagine that his college course did not commence in earnest until after that event. On the 5th of April, 1587, he was admitted as a scholar of the college "aptus ad theologiam positivam," in company with Father John Gerard, afterwards of the Society. Morton was then "annum agens 39^m," which gives us a clue to the date of his birth.

* Information communicated by the late Mr. W. Morton.

Father Christopher Grene says that the record of the oath of the Mission entered in the College Annals is made in the Martyr's own hand (Stonyhurst MSS., N I, ii, 19).

Father Grene (*Ibid.*, I, i, 39) also quotes the following from a paper which seems to be now lost:—"In responso P. Ioannis Gerardi ad Rich. Topliffum (*Arch.* C. 1) P. Gerardus ait se quidem 52 libras sterlingas a praedicto Roberto Mortono accepisse mutuas, cum simul in Collegio Romano ambo morarentur, illosque omnes ubi in Angliam reversus fuit (cum Robertus jam obiiset) in pauperes Catholicos distribuisse, cum nullum consanguineum aut haeredem defuncti reperire potuisset." As Gerard returned to England in 1588, we must conclude that Robert's brothers had by then all wandered away from the ancestral home. On the other hand, a Catholic priest who lived in hiding would have been much hampered in his search for next of kin. We must not at once conclude that they had all died *sine prole*.

Father Grene (*Ibid.*) adds another note relative to our Martyr's college course:—"Habuit *Catechismum Concilii Tridentini ad Parochos*, Italice, quem Collegio huic reliquit. Et adhuc exstat in cubiculo P. Ministri hoc die 9 Martii, 1667, cum his verbis in fronte ipsius Martyris manu exaratis, 'Collegio Anglorum ex dono Roberti Mortoni.' Hinc collige eius studium Italicae linguae, et diligentiam praeparandi se ad missionem."

Our Martyr also caused a memorial tablet to be erected to his uncle in the college chapel, and in the first of the following letters he makes provision for paying for the inscription, which is here reproduced, as it does not seem to have been printed before in its integrity. (See also *Notes and Queries*, 3, S.; viii, p. 247).

D . O . M . / . R . D . NICHOLAO . MORTONO . PR^{O} . ANGLO . /. SACRÆ . THEOLOGIÆ . DOCTORI . CLAR^{O}. QVI . /. AMICIS . CHAR^{S}. CÆTERISQVE . BONIS . OÏB . PRO . FIDE . CATHOLICA . IN . PATRIA . AMISSIS . A^{O} ./. EXILII . SVI . XXV . ÆTATIS . VERO . LXVI . ROMÆ ./. MORTVVS . E . A . D . MDLXXXVII . D . XXVII . M . IA ./. SEPELIRIQVE . VOLVIT . EODEM . TVMVLO . CVM . R ./. D . SETONIO . CVM . QVO . EADĒ . RELIGIŌIS ./. CAVSA . EX . ANGLIA . AVFVGIT . ROMAMQVE . SIMVL . VENIT .

ROBERTVS . MORTONVS . NEPOS . AMĀTISSIMO ./. PATRVO . POSVIT .

The Very Reverend Bishop Giles, present Rector of the college, informs me that the above mentioned *Catechism of the Council of Trent* can no longer be found, but that though many other inscriptions have had to be renewed, Morton's tablet is still extant in good preservation. He has also kindly given me the correct reading.

The "R. D. Setonius" mentioned in the inscription will be the same man as the "Joannes Setonus, sacrae theologiae professor," who signed the paper printed in *C.R.S.*, ii, 3 (*Ibid.*, note 2, and p. 4, note 3).

Further recollections of our Martyr at this time with a description of his personal appearance, may be found in Father Warford's *Relation of the Martyrs whom he had known* (Pollen, *Acts of English Martyrs*, p. 272).

The first of the following letters gives an interesting account of the ordinary difficulties of the journey from Rome, as well as of the special difficulties caused by the prevalence of the wars of religion. The eighth of those wars, called *La guerre des trois Henris*, had been in progress since 1585.

The "Mr. President" so frequently mentioned was Dr. Allen, who had been summoned to Rome in September, 1585, but had not yet resigned his presidency at Rheims, Dr. Bayley acting as his substitute. The "Congregation" was the Sodality of our Lady, one of the earliest of such associations of which we have record. The Father Confessarius

and the Prefect of Studies had lately been changed, and I am not able to supply their names. Father Leonardo Magnano may still have been "Padre Ministro."

The names of the "Company" of scholars are given in the *Douay Diaries*. "D. Robertus Morton, diaconus," comes first, which looks as though he had been the leader of the band. This would not be unnatural even though he was not a priest, for he would have been the eldest and perhaps also the best off. The other names are "D. Jacobus Bowlande, D. Robertus Gray, D. Christoferus Buxton [the future Martyr], D. Petrus Fletcher, Mr Guilielmus Owen." The last was still a student, the other four were priests. The names may also be found in the *Annales* of the English College, Rome, the priests being mentioned first, whence we learn that they started on the journey in April (Foley, *Records S.J.*, vi, 117; *Douay Diaries*, p. 215).

The only seal which still remains on these letters is found on the third, and it offers some points of interest. The blazon is 1 and 4 ermine, 2 and 3 a goat's head erased. Crest is a bird (perhaps a lapwing), but not "displayed" as in later blazons. This order of the coats is found on a seal affixed to a deed of 1383, but in later times the goat's head came upon the 1st and 4th. The style of scroll work shows that the stone was cut in the sixteenth century.

(i)

Jesus Maria.

Reverend father my deuty remembred, besetching you not to be offended with me, that I did not write from Bononia or Milan, for in truthe the heates and travel did so troble both my sighte and distemper my hole bodye, that I was not able to sett hand nor pen to any paper for any nede, the which at this present (thanked be God) is somthinge recovered, although the werinesse of our long and laborious, and in the last end, viz. in France, most dangerous iorney be not as yet cleane oute of my bones. We arived all six (prased be God) safelye at Rhemes upon Corpus Christies Eve, havynge, by reason of the extreme dearthe both in Italye Germanye and France, spent all our money, althoughe everye one did what he could to spare, neverthelesse the charges came most commonly to eyght Julyos* and a crowne a day horse and man, besydes extraordenarye expenses in guides to passe the dangeres of montaynes and heretikes, whitch verye hardlye we escaped, being thre severall tymes in manyfest perill. I lent in our iorney unto Father Gray tow crownes and a halfe, besydes the six crownes, which I toocke up at Placence in your name. Who, havynge soulde his horse for 27 crownes, hathe repayed me. I lent allso unto William Owen six crownes in Goolde, who for sparinge did often ryde all the day fastinge without his diner, not eatinge anythinge until nyghte, who hath not repayed me, but referred me over unto Mr. Baylye to be payed upon youre head. Sir, the hast of my iorney caused me, at my departure from Rome, to forgett to pay the paynter, which colored the letters upon my uncle's monument (on whose soule, God have mercy) whome I pray youe to discharge, and I will repay it heare to whom it shall please youe. Thus referringe to write more at large by the nexte post, not forgetting my deuty to Mr. Presedent (whome

* An Italian coin, named after Pope Julius II, worth about sixpence.

I besetch to remember me with his letter) to father Parson, father Gibbons, father Confessarious, father Minister, wishing health and obedience to all the rest of the colledge, and in especially [*sic*] to them of the congregation, to whose prayers I most earnestly commend my selfe. I committ youe to the tuition of Jesu, from Rhems the 30 of Maye 1587. Your Reverence his to command

Robert Morton

Father Gray hath him humblye commended unto youe, Mr. Presedent, Father Parsons, and others above named, who within thre dayes is to depart to Paris, because heare can be no orders geven that I may be prest before the next Quatuor tempora.

For lightnes of cariage I write in a single leafe, in sutche place and paper as I coulde gett.

Addressed.—All Molto R^do^ padre il padre Gulielmo [Holto] Rettore del Collegio Inglesi. A Roma.

Endorsed by F. Grene.—D. Rob. Mortonus Martyr, Rhemis 30 Maii, 1587, *n.* 189, in libro rubro.

(ii)

Jesus Maria

Reverend Father. Albeit I signified in my last letter that I was owt of hope for taking of orders before Michelmas next, havynge not Mr. Presidentes letter to anye for my helpe therein, neverthelesse good Mr. Baylye gevinge credit unto me that Mr. President would write in that behalfe, at my request moved the good Cardinall of Vademont (who by licence of the Cardenall of Guise) gave orders heare at Rhemes, at whitch tyme allso I was lyke to have bene reiected, because I hadd nott my letters of orders from Rome, if youre letter had not ben, which youe writt to Mr. Bayley, whearin youe named me a deacon, which eased me of a great mortification, seynge father Gray was gone and the rest, except father Peter, who could witness of my orders takinge at Rome. Now thearfore seynge it hathe plesed Almyghty God to helpe me throughe the pickes,* and called me to the order of presthoode, presumynge of youre accostumed charytie and Mr. Presidentes that I may have the same auctoritye in absolvynge, reconsilinge, and exercisinge all other Sacramentes to God his honor, and to the comfort of afflicted soules whitch other prests have that venture ther lyfes aboute the same end. I meane (God willinge) to make all sped convenient towardes England according to my determination when I departed from youe, the whitch if I chance to alter I will (according to my dewty) certefye youe thearof. Thus with my humble commendations to youreself, Mr. President, father Confessarius, father Prefect, father Minister I seace to troble youe. From Rhemes this 17 of June 1587. Youres to comande

Robert Morton

Addressed.—All Molto R^do^ padre il p^re^ Gulielmo Holto della compania del ss^mo^ nome di Giesu et Rettore del Collegio Inglese. A Roma.

Endorsed by F. Grene.—D. Rob. Mortonus M. 17° Jun. 1587 Rhemis.

* "Throughe the pikes," or "to pass the pikes," *i.e.* to run the gauntlet (Murray, *Dictionary*, vii, 852, a).

(iii)

Reverend father. I had forgotten in my letter to request youre favorable charytie towardes one Chinckes,* a pore banished man, who was some tyme a ritch bookbynder in Oxforde, and lost his earese beinge sett on the pillarye for the Catholyke cause, and not onlye theyme butt also all his goodes, who is desiorous to serve in the colledge with youe at Rome as porter, and to bynd bookes or dictates to helpe him towardes something that he live thoughe porelye, seinge all thinges ar heare so deare that he is nott able to live havynge no stocke to sett up a great shoppe, and havynge made harde shifte heare to rubbe owt this deare tyme. Thus besetchinge youe to lett him know youre mynde by youre letter to Mr. Bayley I committ youe to the tuition of Jesus. Rhemes this 17 of June 1587.

Youres to commande

Robert Morton

Addressed.—All Molto R^do^ padre il p^re^ Gulielmo Holto Rettore del Collegio Inglese in Roma. A Roma.

Endorsed by F. Grene.—17 Jun., 1587. Rhemis. Rob. Mortonus M. de quodam Bibliopola Catholico fidei causa male mulctato.

(iv)

Alia ejusdem Roberti Mortoni Parisiis ad P. Holtum, Rectorem Romæ, data Parisiis 20 Julii 1587. Ex autographo.

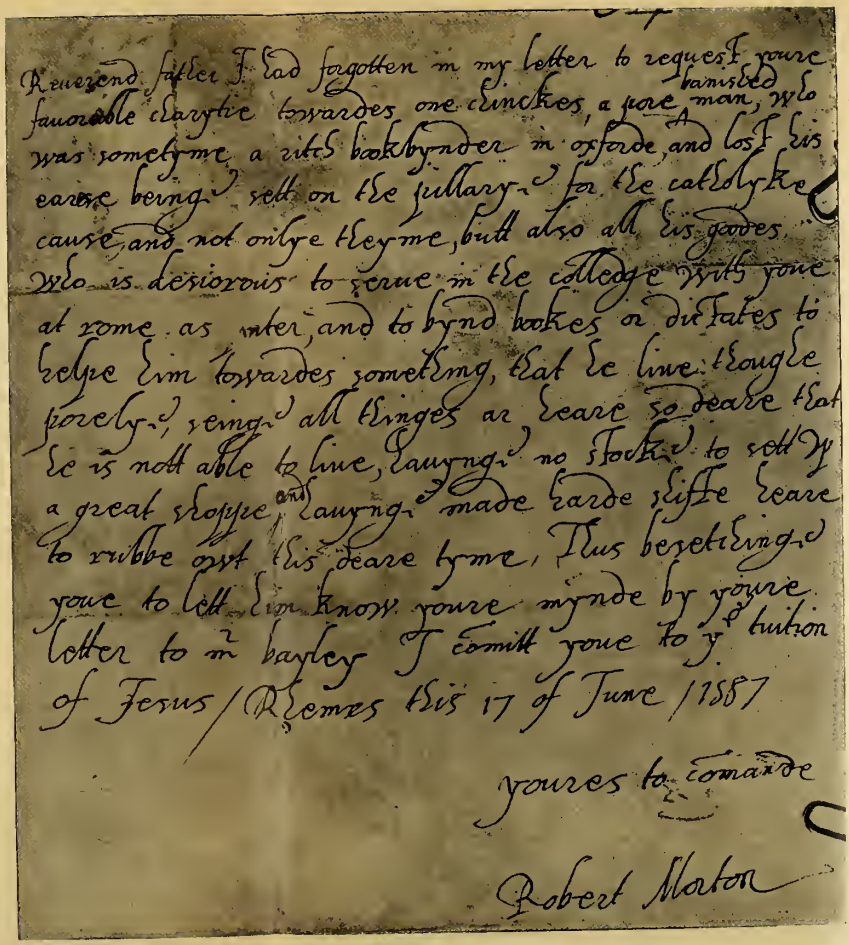
Revd Father, although I had lately written to your Rev. as touching all my affairs—notwithstanding haueing received yours of last of June—haueing written divers since by divers posts since my coming either thither [Rhemes] or to Paris, from whence I am, God willing, to depart shortely towards England, the course you appointed me, alone without father Gray, who as I writ before went from me and is gone into England in a shipp of Newcastle.—F. Tyrius† for want of letters in my behalfe will doe nothing for me, alledging that he hath commandment from Scotland not to send any priests thither untill it be known what will bee done in the Parliament there, the which beginneth this present day. Nevertheless he has sent for F. James & F. Peter, who had your letters to him and hath asked me divers times if I had any letters from your R^ce^ to him. But God hath provided on a suddaine by a way not thought of which I hope will serve.—I have bin something troubled in my eyes with 3 or 4 dayes hete after a long whett. Thus with my humble commendations.—20 Jul. 1587.

Yours during life

Robert Morton

* This was the same Roland Jenks whose condemnation was followed by the outbreak of fever in the Oxford Assizes. (See above, p. 96.) Jenks arrived in Rome, 12 November, 1587 (Foley, *Records*, vi, 560). It would appear that he afterwards found work in Flanders. "*Notes by Phelippes:*—About the printing of Saunder's book, *De Schismate Anglicano*, and *The Queen of Scots' complaint of her son:* Jenkins, the Oxford scholar that had his ears cut off, is the printer in Flanders" (*Calendar*, 1591–1594, p. 161).

† For Father Tyrie, see Foley vii, 792. James Rowland, Peter Fletcher and Robert Gray have been mentioned above. The dashes signify Father Grene's omissions in his transcript.



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fauorable charytie towardes one chinckes, a pore banished man, who
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earese being sett on the pillary for the catholyke
cause, and not onlye theyme, butt also all his goodes
who is desiorous to serue in the colledge with youe
at rome as inter, and to bynd bookes or dictates to
helpe him towardes something, that he liue thoughe
porely, seing all thinges ar heare so deare that
he is nott able to liue, hauyng no stock to sett up
a great shoppe, and hauyng made harde shiffe heare
to rubbe owt this deare tyme, Thus besetching
youe to lett him know youre mynde by youre
letter to m^r bayley I comitt youe to ye tuition
of Jesus / Rhemes this 17 of June / 1587

youres to comande

Robert Morton

To face p. 139]

The Ven. ROBERT MORTON, M.

Commends Roland Jenks, the Oxford Printer, whose ears had been cut off.

(iii)

Reverend father. I had forgotten in my letter to request youre favorable charytie towardes one Chinckes,* a pore banished man, who was some tyme a ritch bookbynder in Oxforde, and lost his earese beinge sett on the pillarye for the Catholyke cause, and not onlye theyme butt also all his goodes, who is desiorous to serve in the colledge with youe at Rome as porter, and to bynd bookes or dictates to helpe him towardes something that he live thoughe porelye, seinge all thinges ar heare so deare that he is nott able to live havynge no stocke to sett up a great shoppe, and havynge made harde shifte heare to rubbe owt this deare tyme. Thus besetchinge youe to lett him know youre mynde by youre letter to Mr. Bayley I committ youe to the tuition of Jesus. Rhemes this 17 of June 1587.

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XLIX.

FOUR LETTERS TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CONCERTATIO"

May–June, 1587

This article shows us with what pains and perseverance information regarding the Martyrs was gathered by the exiles for religion, before it was possible to keep records at home. The first, and in a sense the amplest of our martyrologies, is the *Concertatio Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, the first edition of which was brought out by Father John Gibbons, S.J., in 1583 (*C.R.S.*, iv, 110). He was engaged on the much augmented edition of 1588, when a packet of letters addressed to him was intercepted. The letters are now scattered among the Burghley Papers in the British Museum, Lansdowne MSS., vol. xcvi, but four of them (one containing five enclosures) can be recognised, and they are all marked on the back with a sign something like—2. I have quoted from each the passages which refer to England and the English Martyrs. After this the bibliographical questions will be treated with more detail.

As to the Martyrs mentioned in these papers. (1) The first is Thomas Pilchard, who suffered at Dorchester, 21 March, 1587. (2) The second, John Hambley, who suffered at or near Salisbury (Chard in South Somerset is also mentioned) "about Easter," says Mr. Simpson (*Rambler*, 1858, x, 325). The form Hamden, which occurs here, may explain why some writers (*e.g.* Champney's *Annales*) have confused him with George Douglas, who, as appears above (p. 90*n*), was closely connected with the Hamiltons; while Worthington introduced an N. (*i.e.* Some-Name) Hamilton as having died about 1586 at Lincoln. (3) The first of the two sufferers at Gloucester will have been John Sandes, 11 October, 1585. (4) The second Martyr at Gloucester was Stephen Rowsham. The exact day of his death is not known, but it is clear that the month of July, sometimes assigned for it, must be too late. (5) The reported death of a priest, pressed to death for not pleading at Worcester, seems to be an error. There is no subsequent confirmation of it, and a fact so striking would, we may be sure, not easily pass into oblivion.

A. No. 25, Dr. Thomas Bayly to Fr. Gibbons

Rheims, 21 May, 1587

"About 10 days ago, I received yours of the 24 of March . . . On Tuesday last came hither one out of England who saith that there is great persecution. They have lately put 5 priests to death, whereof one was pressed to death for that he would not answer to their questions, being what he would do, if foreign power should invade the Realm. They take priests and other Catholics still very often; and now they begin to persecute also the schismatics. The young king of Scotland remaineth still amongst his rebelles and ennemies, who suffer him to take his pastime in hunting & hawking &c. under a shew of liberty, but they think themselves sure ynough of him. Here was on Tewsdaie last one called Coronell Stewart, capitain of his Guard, whoe told me thus much, and also that he is something bent towardes the Catholike Religion, but lacketh instruction, & abilitie to shew the same. I hear that Sister Saunders is lately come out of England to Sion again."

B. No. 30, Father Nicholas le Clerc* to Father Gibbons
Pont-à-Musson, 7 June

"De morte Reginae Scotiae non dubito quin multi multa et varia [scripturi sint]. Utinam existat aliquis unus per omnia veridicus scriptor." Glad of the news about Allen.

C. No. 28, Father William Murdoch, S.J., to the same
Ibid., 20 June

"Father Creitton arrived safe in Paris about the end of May and started for Rome on the first of this month," &c. &c.

D. No. 26, Dr. Humphrey Ely to the same
Ibid., 20 June

Right reverend,

I owe you thanks for many letters and much good newes that you have sent me, and therefore at this present I would gladly requit you with such as I have, and for want of tyme and leysure I send you the letters themselves here enclosed and wyll adde such occurrences as I have in other letters frome Rhemes. But fyrst to your last letter. I have dealt with Fa. Rector here, who hath appoynted Mr Sutton to translat the rest of the martyrs, and I have set hym on work already. Besydes those by you named in your letter, if I am not deceved I sent you Mr Wm Hart's martyr's life fayr wrytten in folio, as also the life of Mr Emerford priest. Of Mr Hart's I am sure as I think for I cannot fynd it amongest my papers here. I requested you, and so I do eftsoons, to send me by your good opportunity the copies in English I dyd send you, if Mr Fenne hath returned them, because I mean one day to see them extant in English and I have no copies so fully and so well gathered as those are I sent you.

Mr Doctor Barret in his last putteth me in great hope to send me good news of our country in his next, wylling me in the mean tyme to be of good hope. When it cometh I wylbe no niggard thereof. Also that the next tyme he would wrytt of the red hatt,† but this he wylled me to keepe to my self.

I send you Mr D. Gifford's letters. The one of them containeth strange news touching the Duke of Parma's son,§ albeit he willed me to keep them to myself, and so do not communicate that point to any here, yet I could not but send it to you because I would have you to understand what fetches and shifting is in the world for kingdoms.

God send us a Catholike king quickly. For my part I care not of what country and nation he be, so that religion were restored, and so many of our poor frends that goe to perdition might be saved.

This berer is a yonge youth who hath lyved synce Christmas in the Seminary at Rhemes, of whom Mr Baylly writeth thus unto me, "The bringer hereof Jhon Hallidaye,¶ having remayned here a few

* On Le Clerc, see C. de Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la C. de Jésus*, ii, 1222.
† Allen was made cardinal 7 August, 1587.
§ This letter is apparently now missing.
¶ John Halliday or Holiday is mentioned in the *Douay Diaries*, p. 214, as having arrived in January. The Martyr of this name was Richard.

months in good order, is now desyrous to depart, for that he cannot have his health so well here as he desyreth, and for fear that he shall be worse in wynter, and thus much I have thought good to signify unto you on his behalf. He seemeth to be an honest natured youth. If you have any meanes to helpe hime to some service or otherwise, I commende him to your charity."

And so committinge you to God and myselfe to your devout memento, after my harty commendations to you, to Fa. Copley, to Mr Eaton and Mr Wm Pow[ ] I take my leave. From Pont a musson the 20th of J[ ] 87.

Yours to do you service

Humfrey Elye

Addressed.—Admodum R^do^ in Xpo Patri, P. Joanni Gibbono, Rectori Collegii Treviren, Societatis Jesu, Treveri.

[*Enclosures in the above letter of Dr. Ely.*]

(i) No. 27, Walter Stokes to Dr. Ely

Rouen, 10 May

I met with Sister Elizabeth Saunders at Deape out of England, of whom I hear I hear of great scarcity there and much trouble for the Catholic faith. Mr Pylcher with two laymen were executed in Dorsetshire about Easter last as the year goeth with us. The party that came with her brought the statutes. The abstract thereof shall be here inclosed if I can have leisure to write them forth. My Lord Chancellor and Sir Ralph Sadler are both dead of late and Sr Amias Paulet the queen of Scots' keeper is in great disgrace for her execution, as also one Dauisonne Secretary is in the Tower and put from his office, and deeply fyned also, for not proceeding with the Queen of Scots according to his mistress' commandment at the delivery of the warrant, which was not to put it in execution before the Realm should be actually invaded by some foreign power.

There are come to Roanne this night two Englishmen of whom we expect news. If they will part with any, you shall have them. . . . Our countrymen say that Mr Pylcher was executed of late, as I said before, Mr Hambden at Salisbury, two priests at Golster [Gloucester]. One was Mr Sandes in summer last. One other priest pressed to death at Worster, whose name I cannot name: which I was desirous to have learned because of our friend Mr Shaw. The Earl of Pembroke President of Wales.

(ii) No. 22, Dr. William Gifford to the same

25 May

This and the following letters contain allusion to a boy "Jack," who was under Ely's guardianship, presumably attending the Jesuit schools at Pont-à-Musson. He was evidently some relative of Gifford's, who playfully alludes to him as "my bulchen," a term of endearment which originally signified a little bull, a bull calf (Murray, *Oxford Dictionary*, i, 1164).

When the Cardinals came to Rheims, I spake of 2 things, the league, and the cruelty of besse in murdering the Scottish Queen. . . .

With a million of commendations to the bulchen. God willing I will see you before it be long. This pridie S. Augustini Anglorum Episcopi. Mr Benett going to Verdun to the novitiate bringeth this letter.

(iii) No. 24, R. S. "TO GOOD COUSIN GIFFORD."

Corpus Christi Even, *i.e.* May 27

An account of Drake's attack on Cadiz.

(iv) No. 23, DR. GIFFORD TO DR. ELY

6 June

Premised commendations to your good self & to the bulchen my cousin, . . . to F. Wm Murdoch & our English FF. etc. Of England Brombie L. Chancellor is dead, Hatton in his place, Sir Ralph Sadler dead and Foscue of the guarde robe in his place, Rawlie in Sir Xofer Hatton's place. There are dead besides the earl of Rutland, the L. Montague (justly because he spake most cruelly against the Queen of Scotland in the Parliament before her death to have her executed) the lord Cheyney . . . Walsingham & Lester are deadly enemies for 4 causes, first because Lester preferred Foscue before him in the Chancellorship of the Duchie wch Sir Ralph Sadler had &c. . . . I expect Gilbert's stuff & books. . . . I trust Jack my bulchian will give me somewhat of the great legacy his Uncle Peeters hath left him.

(v) No. 31, TRUE INTELLIGENCE

5 prestes executed in englande in diuers places. 4 hanged drawen and quartered, the 5te stonyed [?] because he woulde nott answere to noe interrogatories of thers [?], and I can nott tell whatt. Theare names weare Pilcher, Sandes, Hamllie. Reliquos nescio. (The rest were as I herd since Daking & Patison, but this is not certayne.—*Added by Ely.*)

Mr. Peeters at Roane longe sense is deade, Mr. Powell taken by prodition of a knave in Monmouthshire, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Eles, Mr. Morgan Clenocke and others do all well and verie much good. Here is one come from them. (Princes of Lorraine, &c.)

Persecution in Englande monstrous greate, noe passage att all but by stelte in Scottishe vessels. (At Rome is dead Mr Walley prest, at ye Spaw of late Mr Allot priest, at Paris mr Robert fenne a banished priest brother to Mr. Fenne now at Daventrye.—*Added by Dr. Ely.*)

The great importance to us of the *Concertatio* will warrant our going once more over its history, and seeing what light the above correspondence throws upon its construction. From Father Persons' *Punti della Missione Anglicana* (*C.R.S.*, iv, 110), we learn that the first edition was brought out by Father Gibbons, and this we should perhaps not have otherwise known, as his name never appears either in this or in the later editions. Father Persons also stated that it appeared "in two volumes," a fact which none of our bibliographists had noticed, and as to which my note (*l.c.*) needs emendation. The first edition,* then, appeared at Treves, and the letter dedicatory, which is signed by the printer, Edmundus Hatotus,

* Mr. Joseph Gillow has kindly allowed me to inspect his copy of the first volume, which is very rare, and not in the British Museum.

only (such were the risks of printing even abroad) is dated v. kal. Sep. (*i.e.* 28 August). It consists of a Latin translation of Allen's *Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of xii Reverend Priests* [1582]. (I may mention that I am now reprinting this exceedingly rare booklet, which is the forerunner of all our Martyr books.) Gibbons rearranged the lives in chronological order and put Allen's preface at the end, calling it the *Apologia Martyrum*, but made no substantial change in Allen's work.

The second volume of this first edition of the *Concertatio** is the translation of Allen's *Apologie for the Seminaries*, bearing the title, *Duo edicta Elizabethae Reginae contra Sacerdotes Societatis Iesu, & alumnos seminariorum . . . una cum Apologia D. Gulielmi Alani.* Augustae Trevirorum, 1583. The letter dedicatory, again signed by Hatotus, is dated iv. non. Sep. (*i.e.* 2 September). The title-page, indeed, makes no allusion to the book being part of the *Concertatio*, and this is no doubt the reason why bibliographists have hitherto passed the point unnoticed. But the *Argumentum* of the prior volume announces that this *Apologia* will be included in the *Concertatio;* and, moreover, at the close of this second volume comes the *Errata Corrige* for *both* volumes. So that the accuracy of Father Persons' statement about the "duo tomi" is fully proven.

Though Father Gibbons' name does not appear in either edition, the preface to the second bears the name of another Jesuit Father, Ioannes Aquepontanus (Bridgwater), whom we must therefore suppose to have had his share in the work, though from the correspondence here published, it would seem that Father Gibbons was still taking the chief share in the work of collecting materials. The second edition eventually appeared in 1588, and the latest document which it contains is dated "the last of January 1588." It does not, however, carry down the lives of the Martyrs beyond the middle of 1585. The names of the Martyrs conveyed by these letters are wanting, as though the theft of this packet of letters had somehow led to the conclusion of the book, which, however, would in any case have been well filled with the earlier Martyrs.

Ely mentions "Mr. Sutton" as already engaged "to translate the rest of the martyrs." Unfortunately we do not know how far the translation had gone, and so we cannot say exactly what share he had in the work. The Sutton in question would have been the Jesuit, William, brother to Robert, the priest and Martyr (Foley, vii, 750). "Mr. William Hart's the martyr's life, fair written in folio," will doubtless be the original of the excellent article in the *Concertatio*, folios 104–106, and we also see that this life was probably translated by John Fenn, the brother of the Martyr, James Fenn, and of Robert, also a priest and a confessor of the faith in prison. Emerford's life which Ely "cannot find among his papers," would seem to have gone quite astray. It is not in *Concertatio*, and alas, it does not seem to have survived in any form. Perhaps it was stolen by the same letter-thieves that took the above.

The third edition of the *Concertatio* is dated 1594. It is, however, really not a new edition, but only a reissue of some unused sheets with a fresh title-page. The table of *errata* is identical for both volumes, and all the minute errors of the 1588 editions, such as omitted dots, broken type, wrongly placed accents, &c., are all exactly reproduced in the issue dated 1594.

* A copy of the second volume is in my possession.

L.

FIVE LETTERS OF CHRISTOPHER BUXTON

May–September, 1587

Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, i, *nn.* 30, 32, 35, 37, 38, ff. 72, 74, 77, 79, 80.

The following letters tell us most of what we know regarding the character of this Martyr, and the portrait he draws of himself is certainly a very interesting one. His ardour for the mission is admirable. When in Rome he had made "earnest and often sute both unto yow and to Mr. President," *i.e.* to Allen, now become Cardinal, to be sent to England. Writing from Rheims, "every one saythe, it is almost impossible to enter." Still he "gave answer, that I came from Rome to go in, and therefore, if I could gette in, I would . . . And so I am amynded and determined, and if I can gette anye hoope to escape by any meanes, I will venter in the name of Jesus Christe and our blessed Ladye and all the holye and blessed companye of heaven." Difficulties nevertheless kept rising up, and we see him gallantly breasting one after another for four months. His career seems to have been very short, for we shall see him below (p. 161) to have been "apprehended in Kent, at Hallowtide," that is, not far from the place where he landed and not very long after the time of doing so.

✠

Jesus Maria

Good father Rector. These are to let you understande that we uppon Corpus Christi Eve arrived in Rheymes; trewlye not without greate daungers of our lyves, and muche troble in the most parte of our waye, especiallye in laurene [Lorraine] and Fraunce, and not without great expences. For I for my parte have spente my 25 crownes, and was indepted one at the leaste by the waye. Nowe we are at Rheymes we cannot sell our horse, but he lyethe upon our handes and puttethe us to daylye charges, so that if it continewe a whyle we shall not have muche to bringe us into Englande. Here at Rheymes theye all marvell that we were sente from Rome towarde Englande, for everye one saythe it is almost impossible to enter in. Some theyre are here that made sute to have gone into Englande; but Mr. Baylisse was offended with them, as they saye, because they woulde aske the question and woulde not permitte in any wyse to go. Within a daye after we came to Rheymes Mr. Baylisse sent for us into his chamber and asked of us what we woulde do, for because he was to certifye Mr. Presidente what our ententes were, and some sayde they muste needes staye a fornyght or thrye wekes of certayne busines: and I, for my parte, gave answere that I came from Rome to go in Englande, and therefore, if I coulde gette in, I would prepare [?] myself to [? journe]ye, so sone as we had solde our horse, and so I am amynded and determined within one weeke after the wryting herof to go towardes my countrye, and if I can gette anye hoope to escape by any meanes I will venter in the name of Jesus Christe and our blessed Ladye and all the holye and blessed companye of heaven. Marye! for moneye, I thincke when I parte from Rheymes, I thincke I shall have scarce 2 [?] crownes in my purse, perhappes you will accuse me of prodigalitye and wante of

discretion in so lavyshinge oute of my moneye. Trewlye wytnes to all my felowes I coulde spende no lesse, all thinges are so deare, yea trewlye, especiallye in Fraunce, vitules bothe for horse and man are twyse so deare as theye are wonte to be. Theyre is none of my felowes but he hathe spent fullye as much I. All these complayntes I make unto you nowe, as concerninge our greate expences and chardges we have bene at, are onlye to move you to pitye us if we be dryven to any straytnes, because we are not certayne wher or howe we shall gette over seas, that you with a fatherlye good will, will look uppon us your children, and helpe us, if we be put to anye distresse or neede. Thus good Father geevinge you most hartye thankes for all your greate good will and furtheraunce I have receyved at your handes, moste humblye and in dewtyfull manner, I take my leave of you, beseechinge you to praye for me, and, as I am bound, I will praye for you. Rheymes this 30 of Maye 1587.

Your lovinge and obedient Childe
Christopher Buxton

Addressed.—Admodum Reverendo Domino D. Gulielmo Holto Collegii Anglorum Rectori Romæ. Romæ.

Endorsed by F. Grene.—Christoph: Buxtonus Martyr de desiderio suo eundi in Angliam, &c. Rhemis 30 Maij 1587.

✠

Jesu Maria

Sir, I am to lett you understand that we are all nowe in Parice except Mr. Fletcher who stayeth at Rheymes for a tyme. We stayde all in Rheymes iust a weeke, and we came into Parice upon Frydaye the vth of June, where we have stayde untill the Twesdaye after, uppon which daye I am determined by God's helpe to take my journeye towardes Roan. For the rest of my felowes I do not know when they will awaye, theye are not certayne yett themselfes. Everye man telleth us our journeye is daungerous, but we are resolved to take our oportunitye to go in so sone as is possible. For our direction over the seas what way we shall take, we are not yett certayne. Everye man thinketh to go in by Scotland is the best, because of great lybertye which is [given unt]o the Catholickes there of late tyme. When I come to Roan you shall know more. I had [thought] to have wryten nowe unto Mr. President, but because I wryte so lately unto his worshippe, when I was at Rheymes, therefore I am lothe to trouble his worshippe, unlesse I had anye matter of importance to wryte unto him of. I beseeche you Sir, in my name do my humble commendacions unto his worshippe, beseechinge him to remember us in his good prayers, and we as we are in dewtye bounde will hartelye praye for him. Sir, we receyved your lovinge letters (which you wryte unto us all) when we were in Parice, but for anye moneye at Placentia we receyved none, because then we thought we shoulde not greatlye neede anye. Mr. Tempest here at Parice usethe us verye courteoslye and taketh greate paynes with us in all our busines. For my moneye I shoulde receyve of Mr. Baylie,

I receyved of him at Rheymes 6 crownes, and the other 12 I am to receyve at Roan of Mr. Shelton. We colde not sell our horse well at Rheymes, but I caried him to Paryce, where I solde him for 19 Pistolettes. We are sorye of the heavye newes that we harde as concerning the deathe and murderinge of Mr. Thomas Vavasour. We will remember him in our sacrifyce, by God's helpe. Sir, I will nowe cease to trouble you anye longer for this tyme, committinge you and all my lovinge felowes and bretherne unto Almightye God, and the blessed Virgine, besechinge you to remember me unto good Mr. Fitzharbart, Mr. Garrette, Mr. Harte, John Nelson, and lastelye unto my countryeman Frauncis.* Parice this 9 of June 1587.

Your lovinge Sonne
in all most obedient
Christopher Buxton

Addressed.—Admodum Reverendo P. Patri Gulielmo Holto Collegij Anglorum Rectori Romæ.

Endorsed by F. Grene.—Christoph. Buxtonus M. Parisijs 9 Jun., 1587.

✠

Sir, my humble dewtye remembred unto you as also unto Mr. President. These are to certifye you that as I came by Paris Mr. Doctor Darbishire sent for me and tolde me that he had receyved worde from father Persons from Rome that none of us prystes that came last from Rome shoulde go towardes Englande untill we heard further from you at Rome. Whereuppon as obedience requirethe I staye, althoughe it be to me some cost and chardges for I can gett but litle for my masses in respecte of my expences, all thinges are here so deare in France. What ye rest of my fellowes will do I cannot tell: we are all, as I thincke, verye lothe to staye, but that it is your will to the contrarye and you knowe best what is to be done. I will [daylie *cancelled*] expecte your answere, whitch I trust will not be longe ere it come unto me. I will cease to trouble you anye longer for this tyme, committinge you unto the tuition of Almightye God. Roan this 29th of June 1587.

Your lovinge and obedient Childe
Christopher Buxton

Addressed.—Admodum Reverendo p. patri Gulielmo Holto Collegii Anglorum in Urbe Rectori tradantur. Romæ.

Endorsed by F. Grene.—Mr. Buxton Martyr. Roan 29 Jun. 1587.

* The persons here mentioned can nearly all be identified in Foley's edition of the English College *Diary* or *Annals*. Thomas Vavasour was unfortunately murdered in the Abruzzi, while on a begging tour to raise money for the Seminaries (Foley, vi, 153). Mr. Garret was Father John Gerard, afterwards S.J. (*Ibid.*, p. 173). Mr. Fitzharbard in Rome will have been Nicholas Fitzherbert, the Thomas Fitzherbert mentioned as in Paris afterwards became a Jesuit of note (*cf. Letters of Cardinal Allen*, p. 221; Foley, *Records*, vii, 258). The Mr. Hart was perhaps Dr. William Hart, an Englishman living in Rome (*cf. Letters of Cardinal Allen*, 221). For John Nelson, see Foley, vi, p. 169. "My countryeman Francis" will have been Francis Clayton of (? county) Derby (Foley, vi, p. 166), whose surname is mentioned in the last of these letters.

✠

Sir, you maye perhaps marvayle what hathe bene the cause of my staye so longe forthe of my countrye, truly nothinge else but Mr. Doctor Darbyshire's commandement, who tolde me when I was with him in Paris, he had receyved letters from F. Persons, that none of us that were sent from Rome this mission, shoulde goe towardes Englande until we harde from him agayne. Why the rest of my fellowes stayed not as well as I, Father Darbyshire tolde me that none of them but my selfe came to him when we were in Paris, therefore he colde not geve them the same commandment, which he gave unto me. Mr. Dobson tolde me that Father Fletcher sayde he had bene with Mr. Doctor Darbyshire and yet he tolde him of no stayinge, which made me not a little to marvayle. So it is I have often wryten unto Father Darbyshire that I might go forward, consideringe my fellowes were gone alreadye. After a whyle I came to Ewe,* where Mr. Mann and Mr. Dobson thought I might go forwarde without anye scruple, consideringe we were all of one mission and theye gone alreadye. And presentlye upon this counsell of theyres I receyved Mr. Thomas Fitzharbardes letters from Paris, whom I had solicited oftentymes with my letters to speake unto Father Darbyshire that I might go forwarde. So I saye at last he wryte unto me that Mr. Doctor Darbyshire had him commended unto me, and bad me nowe go forwarde in the name of God, when I woulde my selfe. So ever synce, for the space of thrye weekes and more, I have layen at Ewe, with often goinge unto Deepe to provyde me for a shippe for my passage, and nowe at last by the helpe of Mr. Wharton, the bearer hereof, I have mett with an honest man, who is called Mr. James, beinge a good Catholycke, who promisethe me he will sett me in London saffelye and acquaynt me with Prystes and Catholyckes. We expecte everye daye when to go forwarde, which I trust wilbe within towe or thrye dayes. Thus from Deepe, this 7 of September, I take my leave desyringe you, good father Rector, to praye for me, that I maye have a saffe and prosperous passage into my countrye. Your lovinge Child and
in all most obedient
Christopher Buxton

Addressed.—Admodum Reverendo P^i^ patri Gulielmo Holt Societatis Jesu Collegii Anglorum Rectori in urbe tradantur.

Endorsed (i) *by F. Grene.*—Beatus M. Christopherus Buxtonus passus Cantuariae 1° Octobris 1588. Scribit 7° Septembris & 29 Jul. [? Jun.] 1587 ad P. Holt Rectorem Coll^i^ huius Angl. Ostendens magnam obedientiam erga PP. Societatis & nominatim P. Personium.

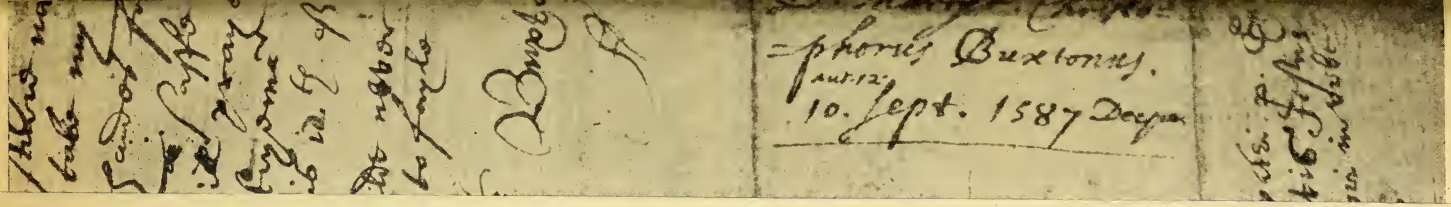
(ii) This letter dated Deepe 7 September 1587.

✠

Most reverende and my most lovinge Father, F. Rector.

Within one daye after I had sealed upp my letters and had sente them towardes you, your letters came unto my handes, beinge in

* On the English School at Eu in Normandy, see *C.R.S.*, ii, 30, 31, and notes. Mr. Mann and Mr. Dobson, priests, seem to have been teaching there.

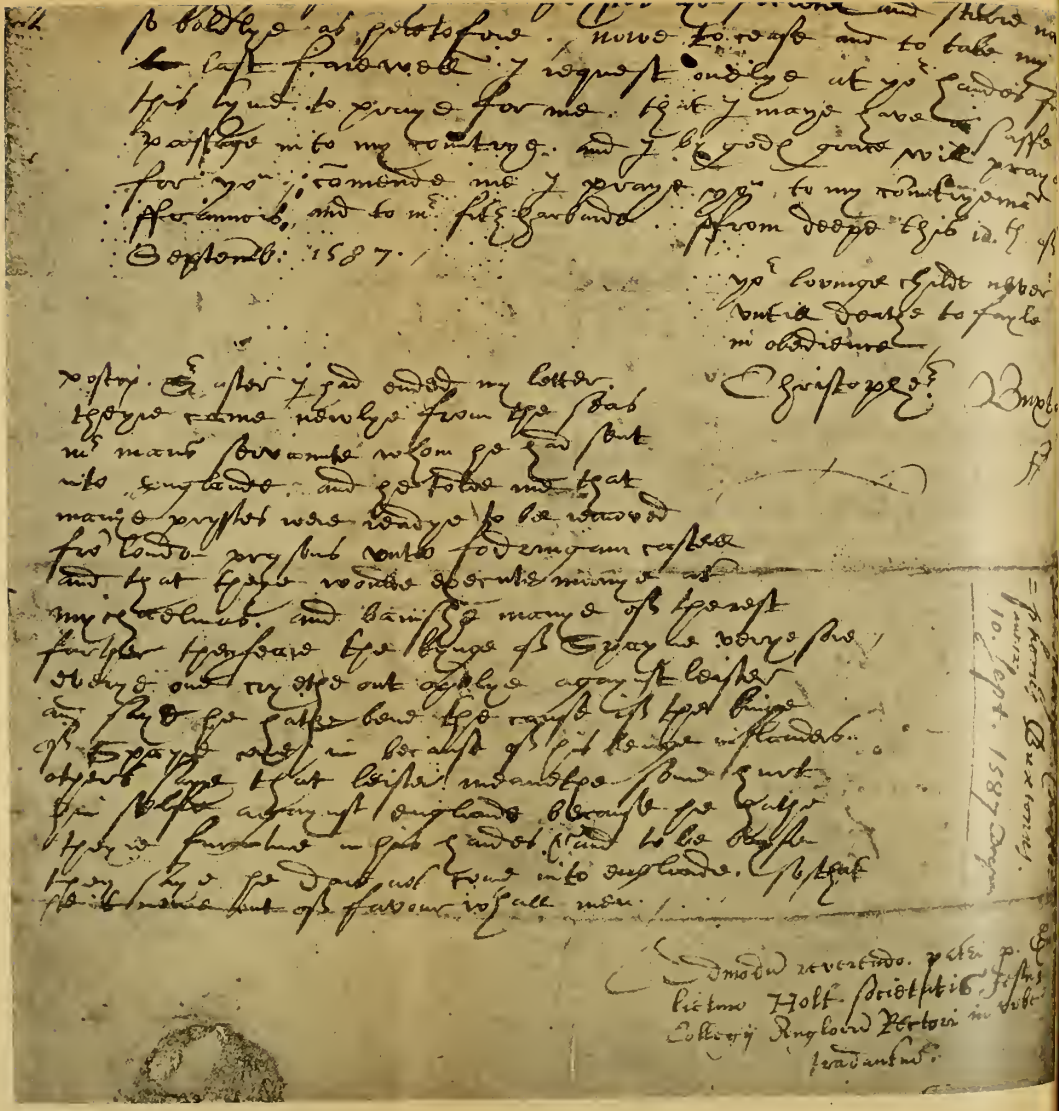


Deepe. Wherein I perceyve howe iniuriouslye I have bene handled with Father Darbyshire, who forged suche thinges to make me to staye. In the faith of a pryste, if his wordes had not bene (who put some scruple into me in goinge forwarde) I had bene the fyrst of all my companyons in Englande; for I was the fyrst that was settinge forthe of Paryse with all speede to have gone forwarde. If I shoulde have done otherwyse then so, consideringe my earnest and often sute bothe unto yow and to Mr. President (who, as yow write unto me, is nowe Cardinal, God be praysed) when I was with you at Rome, if I saye now I shoulde seeme to staye and not to go with all speede, you might well have adiudged me hypocritically and faynedlye to have requested the same; but consideringe the thinge is past, and by this I maye learne to worke more surelye in my affayres an other tyme, I will not take it to muche to hart, but will lett it lyghtlye passe; and nowe at lenght with full Seale and couragious myndes most like unto Aeneas we will cutt the Surginge Seas, and make assault towardes our foes. You might do well, good Father, if you woulde wryte unto Father Darbyshire and lett him knowe what a displeasure he hathe done me, wishinge him not without commandement hereafter to staye anye after the lyke sorte. I praye you lett my Countryeman Cleyton knowe that it is not for lacke of courage or good zeale that I have not yett bene amongest his freindes and myne. Nowe tell him I will do more (for parte of recompence of my staye) in a weeke then before I shoulde have done in a fortnight. And for the fatherlye and lovinge freindshippe, reverende Father, you offer unto me in your last letters as concerninge v or vj crownes you bid me take in your name, trewlye I am bounde to thincke theyre is trewe freindshippe in you. For that moneye, I say, I most hartelye thancke you. Althoughe I have bene at greate chardges, yet I thincke I have sufficient moneye to sett me in Inglande, and therefore I will not put the Colledge to more chardges then I have done alreadye. I hope all my companions be well aryved, for we here nothinge to the contrarye. All went towardes Scotlande, as I thincke. I praye you Sir, if you can conveniently, lett my Lord Cardinall knowe of my proceedinges. I will daylye praye for his good Lordshippe. I have wryten unto you in my former letters as concerninge my passage and other matters. For your commendacions you bad me do in Roan, I beinge nowe in Deepe cannot have that opportunitye. Mr. Foulgiam is in the Lowe Cuntryes and Mr. Hopkyns in Brusils. All thinges so close in Inglande that we here nothinge from thence. Prystes lye secrete and stirre not so boldlye as heretofore. Nowe to cease and to take my last farewell, I request onelye at your handes for this tyme to praye for me that I may have a saffe passage into my countrye; and I, by God's grace, will praye for you. Commende me, I praye you, to my countrye man Frauncis and to Mr. Fitzharbarde. From Deepe this 12th [10th *cancelled*] of September 1587.

your lovinge childe, never untill deathe to fayle in obedience

Christopher Buxton

Postscript.—Sir, after I had ended my letter theyre came newlye from the seas Mr. Man's servaunte whom he had sent into Englande,



To face p. 149]

The VEN. CHRISTOPHER BUXTON, M.

Deepe. Wherein I perceyve howe iniuriouslye I have bene handled with Father Darbyshire, who forged suche thinges to make me to staye. In the faith of a pryste, if his wordes had not bene (who put some scruple into me in goinge forwarde) I had bene the fyrst of all my companyons in Englande; for I was the fyrst that was settinge forthe of Paryse with all speede to have gone forwarde. If I shoulde have done otherwyse then so, consideringe my earnest and often sute bothe unto yow and to Mr. President (who, as yow write unto me, is nowe Cardinal, God be praysed) when I was with you at Rome, if I saye now I shoulde seeme to staye and not to go with all speede, you might well have adiudged me hypocritically and faynedlye to have requested the same; but consideringe the thinge is past, and by this I maye learne to worke more surelye in my affayres an other tyme, I will not take it to muche to hart, but will lett it lyghtlye passe; and nowe at lenght with full Seale and couragious myndes most like unto Aeneas we will cutt the Surginge Seas, and make assault towardes our foes. You might do well, good Father, if you woulde wryte unto Father Darbyshire and lett him knowe what a displeasure he hathe done me, wishinge him not without commandement hereafter to staye anye after the lyke sorte. I praye you lett my Countryeman Cleyton knowe that it is not for lacke of courage or good zeale that I have not yett bene amongest his freindes and myne. Nowe tell him I will do more (for parte of recompence of my staye) in a weeke then before I shoulde have done in a fortnight. And for the fatherlye and lovinge freindshippe, reverende Father, you offer unto me in your last letters as concerninge v or vj crownes you bid me take in your name, trewlye I am bounde to thincke theyre is trewe freindshippe in you. For that moneye, I say, I most hartelye thancke you. Althoughe I have bene at greate chardges, yet I thincke I have sufficient moneye to sett me in Inglande, and therefore I will not put the Colledge to more chardges then I have done alreadye. I hope all my companions be well aryved, for we here nothinge to the contrarye. All went towardes Scotlande, as I thincke. I praye you Sir, if you can conveniently, lett my Lord Cardinall knowe of my proceedinges. I will daylye praye for his good Lordshippe. I have wryten unto you in my former letters as concerninge my passage and other matters. For your commendacions you bad me do in Roan, I beinge nowe in Deepe cannot have that opportunitye. Mr. Foulgiam is in the Lowe Cuntryes and Mr. Hopkyns in Brusils. All thinges so close in Inglande that we here nothinge from thence. Prystes lye secrete and stirre not so boldlye as heretofore. Nowe to cease and to take my last farewell, I request onelye at your handes for this tyme to praye for me that I may have a saffe passage into my countrye; and I, by God's grace, will praye for you. Commende me, I praye you, to my countrye man Frauncis and to Mr. Fitzharbarde. From Deepe this 12th [10th *cancelled*] of September 1587.

your lovinge childe, never untill deathe to fayle in obedience

Christopher Buxton

Postscript.—Sir, after I had ended my letter theyre came newlye from the seas Mr. Man's servaunte whom he had sent into Englande,

and he told me that manye prystes were readye to be removed from London prysons unto Fodringam [*sic*] Castell and that theye woulde execute manye at michelmas and banishe manye of the rest. Further they feare the Kinge of Spayne verye sore. Everye one cryethe out openlye agaynst Leister, and saye he hathe bene the cause if the King of Spayne come in, because of his beinge in Flanders. Others saye that Leister meanethe some hurt him selfe agaynst Englande, because he hathe theyre [? fortune] in his handes &c. And to be bryfe, they saye he dare not come into Englande, so that he is now out of favour with all men.

Addressed.—Admodum reverendo patri P. Gulielmo Holt Societatis Jesus Collegii Anglorum Rectori in urbe tradantur. Romae.

Endorsed by F. Grene.—B. Martyr Christophorus Buxtonus 10 aut 12 Sept. 1587. Deepe.

LI.

THE MASSACRE OF 1588

In the excitement which followed the defeat of the Armada, more Catholics were executed than at any other period of the same length. Our forefathers could find out very few particulars concerning these Martyrs, for from the nature of the case the ports were closed, little news reached the settlements of Catholics abroad, and no one dared keep papers at home. Several records, however, remain of the proceedings taken by Elizabeth's ministers, and these make up in part for this dearth of information, though it is true that men so bitter and perverted as Walsingham and his lawyers, were incapable of seeing, much less of appreciating or noting, those matters which chiefly interest us. Their notes, indeed, are only a record of those points which they thought worst in the Martyrs' cause.

The Catholics of that day ascribed the massacre chiefly to the Earl of Leicester. What proofs they had for this I do not know. The papers before us trace the responsibility back to the Privy Council, and Leicester's voice may have predominated there, though the orders are issued in Elizabeth's name. The danger from the Armada had just passed away, troops were being disbanded and sent home. The Catholics, so far as one could judge so scattered and obscure a body, were seen to be standing on the side of the Queen. Any previous reason for distrusting them must now lose much of its force. Everything, therefore, seemed to make for peace. Indeed, it *may* be that the Council felt that some relaxation would now be inevitable, and ordered the harsh measures, of which we shall hear, under the impression (often found in shallow cruel minds) that a policy of mitigation ought to be inaugurated by a display of severity, lest it should be misunderstood.

However this may be, there can be no doubt about the evil intentions of the government even before the Armada had sailed. The Council wrote in January urging on the trial of Richard Simpson (Dasent, *Acts of Privy Council*, xv, p. 333). At first he saved his life by wavering, but afterwards on being joined by Ludlam and Garlick he regained constancy, and the three priests suffered together at Derby on the 24th of July. That the Council was also already meditating some signal ferocity in London, seems almost certain from this precedent and from the following letter addressed to them by two Crown lawyers, the original of which is at the Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccxii, *n.* 70.

(i)

MR. SERJEANT FLEETWOOD AND THOMAS EGERTON, SOLICITOR-GENERAL, TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL

According to your Honours pleasure and dyrection, wee have sett do[wn] a fewe Artycles to be offered to the Papysts and Recusants of this tyme, to discerne those that carye Trayterous and malycio[us] myndes against her Majesty and the state, from theym whose symplicitie ys misledde by ignorant & blynde zeale. Leaving the same to your Honors grave consyderations. And albeyt yt can not be otherwyse presumed, but that all such as will not duetyfullie clere theimselves upon these questyons, by professing their loyaltie and obedyence to her Maiestie are (at this tyme specyallie) exceeding daungerous persons, yet if they doe either obstynatelie refuse to make any answere at all, or subtyllye ([as] many in lyke cases have heretofore done) excuse themselves that they are unlearned and ignorant & so not hable to answere herein, or that they ought not be be examyned of things future, or to lyke effecte. Then upon suche manner of Answere made by theim, they are not comprehe[nded] dyrectlie within the compasse of the lawe for any proceeding to be had against theim in case of Treason or felonye in respecte of that their answere only unlesse some other action drawing theim in daunger of the lawe maye be proved against theim. But if they be Jesuyts or Semynarie priests, or other lyke priests made according to the rytes of the Churche of Rome synce Mydsommer in the fyrst yeare of her Maiestie's Raigne, then, being here within the Realme, they are to be dealt with according to the Statute made in the 27th yeare of Her Highness' Raigne. And if they be laye persons, then some such other course is to be holden with theim, to represse the[ir] malyce and to discover theier treasonable intentions as your Honours in your grave wysdomes shall dyrecte. And so resting most humblie in all things at your Hon[ours] commandment. We commytte the same to the Alm[ighty] this xxth of Julii 1588. Your honours most humble at command.

W. Fletewoode
Tho. Egerton

Addressed.—To the Right honorable the Lordes & others of her Maiesties pryvie Counsell.

Endorsed.—20 July 1588. From Mr Sergeant Fleetewodde and Mr Sollycitor concerninge the proceadinge against Jesuytes semynaryes and obstynate recusants.

The very day that this letter was signed, the Spanish Fleet unexpectedly appeared off the Lizard, and we easily understand why three weeks passed before the Council made up its mind what steps it would take next.

Then the following instructions were issued, stating on the one hand that Elizabeth wished to proceed with the Catholics "according to the law," and on the other hand recommending the inquisitors again "to propound such questions as have heretofore been proposed to other" Catholics, that is to say the "bloody question," whether they would fight against the Pope. Though, as appears from the government's advisers, that barbarous as the new laws were, there was none that sanctioned this.

On the 14th of August, 1588, a letter was issued to "Sr owen Hopton, Mr. Daniel, Francis Bacon, Osborne, Topcliffe, Branthwaite, Tho: Wrothe, Young, Edw. Barker, Registar of the Delegates, or any 8, 7, or 6 of them, to command the keepers of all the prisons in and about London to bring unto them the names of the several parties remaining under their several custodies for matters of Recusancy, for that Her Majesty's pleasure is they should be proceeded with according to the law and as the quality of their offences shall have deserved, to consider in what sort the examinations may be most speedily taken for the understanding with what matters they may be lawfully charged, and thereupon assembling themselves in two or three companies as they shall think most convenient in respect of the multitude of the prisoners, to proceed thereunto according to their good discretions. But especially to inquire which of them are Jesuits or Priests, and either have not departed out of the realm or have returned hither again . . . and that they propound to them such questions as have heretofore been proposed to others and are in a printed book, &c." (Dasent, *Acts of Privy Council*, xvi, p. 235).

The examinations ordered by the Privy Council on the 14th of August were immediately commenced, and, as appears from the conclusion of the next paper, seem to have been finished by the 20th. The papers were then put into the hands of Serjeant, afterwards Sir John, Puckering.

It is worth noticing that he had first, as a politician, been engaged in the fabrication of those legal treasons for which the Martyrs were executed, for he had been Speaker in the Parliament of the 27th year of Queen Elizabeth. Now he is acting as Crown advocate, gathering up the evidence that is to be given against them. Finally he was also one of the commissioners for the trials, and was one of the assessors of the Justices (see No. iii below) who eventually sentenced the victims to their cruel fate. Indeed, even while making "notes of the evidence," we shall see that he has also made notes both of what the verdict was to be, and also of what sentence should thereupon be passed. The tyranny of Elizabeth's bureaucracy was complete and universal.

The paper in which Puckering states the case for the Crown against the intended victims, is still preserved among his papers (British Museum, Harleian MSS., 6998, fol. 232). It is a hasty draft, full of corrections, and if one of the most interesting, also one of the most crabbed and difficult documents which it has been my lot to decipher. The whole of the first section is written on one page.

His method seems to have been this. He began by setting down on the first page of his paper all the names in a certain topographical order, distributing them over as wide an area as he could, in order that as many places as possible might witness the executions of the Popish priests. London with Middlesex obtained the lion's share, partly because many had been arrested, or at least imprisoned and examined there, partly because London was the home of Protestant bigotry and would greatly enjoy the spectacle. This part of the list is also the more important because this paper may, perhaps, be the only written notes which Puckering made in preparing his case against these Martyrs. We shall find that he afterwards rewrote his notes against the Martyrs who suffered outside London, and by that time he had more evidence before him. The second part of his paper, therefore, valuable though it be for showing how the problem worked itself out in his mind, is not so indispensable as the first part.

The counties in which the sufferers were to be tried being settled, the next step was to write down against each one a note whether he is guilty or not, and why. Thus we read against the first, *cul. confes.*, which stands probably for some French law terms, *e.g. culpable: confesse.*

Later in the sixth, *ne resp. cul.* probably stands for *ne responds pas: culpable.* John Valentyne (*b* 1), has apparently given up his faith, so the note at first is *Recante et Relente, ideo pardonatus.* But later on the lawyer had a doubt, so he adds in the left margin a note which may be translated, "No pardon, although he submit, because those committed by the Council are excepted from the pardon," and the reason for this is given later on in §3. Three are said to "refuse pardon," and they are all marked *culp.* Three are marked "take Q. part," and they are not marked *culp.* One of them (ii, *a* 1) was nevertheless martyred soon after.

He next seems to have shown the paper to Lord Burghley, for we find in his hand the words "Treason" and "Felony" written against the different classes. Finally Puckering wrote *susp.* against those names which he had previously marked *culp.*

My reasons for interpreting the signs in this way is this. These persons were eventually all hanged on 28 or 30 August (A. 28, A. 30 has been added by me against their respective names). But if Burghley's note had been the last word on their fate, the priests would have been hung, drawn and quartered, not hanged only. Puckering's note is, therefore, presumably the later of the two.

There is, moreover, an interesting point connected with the interpretation of this word *susp.* Was it added *after* the verdict with the meaning *suspensus fuit,* "he was hanged," or was it written before in the imperative mood which Elizabeth's lawyers were wont to assume, *suspendatur,* "let him be hanged!" Presumably in the latter sense, for it is applied later on to Clifton, who afterwards died in prison and was not hanged at all; and it is not applied to Weldon (ii, *a* 1), against whom proceedings were not then contemplated (§2, 9), though he was executed later.

So much for the first batch of Martyrs executed in London on the 28th and 30th of August. The notes on the other prisoners to be executed in the various counties present new difficulties. The most frequently repeated note here is "ꝑfit." This form occurs fifteen times, and the word is probably to be understood with the word "fere," and probably also under the sign ⁻̈ (which may mean ditto). Sometimes the sense may *seem* to be the usual one, *i.e.* profit or advantage; but upon closer examination it is almost certain that it means something very different, that is to say, *profitetur,* "he confesses himself guilty." For all those who were eventually executed or were tried for their lives, have *full profit* opposite their names, or *profit* or else ⁻̈ Whereas those noted *nyt profit* got off.

We also notice that attention is paid both here and in §§ 4 and 5 to the prison where the sufferers were incarcerated. This was, no doubt, done in order to be ready for anyone who might claim pardon, as appears from § 3, *b.*

In editing this hastily written paper, I have thought it best to complete the series of titles to the sub-sections, also to continue the series of numbers opposite the names, which the writer had inserted for the first six classes (*i.e.* down to "Staff."); I have added the rest. I have added the first three section titles. On the extreme right I have set the eventual dates of the martyrdoms in an abbreviated form:—A[ugust], S[eptember], O[ctober], with the day number. The words in inverted commas are added by Lord Burghley. The names printed in italics were written first, in a larger hand; the rest was added afterwards in characters that are sometimes very minute.

(ii)

[§ 1. Persons to be Executed]

LONDON

[*a*] Preests—"Treason" [*Added by Lord Burghley*]

[1 *Christopher Thules—cancelled*]—for cheshire better

sus. 2 *William Gunter*—cul. confes. [A.28

sus. 3 *Thomas Acton*—cul. confes. [A.28

sus. 4 *Robert Mooreton*—cul. [A.28

sus. 5 *James Clarkson*—[take the Q. part—*cancelled*] cul. [A.28

sus. 6 *Richard Leigh*—ne resp. cul. [A.30

sus. 7 *William Deane* [*added from lower down*]—cul. [A.28

[*b*] Persons Reconciled—"Felony"

1 *John Valentyne**—Recant. & Relent. Ideo ꝑdon tamen nei, quia comy^{t} ꝑ counsell

susp. 2 *Harry Webley*—cul. refuse ꝑdon [take Q. part—*cancelled*] [A.28

susp. 3 *Thomas Felton*—cul. refuse ꝑdon [A.28

4 *Thomas Hall*—take the Q. part

5 *Robert Bellamy*—take the Q. part

[*c*] Receavers and Mainteiners of Preests—"Felony"

susp. 1 *Richard lloyde*—[take the Q. part—*cancelled*] [A.30

[2 *Richard Marten*—not yet ꝑfit—*cancelled*]

2 *Richard Mrten*—cul. reconcyled [A.30

susp. 3 *John Roch*—cul. susp. [A.30

MIDDLESEX

[*a*] Preests—["Treason"—*cancelled*]

1 *John Weldon*—take Q. part [O. 5

[2 *William Deane—cancelled*]—fitter for London

[*b*] Persons Reconciled—"Felony"

susp. 1 *Hughe Moore*—cul. refuse ꝑdon susp. [A.28

2 *Harrye Foxwell*—[?] *fte* apres fuit ꝑdon

[*c*] Receyver of Preests

susp. Edward Shelley ap^{d} East Smithfield [A.30

STAFF.

⁻̤ 1 *James Harrison a preest* ꝑfit si hors del pardons

ꝑfit 2 *Thomas Heathe a Receyver & relever of preests at eastr 1588*

SURREY

⁻̤ 1 *William Flower a preest* ꝑfit [if time of apprehension certainly known *cancelled*] [S. 23

ꝑfit ⁻̤ 2 *John Cradock a person lately reconciled which by especial words in the commission may be tried also in Surrey*

ꝑfit ⁻̤ 3 *John Vachell Reconcyled*

ꝑfit ⁻̤ 4 Edward Chapman Reconcyled

* In the left-hand margin:—"nei pardon com^{t} submit quia comyt ꝑ counsell iss except del pardon." This may be more or less modernised thus:—Nul pardon, comment qu'il submit. *Quia* a person committed per Council is excepted from the pardon.

SUSSEX

Preests
1 *Edward James* — [O. 1
2 *John oven*
3 *Ralph Crocket* — marshalsea per m^r Secretary [O. 1
4 John Robinson — fere [*see below*—Suffolk] [O. 1

KENT

Preests
1 *Edward Campion* — ꝑfit [O. 1
2 *John Vernon*
3 *Christopher Buckston* — ꝑfit marshalsea per mandat consilii [O. 1
4 *Robert Wilcox* [*quaere the time of his apprehension for cause of the pardon—cancelled*] full ꝑfit [O. 1
5 Bolton p^r se l mere [? prese sur le mere] this side Sandwich Islington
6 Wm Clargenet taken on this side Sandwich coming into England./ full ꝑfit prisoner in Marshalsea

SUFF.

Preests
1 c. John Robinson full ꝑfit* [O. 1
2 *Francis Edwards* ꝑfit fere

BARK.

1 W^m goodacre ex̃ 20 Aug. 88 ꝑfitt
2 Richard higs
cul. susp. 3 *Thomas Clyfton a preest* in flete by ye councils com̃, ꝑfit
ny^t ꝑfit 4 *William Fyton A receyver and relever of preests.*
ny^t bn ꝑve / n^ll r naes q̃ clifton lay un nuyte en s meres meson & Il eat en s company & tamen dt q̃ Il dryve luy semell out of dores p^r c q ft un runagate / & il dt q̃ sache luy the preest / & en c ex̃ temps non certen si de le ꝑdon.✝

CHESHIRE

Christopher Thules al Ashton a priest. Commit by councils commandment to the Gatehouse. full ꝑfit

[§2. PREESTS THAT WILL TAKE THE Q. PART, ETC.]

WORCESTERSHIRE — 1 *James Taylor*
ESSEX — 2 *Jonas Meredith*
Sent into the Realm from the seas — 3 *John Bolton*
To be sent over agayne — [4 *William Clargenet*
taken by mr. Burrowes and committed also before the statute of 27 against priests, *cancelled*]
5 *David Kempe*
6 *John Vivion*
7 *John Marshe*
taken by the K. of Navarres people

* John Robinson's name has first had the note *fere* written against it, then it was cancelled and rewritten above under Sussex, then rewritten again here with note *full profit.*

✝ The expansion is probably:—Nyt bien prouve. [? Declares] que Clifton lay un nuyte en sa meres meson; et il eat en sa company. Et tamen dict que il dryve luy semell out of dores par ce que fut un runagate; et il dict que sache luy the preest. Et en cette examination temps non certen si [hors] de le pardon.

	8 *Robt. Nutter*	
	9 John Weldon	(take the Q. part) monastically vowed, deserveth to go over, &c.
GLOUCESTER	10 *Thomas Haberley*	*committed before the statute 27 made against priests & remained in prison ever since*
SALOP	11 *William Parry*	
	12 [John Bolton also sup^ra *cancelled*]	

[§ 3. Some Principles for Proving Guilt]

[*a*] Receyving & Releving comforting ayding or maynteyning any such preests, &c.

[1.] Si fait ꝑ Room aucth. syns midsummer A° 1° Reginæ.

2. Knowing them to be Jesuits Seminary preests or other such preests (as aforesaid) Sy[?]son connsans syra q̃ fuit tiell man^r de preest, & net old preest, ou preest generalment, & ne sache sy old ou new.*

3. preests at liberty or out of hold, sils st restr [*sic*] de lo^r lib^rtye loyall a don^r al eux com^t q̃ st Largent dascr autr & ne^t s[on] sceu.†

4. ny^t discloser, sachant eux tiell preests abiding cont^r lestatute. Le ny^t discloser deins xii iours ap^rs s[ont] conus al Justice p[eace] ou autr[e] higher officer.

[*The penalty is*] fine & Imprisonment al plesur le roigne.

[*b*] Reconciled persons before the general pardon of 29 Reginæ. Are excepted out of the pardon for so long tyme as they do not conform them selves in causes of religion and continew in the same.

But this clause helps them not yf they were at the last day of the same parlyament in prison in the Tower, the Marshalsye, the Fleet or by the commandment of the Q. or by commandment or direction of any of her Council restrained of liberty. For such persons are generally excepted out of the pardon, albeit they do conform themselves ut sup^ra. John Valentine q^l [? quoiqu'il] Reforme.

[§ 4.] Commyt[ted] by the Command of the Ho. Counsell

Tho. Gerard to the gatehouse
Tho. Hall ꝑ arch. Cant. gatehouse
Lyonel Edes Marshalsea per council
Wm Tranys Marshalsea per D^m Thesaur
Wm Fyton Marshalsea per D^m Thesaur
Tho. Arden Marshalsea per D^m Camerarium
Tho. Bisco to the Marshalsea from Tower
Ric. Higgs Marshalsea per D^m Camerar.

* The meaning *seems* to be:—The receiver is guilty, if he knew that his guest was that sort of priest, and was *not* an old, Queen Mary, priest; or [if he knew him to be] a priest in general, without knowing whether he was old or new.

† I cannot make sure of the text, and am unable to guess its meaning.

[§ 5.] To Ex[amine Further]

1. Flower preest in the clink (or m^r young) the time of his apprehension at Lambeth in Surrey, in April '86. p ex̃ sub sa mayne de m̃ [?mesme] le date [*cancelled*].
2. Edward James preest. what time certen apprehended / & what clink postea prison he remained in time of the pardon of 29 [*cancelled.*]
3. Ralph Crocket. superabund. commit per counsel's commandment / al marshalsea / per mr. Secretary [*cancelled*].
4. Francis Edwards. when apprehended? / wher? / whether committed? / I lack this when? & by whom? examination [*cancelled*].
5. John Robinson. Si taken at anker in yarmouth road going to Newcastle (*en verity nere laystoke en suff*). Si c st ven [?ce soit venant] (*or being*) en le realme. / si comyt ever since / per qx comyt (*per Ld Treasurer*) / & a quel prison (*al clink*) / & lou rem. q^t pardon 29 Eliz. (*en clink*). [*The words in Italics are interlined, all afterwards cancelled*].
6. Edward James apprehend in ship in Suss. coming into England, Clink. between Easter and Whitsuntide xxviij^o Eliz. (even when Ballard's treasons brewing).
   ∴ quære whither comytted? / & by whom? / where remained time of Pardon A^o 29?
7. John Bolton. Where he landed? / first ex̃ 30 Nov. A^o 28 saith Clink. near London & came in voluntarie.
   2 ex̃ saith taken on seas, and brought in A^o 27 in Nov. ny^t voier.
   where apprehended? / whither committed? / by whom?
8. Clargenet. What year came into England? where apprehended? whither committed? *marshalsea.*

[*What follows is written in the original on the last page reversed. The first four entries are cancelled.*]

1. Edw. Chapman / Where, in what place his reconcilement was? / p^r le Marshalsea. com. per councils commandment.
2. John Bolton / where he landed, / where apprehended?
3. Wm Clargenet / what year came into England? / where landed, / where apprehended, / whether comytted? / by whom?
4. Frauncis Edwards / what shyres was yn? where apprehended? / by whom comytted? / (*by mr. Secretary to the Marshalsea and ever since there—interlined*) where remained temps del pardon?
5. Edward James / Whether comytted? / by whom? / where remained Clink. temps pardon? / (*first to the Marshalsea by Mr. Secretary, after to the Clink r^o Maii 1586, and there rem. ever since—interlined*).

Quaere what prison Harrison is yn? what time first he came over after his preesting? / He sayth Lent 84 / tamen apres dt que il spend le *s temps le* xpenmas apres 83 sic &c. / q^e no p^t ed [?que non peult estre] / p quel means heath sach luy preest / quant primes c sacha que fuit priest? / quant Harrison primes apprehend? / per quem commit? / a quel prison? / Lou remayna [*sic*] temps del pardon?

(iii)

RECORD OF THE TRIALS OF MORE, SHELLEY AND FOXWELL

The next papers relate to the sufferers of 28 and 30 August. They are found among Sir John Puckering's papers, British Museum, Harleian MSS., 6846, p. 353, 6996, fol. 659, which was evidently written as the covering letter to 6846, p. 422, though they are now separated.

Midd. SS. Sessio de audiendo et terminando, tenta apud Justice Hall in le Old Baylye in parochia S^ti Sepulchri London xxvi^to die Augusti Anno Regni Reginæ Elizabeth tricesimo coram Georgio Bond Milite Maiore prædictæ civitatis London, Johanne Episcopo London, Giberto Gerrardo milite, Magistro Rotulorum Cur Cancellar., Johanne Puckering uno servientium dictæ Dominæ Reginæ ad legem, Eduardo Fenner serviente ad legem, Owino Hopton milite, Rowland Heywood mil., Wolstano Dixey milite, Georgio Barne milite, Ricardo Martin, Francisco Bacon et Ricardo Yonge Armigeris Justiciariis dictæ dominæ Reginæ ad audiendum et terminandum assignatis.

Hugo Moore nuper de Grayes Inne in Commitatu Middlesex generosus,* was condemned and executed for being reconciled to the See of Rome by one Thomas Stevenson a Jesuyte.

Edward Shelley nuper de London Generosus, was condemned and executed for receiving aiding and comforting of one William Deane a Seminarye Preiste.

Henry Foxwell nuper de civitate Westminster in Commitatu Middlesex generosus was condempned for being reconcyled to the See of Rome by one John Bawdwyn a Jesuit ./. He was afterward repryved and had his pardon.

Endorsed in Puckering's hand.—iii persons condemned in Midd. when the Spanish fleet was on the sea past Callais.†

(iv)

A CERTIFICATE FROM NEWGATE

The following letter shows that Sir John Puckering, now become Lord Keeper, has written for a Newgate certificate. If any were tried for the county of Middlesex, as Mr. Sebroke was inclined to think, they may have been Hartley, Weldon and Sutton, who were executed on the 5th of October.

My duty to your Lordship most humbly done. According to your Lordships commandment I have enclosed sent the names of all such persons as were indicted, arraigned & found guilty of Treason at Newgate Sessions for the City of London Anno 1588, which was the time the Spaniards were on the Seas. If the like proceedings were at Newgate for the C^o of Midd. (as I think assuredly some where)

* This designation is to be noted. In Father Persons' *Relacion de Algunos Martyrios*, Madrid, 1590 (British Museum), p. 16, the designation has been run into the name, which appears as Morgent. This was afterwards printed Morgan, and hence the introduction of H. Morgan into so many martyrologies.

† This is incorrect. The battle of Gravelines took place on the 29th of July, and the thanksgiving service for the victory was celebrated August 20th, a week before the trials.

their names and Records thereof remain with Mr. Fermor Clerk of the peace for the same county lying at Staples Inne. And thus resting &c. London March 3/94

Wm Sebrooke

[*Enclosure.*]

At the Sessions of oyer and Terminer and gaol delivery, howlden at Justice Hall in the Owlde Bayley the 26 and 29 of August 1588, as well for the Cittie of London as for the Countie of Middlesex. Before Sr George Bond Lorde Maior of the Cittie of London & others.

There was executed for London

- John Roche
- Margarete Warde
- William Gonnter
- William Deane
- Robert Morton
- Richard Martin ./. reprie per mes notes*
- Richarde Floyde als Graye
- Richard Leigh
- Henry Webley
- Thomas Acton
- Richard Bould
- Peter Ades &
- Xpofer Amyas

London 26 Aug. 88*

susp. Hughe Moore

susp. Ed. Shelley

[susp.—*cancelled*] Henry Foxwell, Repreved & pardoned

Endorsed.—A Sertificat frome Newgate. *Also by Harley.*—Bought of Mr. Baker.

(v.)

List of Proposed Martyrs

Dom. Eliz., ccxliv, *n.* 135.

The next document bears no date, and it is calendared by evident error under 1593. It was presumably written *before* the Martyrs were sent down to take their trials in the country, which (as appears from p. 164) was, for some at least, the 12th of September.

Sussex	Raffe Crockett	Marshalsea
	ffraunces Edwards	Marshalsea
	Edward James	Clynk
	John Oven	Clynk
Surrey	William Flower	Clynk
	Edward Chapman	Marshalsea
	John Vachell	Marshalsea
	William Goodacre	Marshalsea
Suffolk	John Robinson	Clynk
Kent	Edward Campion	Marshalsea
	Robert Wilcocks	Marshalsea
	Christopher Bukston	Marshalsea

(vi)

Serjeant Puckering's Instructions (Harl., 6998, 234)

Thomas Baker has noted on his copy of this document:—"This paper is all wrote in Sergeant Puckerings own hand" (Harleian MSS.,

* These entries are additions, apparently in Puckering's hand.

7042, f. 420). Strype has printed part of the notes, but has omitted much towards the end (*Annals*, iv, 254). The date will be before the dispatch of the Martyrs to the various counties, which seems to have begun at least on the 12th of September.

A Note of theuidence as I collectyd yt and wrote it downe for and against the persons hereafter named.

SURRYE

William Flower. Borne in Denshyre. Made a preest in Fraunce at Mychelmas A° xxviij° Reginæ nunc. He retorned into England, & was apprehended in Surrye about June 29 Reginæ. After the generall pardon. His offence of being yn the Realm.

Edward Chapman. A person reconciled iiij yers past in Saint Georges fields in Surrye

After apprehended at Chichester yn Sussex after Easter A° 28 Reginæ.

Commytted to the Marshalsee by the Counsell's commandment 26 Aprill A° 28 Reginæ wher he hath remained ever sinse.

He is not within the ij ꝑast general pardons but excepted onles he will submyt himselfe in obediense to her Majestie, come to the Church to here Devine Service, conforme himselfe in matters of Religion, and so continew the same.

Also he is further excepted out of the pardon 29 Reginæ, as then being a prisoner in the Marshalsie, as also being then restrayned of libertie by some of the Privie Counsell's commaundement.

William Goodacre. Reconciled in the Marshalsie about a yere and a quarter past since the last generall pardon / and a person within the exceptions of the pardon for not conforming himselfe.

John Vachell. Hath foreborne to come to churche this two years / was reconciled in the Marshalsye / he ys excepted out of the last generall pardon unless he conform himself *vt supra*.

John Cradock. Reconciled in France, about a year and a quarter since (as by computation may appear) and so after the last pardon / but if ij years since, yet he is excepted out of the same pardon unless he conform himself *vt supra*. This offence being treason committed beyond the seas is to be examined and determined in what county it please her Majesty by commission having words tending to that end. *And so* may now be in Surrey by special words in the commission (*margin:* Spared).

KENT

Edward Campion. ꝑ eã̄ xv^to aug. A° 30 Regæ He was born in Shropshire, made preest beyond sea in Lent A° 29 Regæ Came into England at Easter, which his offence ys after the last pardon, was apprehended in Kent, so a traitor triable there.

He wisheth he were no worse traitor then Campion that was executed for treason.

Will not directly say if he will take the Q. part against the king of Spain's army, but will pray that the cath. romish church may prevail.

If an army come by thapostolic authoritie to deprive her Majestie and to restore Romish Religion he refuseth to tell what part he will take but will pray that the Cath. church may prevail so long as he liveth.

Christopher Buxton. p eẍ xv° Aug. xxx° Regæ

He was born in Derbishire made preest beyond sea Hallowtide A° 28 Reginæ, came into England at Hallowtide 29 Reginæ nunc, & was apprehended in Kent, after time of the last pardon.

This man will not take her maj. part against army, nor do anything to hinder his religion.

Robert Wilcox. per eẍ xv^to Aug. 30 Regæ

He was born at Westchester, made preest beyond the sea iiij years past. Came into England Januar. 28 Regæ. Apprehended then in Kent committed to the Marshalsee by the Priuee Counsel's order where he ever sinse remained.

So his treason after the statute of 27 Rg. not pardoned by the last general pardon, both because all prisoners in the Marshalsea then, and also all persons restrayned by the Council's command are excepted out of the pardon.

He will pray for tharmy that shall come hither to supplant religion.

William Clargenet. Spared quia sur le mere. per eẍ 30 Novembris A° 28 Regæ & p eẍ xv° Aug. A° 30 Regæ

Born in Yorkshire made preest beyond sea at hally Rode dy A° 27 Regæ. He came into England (saith one of his examinations in october was 2 years) s. 27 Reginæ but in truth in November in th'end of A° 27 Reginæ to do thoffice of a preest.

And is out of the pardon of 29 Reginæ both because then he was prisoner in the Marshalsee, and so excepted out of the pardon & committed also by Mr. Secretary, either of which excepteth him forth of the pardon albeit his offence were before.

He was taken on the seas on thisside Sandwich (within the Q. dominions) coming towards England, to do the office of a preest.

John Bolton. Spared quia sur le mere. per eẍ 30 Nov. A° 28 Rgæ per eẍ xv^to Aug. A° 30 Regæ

Born in Lancashire, made preest beyond sea at Hallowtide A° 27 Regæ nunc toke shepping at callyce about hallowtyde 28 Reginae nunc with clargenet and others for london and elsewhere, where they might land in England.

They were taken on the seas (by Mr. Burrows) on thisside Sandwich [within the Q. dominions, *marginal note*] coming towards England, & landed, & [*sic*] gravesend brought before Mr. Secretary, & by him committed to the Marshalsea upon the xi day of November 1585 A° 27 Reginæ where he hath remained ever since.

Their coming and being within the Q. dominions after the statute of 27 is the offence.

And not pardoned by the last general pardon, because all prisoners in the Marshalsea. And besides all persons restrained of liberty by command of any [*sic*] the privy counsel are excepted out of the pardon.

SUSSEX

Edward James. p eẍ xv^to Aug. A° 30 Reg.

Born in Derbishire / made preest four years past beyond sea / apprehended in April A° 28 Reginæ in Sussex in a ship resting on land & committed by Mr. Secretary* and there remained ever since.

* But see *C.R.S.* ii, 246, where he is said to have been committed to the Clink by Topcliffe, not by Walsingham. James had therefore in reality been pardoned, according to Puckering's law.

So the offence of being here not pardoned by the generall pardon of 29 Regæ because all persons be ther excepted out of the pardon, which the last day of the said parliament were restrained of their liberty by direction from some of the priuy Counsel.

Ralph Crockett. Born in Cheshire made preest beyond the sea iij years past, came into Sussex in April A° 28 Reginæ was then there apprehended, and committed to the Marshalsea where he hath ever since remained.

Not pardoned because prisoner in Marshalsee.

Also committed by Mr. Secretary.

John Oven. Born in Oxford made preest beyond the sea iij years past returned into Ingland and was imprisoned, & after about Michs. A° 28 Regæ was banished out of the realm.

And after sailing between Dieppe and Callais was by tempest as he sayeth driven into England and landed in Sussex & there apprehended (but he was not vyolently put out of the ship, and cannot deny but he might as well have gone away with the rest in the ship as the rest did.)

Excepted out of the pardon because prisoner in the Marshalsee. He will not say he will take the Q. part against army for religion.

Francis Edwards. exã xv^to Aug. A° 30 Reg. Born in Denbighshire, made preest beyond sea about 5 years past / and in July 27 Reginæ he came over into Sussex. And was committed by Mr. Secretary to the Marshalsee; so excepted out of the pardon because persons then in Marshalsee, as also restrained then of liberty by commandment of one of the Privy counsel.

SUFFOLK

John Robinson. He was born in Yorkshire, made preest beyond sea about Easter A° 27 Regæ and at Whitsuntide after coming into England to do thoffice of a preest was put into a little harbour in Suff. and there apprehended and committed by my L. Treasurer.

Not pardoned because he was then restrained by dyrection of one of the Privy Counsell.

STAFF.

James Harrison. exã Aug. 30 A° 30 El. exã 10 Maii 1588 letters D E F G H He was born in Derbishire made preest beyond seas within 4 or 5 years past, came into England about first day of may 27 Regæ. He was at Cumberford Hall in Stafford Shire at Easter last and apprehended on Easter monday last 8 April.

So his offence since the last pardon. See his examination xv^to Aug. 30 Reg. sheweth his ill disposition towards her Majesty and this state besides.

Thomas Heathe. exã James Harrison. x° Maii 1588 letters G & H He did receive and relieve Harrison in his house in Cumberford Hall in Staffordshire sundry times since the statute 27 Reginæ and once by the space of a quarter of a yere together knowing him to be such a preest as was made since midsummer A° 1° Reginæ by authoritye derived from Rome:

That Heathe did know him to be such a preest appears by many circumstances in the examinations. For he himself, eẍ 28 Julii 1588 Letter D, saith that James Harrison a preest of between 30 and 40 years was in his house at Cumberford Hall at Easter last (wherein he takes knowledge that he was a preest, & of so small age as could not be made priest before her Majesty's reign, and then being made preest since her Majesty's reign, he could not otherwise be made but by authority derived from Rome, and Harrison examinatus saith he was made [priest] these five years by such authority, & that Thomas Heathe knew it as surely as he could know him to be a priest, being made priest beyond sea).

So Heathes receiving and relieving of him in his house at Easter last in Staff. knowing to be such a priest is felony in Staff. (after the pardon) triable there.

So his examination xvi^to^ Aug. A° 30° R^æ^ his ill disposition, will not take the Q. part against an army coming hither by the pope's Apostolic authority. So Harrison's eẍ 30 Aug. 30 Reg^æ^.

CHESSHIRE

Xpofer Thules. eẍ 24 Aug. 1588

He was born in Durham made preest at Xpenmas 27 Reg^æ^ beyond sea came into England summer 28 Eliz., and went into Cheshire with Jones and Salesbury & was with them when they were apprehended for treason, he was then and there apprehended. He is excepted out of the last pardon because he was committed by the councils commandment to the Gatehouse.

Endorsed.—Copy of my instructions for the Priests & Reconciled men, and Receivers of Priests sent down sent down into the cuntryes.

(vii)

Orders of Privy Council for the Prosecution of James Harrison and Thomas Heath

12 September, 1588

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccxvi, *n.* 22.

James Harrison and Thomas Heath, of whom mention has already been made by Puckering, seem eventually to have escaped the scaffold. Heath's wife had already died a death not unlike martyrdom (Morris, *Troubles*, iii, 16), and Harrison's name may be traced in the Tower Bills for a couple of years more. His escape and that of his host, we see, was not due to any want of preparation on the part of the Council, whose thirst for blood has at least had the good consequence of providing us with several particulars about the martyrdoms of William Gunter and Richard Lloyd or Floyd (Flower in our "official" list), of which we should not otherwise have heard.

The presence of these letters among the state papers in London is not altogether unworthy of note. It perhaps signifies that these letters, though signed, were never dispatched. This may have been due to the temporary lull in the executions, of which several Catholic writers take notice, after the death of the Earl of Leicester, 4 September.

[To Mr Francis Cradocke]

After our hartie commendations. Whereas hir Matie hath by hir commiſsion of Oyer & Determiner dated ye seaventh of this present moneth of September directed to our verie good Lorde the Erle of

Shrewsburie, ye Duputie Lieutenants, & diuerse others of the countie of Stafford given them authoritie to proceade against all manner of Traitors, as by the tenure of the said commiſsion more at large appeareth. And for y^t^ before ye said Commiſsioners, at such time & place with in ye said cowntie as they shall appoynt, it is thought meete y^t^ James Harrison & Thomas Heath, now prisoners in the Tower & Newgate here in London should be indicted & receaue their trialls for matter of treason & for anie other thing where withall they are chargeable: ffor ye good opinion we conceaue as well of your sufficient knowledge in ye lawes of this realme, as of yor discretion and willing minde to anie good employment y^t^ may concerne yor profeſsion & studdie: we have thought good to praie & require you on hir Maties behalfe to be readie at such time & place as ye said Comiſsioners in ye said cowntie shall hould their Seſsions for ye purpose aforesaid, & their to give evidence for hir against the two prisoners before named. And for your better direction and ease in this service we have sent you here withall not only the severall examinations of the foresaid prisoners and certaine notes of instruction indorsed uppon ye same: but also formes of indictments to be used against them, to which formes you may notwithstanding add or alter as ye present occasion of time, place & matter at ye said Seſsions shall give you cause according to iustice & on hir Maties behalfe. And so not doubting of your care and diligence to be used in this service wee bidd you farewell ffrom ye Court ye twealfth of September 1588.

Yo^r^ loving frends

Chr. Hatton, Canc. W. Burghley
F. Knollys T. Heneage
Fra. Walsyngham A. Poulet J. Wolley

Mr Fra. Cradocke

[*Enclosures*]

London. Jurati pro domina Regina presentant quod Willelmus Gunter nuper de London Clericus, natus existens infra hoc regnũ Anglie, post festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno regni domine nostre Elizabeth dei gratia Anglie ffrancie & Hibernie Regine, fidei defensoris, &c., primo, et ante ultimum diem Junii anno regni dicte domine Regine xxx^o^ factus et ordinatus existens sacerdos apud Rhemes in partibus transmarinis aucthoritate derivata a sede Romana, leges & statuta huius regni Anglie minime ponderans nec penam in eisdem contentam aliqualiter verens, predicto ultimo die Junii anno regni dicte domine Regine anno xxx^o^, apud London predictam, videlicet in parochia sc̃i Sepulchri in Warda de ffarringdon extra London, proditorie et ut proditor dicte domine Regine, fuit et remansit, in contemptũ ipsius domine Regine corone et dignitatis suarum, necnon contra formam statuti in huiusmodi casu nuper editi et prouisi &c.

London. Jurati pro domina Regina presentant quod cum Willelmus Horner nuper de London Clericus infra dominia domine nostre Elizabeth, dei gratia Anglie ffrancie & Hibernie Regine, fidei defensoris &c. natus existens, et post festum Natiuitatis sc̃i Johannis Baptiste quod fuit in anno regni dicte domine Regine primo, et ante decimum

quartum diem Martij anno regni eiusdem domine Regine xxx°, aucthoritate derivata de sede romana factus et ordinatus fuit Sacerdos, quidam Ričus Lloyd nup de London generosus, deum pre oculis suis non habens, sed instigacione diabolica motus et seductus, sciens ipsum Willelmum Horner talem sacerdotem fore, dicto xiiij^to^ die Martij anno xxx° supradicto ipsum Willelmum Horner predictum, viž in Parrochia sči Dunstani in occidente in Warda de ffarringdon extra London predictam, vi et armis &c., scienter, voluntarie et felonice recepit comfortavit auxiliatus fuit et manutenuit ad largum et extra prisonam existentem contra formam Statuti in hujusmodi casu editi & prouisi, necnon contra pacem dicte domine Regine, Coronam & dignitatem suas &c.

Endorsed.—Staff. A forme of an Indictm^t^ of a preiste for his being in the Realme after ye Statut mayde A° xxvij° of the Queene: and of an other Indictm^t^ for receiving of such a Preiste: the like Indictments by you to be framed, mutatis mutandis, as the case shall requier according to the instructions herewith sente you.

In the previous number, viz. vol. ccxvi, *n.* 21, the Council, under the same date, 12 September, 1588, wrote to the Sheriff of Staffordshire that they sent down James Harrison and Thomas Heath "under the chardge of Gabriell Hill."

No. 20 is a similar letter of the same date to the Sheriff of Lancashire sending down Alexander Gerrard and Thomas Gerrard under charge of William Neweall to take their trials for treason and other matters.

LII.

JOHN INGRAM TO FATHER JOSEPH CRESWELL

21 August, 1589

Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, i, *n.* 40, f. 83. Autograph.

John Ingram took the scholar's gown at the English College, Rome, on the 15th of September, 1584, on the same day as his intimate friend, Humphrey Wolsley, and six others. In the summer of 1589 Ingram had been unwell (as we understand from what follows), and had been sent with some fellow-students to the Jesuits' College at Tivoli for a change of air. The rest had felt the benefit of the change and returned, but the kind rector of the college at Tivoli would not hear of Ingram's going back, as he was not yet quite recovered. During his absence his friend Humphrey breathed his last. Foley (*Records*, vi, 165) believes him to have been the son of Mr. Erasmus Wolsley, a well-known sufferer for the faith (see *C.R.S.*, i, 61, Mr. Worsley, of Staffordshire). The letter which follows is Ingram's acknowledgment of the sad news, and it gives us our first view of his singularly frank and affectionate character, of which we shall see more later on.

✠

Etsi singularis necessitudo inter me (R.P.) et Humphredum intercessit, et mutua amborum constiterunt promerita, nihilominus prudentiæ fuisset, et animi futura, et quæ in coniectura posita sunt prospicientis, talem longe ante præparasse, contra dolorum incursiones panoplitum, ut nullius eorum petitionibus relinqueretur locus. Cum præsertim illum diem suum propediem post meum discessum obiturum quasi pro cognito et explorato habuissem. Tanto tamen profecto dolore afficiebar, et plane opprimebar,

cum ad nos allatum esset illum vitam cum morte commutasse, ut noctem totam penitusque insomnem ducerem, quoties enim somnum capere studebam toties Humphredi incredibilem in me benevolentiam, toties beneficia eius in me summa, toties hominem, ad quem confugerem, in quo requiescerem, cuius in sermone et suavitate omnes curas molestiasque deponerem in mentem revocabam. Ille, ille inquam, intimus erat qui mecum sermones de morum integritate, de sedandis refrænatis animi appetitubus, de vitiis extirpandis (ne radices ulterius agerent, et sese propagarent) sæpius et diligentius serere consuevit. Cuius ego consuetudine, auxilio et consilio fructus si voluissem uberiores et præstantiores cepissem. Talis erat (Pater amantissime) nostra familiaritas, talia amicitiæ vincula, quæ vestræ paternitati spero cordi, Deo fuisse scio. Ex huiuscemodi enim animorum communicatione, minus tamen omnibus patente, nec sociorum simultas, nec superiorum molestia oriri ullo modo poterat. Mors igitur talis et tanti amici me vehementer sollicitum habuit, sed in posterum diligentem navabo operam, ut talis dolor qui consenescere deberet indies, nunquam iterum recrudescat: cum etiam solum ea quæ de eius obitu suavissimo scripseris omnem et lenare luctum possent et deberent. Quis enim sciens et prudens hominem, quem in medullis haberet, hac infelici qua sumus ætate inter vivos percuperet numerandum, cum totus terrarum orbis bello intestino ardeat, cum hæresis orthodoxa fide (proh dolor) nimium labefactata dominetur, cum necessarii, propinqui, parentes, patria denique ipsa, quæ omnes omnium in se charitates una complectitur, in luctu et squalore iaceat. Cum præcipue spes maxima sit, et quasi dicam indubitata fides, tali, qualis Humphredus, et meo et communi hominum sensu semper extitit, e corporis vinculis tanquam e carcere divolanti certum esse in coelo et definitum locum ubi beatus cum Deo ævo sempiterno fruatur. Sed de Humphredo pro quo diligens apud Deum deprecator adero, satis et fortasse nimium multa.

Cum vestra Reverentia mihi integrum reliquisset vel ad vos venire vel hic aliquantulum commorari, omnibus circumspectis rationibusque subductis, inito prius cum Reverendo Patre Rectore consilio, commodius hîc mihi manendum statui, aliter enim ille, cui plurimum et ego et socii debemus, inisset in alia omnia, et meæ contrariæ sententiæ magnopere reclamasset: Romam vero proficisci sine illo autore, imo invito et repugnante, cum nondum confirmatus plane essem, et finem propositum adeptus, vitio dandum et tibi ingratum fore iudicavi. De pecuniis, quas mecum commilitones reliquerint, scribere supersedeo, ipsi certiorem de eis te facient, ne molestior tibi sim quam par est et quoniam petasatus expectat tabellarius ego finem scribendi faciam, si prius te et patri ministro, quem tam diligo, ut qui maxime, imprimisque charum habeo semperque habebo, rogavero ut salutem dicas plurimam. Ego in vestram Reverentiam, summam quoad potero ostendam pietatem, ad quid enim dicam filialem amorem, cum illud ipsum gravissimum et sanctissimum nomen pietatis leuius meritis erga me tuis iure optimo videatur. Vale 21 Aug. datum Tiburi vestræ Reverentiæ obedientissimus in Christo filius.

Jo. Ingramus.

Addressed.—Al molto R^do^ padre Gioseppe Creswello Rectore degli Inglesi. a Roma.

Endorsed by F. Grene.—P. Jo. Ingramus, Tiburi 21 Augusti 1589, ut colligitur ex eo quod scribit de morte Humfredi qui obiit 17 Aug. 1589.

[*Translation*]

Tivoli, Aug. 21, 1589.

Rev. Father, Though the intimacy between myself and Humphrey was close, and the interchange of favours was mutual between us, yet would it have been the part of prudence, the duty of a mind, which forecast the future and surmised what was likely to happen, to have so forearmed oneself against the inroads of sorrow, that no spot should have been left unprotected against its assaults. The more so because I looked upon it as certain and inevitable that he would depart from this life soon after my leaving him. Yet when the news came of his exchange of life with death, I was so overcome and prostrated by grief, that I passed the whole night without sleep. For as often as I tried to fall asleep, so often did I recall to mind Humphrey's incredible kindness to me and his many good services, so often did I see before me the man to whom I used to turn, in whose company I found peace, in whose sweet intercourse I laid aside all care and trouble. He, he it was, who would talk so often and so earnestly about virtue and goodness, about quelling disorderly passions, and extirpating vices before they became deeply rooted or further disseminated. From his company, help and advice, I might, had I tried, have gathered richer and more abundant fruit than I did.

Such, dearest Father, was our intimacy, such the bonds of our friendship, which, I trust, your paternity heartily approves of, as I am sure that God does. From our intercourse of hearts, though it did not show itself to all, no jealousies could in any way arise among our companions, nor could trouble be caused to our superiors. The death, therefore, of so dear and so great a friend has caused me the greatest grief; but in future I will take pains that such sorrow, which should die down with time, does not break forth again. Moreover, those details which you have written about his most blessed passage, could and should assuage all sorrow. For what man of sense and forethought would wish the friend, whom he cherished in his heart, to be [still] numbered among the living in this unhappy age of ours, when the whole world is ablaze with civil war; when heresy, alas! lords it over the true faith, that has been greatly enfeebled; when friends and relatives, yea, and our country, which engages to itself alone all the loves of all, lies prostrate in grief and squalor; especially when there is the fullest hope, I might say certainty, that Humphrey (both in my opinion and that of others) was ever such a one that, upon escaping from the bonds of the flesh as from a prison, a certain and assured place would fall to him in heaven, where with God he would enjoy an eternity of bliss. But about Humphrey, for whom I will be an earnest intercessor with God, I have said enough, perhaps too much.

As your Reverence left it to my free choice either to come to you or stay here for awhile, all things considered and all reasons balanced, after first taking Father Rector's advice, I have come to the decision that it is more suitable for me to stay here. Otherwise he to whom I and my companions are so deeply indebted, would have had to change his plans, and would have loudly remonstrated against my dissenting from him. To go to Rome unless he advised it, nay against his will and in spite of him, before I was quite recovered and had attained my object, would be, I considered, blameworthy in me and displeasing to you. I forbear to write about the money which my comrades left with me, not to trouble you over much, and they will tell you about it. The postman,

moreover, is waiting ready to start. I will conclude my letter, asking you to present my fond greetings to Fr. Minister, whom I love as much as anyone, and hold and shall ever hold most dear. Towards your Reverence I will ever cherish the most dutiful feeling (*pietas*) in my power, for why should I say "filial love" seeing that even the term "dutiful feeling," solemn and holy though it be, is too feeble to express all my obligations to you. Farewell. From Tivoli, the 21st of August.

Your Reverence's most obedient son in Christ,

John Ingram.

LIII.

THE OXFORD MARTYRS OF 1589

19 October, 1589

Valladolid MSS. A letter addressed to Sir Francis Englefield, and endorsed "De martyribus and troubles of Syon, and namely Sister Elizabeth Sanders." Printed from an extract sent to the late Father J. Morris, S.J.

Four executed at Oxford.

There came of late four English Catholics to this city [Antwerp] from England, who report their cruelty to increase daily, as appeared by an execution done about two months or more [ago], upon two seminary priests and two laymen, who apprehended in Oxford at the Catherine Wheel, being an inn, were first convented before the Vice-Chancellor, Commissaries, and other Justices, did confess themselves to be Catholics all, and after some few days were sent up to the Privy Council, where Walsingham demanding if they were priests, one of them called Mr George Nicols, priest of the seminary, did confess that he was; "Ergo, saith Walsingham, a traitor." Cui Nicols, "I never heard or read, that to be a priest, especially among Christian people, was to be termed a traitor; neither were they so taken with our forefathers, but had in all reverence, especially at St. Augustine first preaching the Faith." Whereto Walsingham replied like himself, as your Honour may imagine.

Nicols.

Mr Yaxley the other was called, who said being demanded that he was a Catholic gentleman. The third was one Mr Belson, a known Catholic gentleman. The fourth was Humphrey Richard, a Welshman, servant of the house where they were taken, a sound Catholic. The priests were sent to Bridewell, where seorsim they were for the space of fifteen hours hanged up by the wrists of the hands, and after let down. Tyrell and Tyllertt,* apostate priests, [were] brought in to confront them, especially Mr Yaxley, who they testified to be a seminary priest, and D. Webbe's camerado. He was hereupon sent to the Tower, and threatened the rack; and Mr Nicols let down into a deep dungeon full of venomous vermin, where he remained for a season. And after one month they with the two others were sent down to Oxford, where at an open assize they were condemned by the verdict of a Puritan quest picked out of purpose, and after executed; they all taking their death in most constant and courageous sort; not so much but the poor servant said, "Testify with me, I pray you, that I died Catholic," to whom when a Protestant minister replied, "What! thou knowest not what it is to be a

Yaxley. Belson. Richard.

* This is presumably Francis Tyllotson, if indeed he had apostatised at this date.

Catholic";—saith he, "What I cannot say in word, I will seal with my blood." It were too long to recite all their disputes with the Puritans, and other their godly sayings and examples, which all I have written to his grace more at large.

Since this execution they begin to execute their wicked statute more strictly and severely.

Antwerp, October 19, 1589.

LIV.

THE EXAMINATIONS OF MILES GERARD AND FRANCIS DICCONSON

24 November to 12 December, 1589

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccxxix, *nn.* 5, &c., and 27, &c.

We here see very plainly the two ideas of the persecutors. *First*, to make the Martyr confess that he is a priest coming into England. This ensures a sentence of death. *Secondly*, to secure an unpopular answer to the "Bloody question." This, though it cannot be construed into a crime, will ensure execution.

Dicconson was evidently unprepared for the "Bloody question," and his answers did not disarm the malice of his persecutors. It will be noted, however, that while in their letter the examiners aggravate their version of his answer, we cannot feel certain that the formula used in the examination itself really represents the Martyr's mind, though he did sign it. For we find in it the word "Romish," which a Catholic would not use willingly. Moreover, the issue of Bulls of excommunication by Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, as here described, was a Protestant invention. Whether the Martyr would have answered as he did, had he been aware of this fraud, may be doubted. It will also be remarked that the secretary has sometimes set down the words in exactly the opposite sense to what Topcliffe and the inquisitors desired. (See No. v, Enclosure ii.)

(i)

The first examinacion of ye Elder man with ye one eye, by his counterfaite name William Rychardson.

The said William Rychardson about ye Age of fourtie yieres, borne in Lancashire at a place there called Lowmon [?] within ye parishe of Wighen in Lancashire aforesaide. At his Departure out of England he dwelled with one Mr Tilesley of Morlis in ye paryshe of Leych [Leigh] in Lancashire aforesaide. He went out of England in *March* last, takinge Shippinge at Gravesende in an Englishe boate, wch caryed Certaine Souldiers to Diepe & there remained a quarter of a yere sick; afterward recoueringe health went to Treyporte and there remayned a while; and so to Saint Valerie, then to Abvill, ffrom Abvill to Saint Thomas, & there remayned untill this his coming home. The cause of his goinge over was to enquire after one George Williams, who went with my L. of Lecester, at his first goinge over into ye lowe Countries, wch partie as he hard before he went ou^er^ was at Roan or Paris.

He was sent to seeke ye saide George Williams by a friend of ye same George whose name he cannot tell, but he had x^li^ of him for his paines.

The cause why ye said George Williams should be sent for was for y^t^ he left a wyfe behind him when he went over, who was now towardes

a new husbande, but y^t she knew not certainlie whether her ould husbande were alive. Therefore he was sent over to enquire ye Certaintie.

The cause now of his cominge home was for y^t ye troubles were so greate in ffraunce, he could not travill to Roan nor Paris. He never knew this his Companion untill now at his cominge over he met wth him at Ste Thomas, & were brought acquainted by one Dr Hall twoo or three daies before there cominge over. The letter we found about him he receaved at Diepe by one George Hethersolle (wch he mett there by chaunce, & never acquainted with him before) to be deliuered to ye said Hethersolles father dwellinge nere unto a place called Preston in Lancashire for ye receipt of xl^s wch he lent him at Diepe.

That ye Examinacion of this said Rychardson is trew he denyeth to take his oath, and also the oath of Supremacie.

(ii)

The Second Examinacion of ye elder man with one eye, now by ye name of Myles Jerarde.

Myles Jerard about ye Age of xl yeres, borne in a parishe called Wighen in Lancashire.

He went out of England about ten yeres past, & tooke Shippinge as a Merchante at Dover, & went to Callis from Callis to Saint Thomas, & so to Reames, wher at his first Cominge by ye appointment of Dr Allen he taught a Schoole, and there he hath continewed ever since. He took ye Orders of a Seminarie Priest at Reames seaven yeres a goe. Now at this time he was sent home into his Countrie by one Doctour Barret, President at Reames, to execute ye office of a Seminarie Priest, and to that end he is come, and to ye same he will stande.

Jeffery Glydd, Mayior
Tho. Gylberte, Scrutator

(iii)

The first Examinacion of ye yonger man by ye name of Laurence Leighley.

Laurence Leighley of ye Age of xxj^tie yeres, Son of Thomas Leighley gentleman, dwellinge in a place called Newhall in Yorkeshire. The saide Leighley Departed from his saide ffather about June last, & came to New Castle, & took shippinge at a place there called ye Shieldes in a small ffrench Boote laden wth Coales, wch went to Callis.

ffrom Callis he went to Abvill, and so to Treyporte & to Hewe [Eu], & there lived as a Souldiour under a ffrench Capitaine called Mounseur Lashemer.

About a moneth a goe he came from ye said Capitaine, & ever since hath remayned in Abvill & therabouts, & now thought good to repaire home to his said father.

Concerninge certaine written books we founde upon him, he saith he had them of an Englishe man in Picardie, whose name he hath forgotten, or whereabouts he receaved them in Picardie he can not tell. Amonge ye Books we finde a small letter, but he denieth where he receaved it, or where he should deliuer it, for ther is no superscription: ffor acquaintance of his Companion he saieth he never sawe him before he came to Callis.

(iv)

The Second Examinacion of ye yonger man by ye name of ffrauncis Dickinson

ffrauncis Dickinson of ye age of xxiiii yeres beinge borne at Oteley in Lancashire. He departed out of England vij yeres since / took passage at Rye & went to Diepe, & so to Reames where he hath remayned ever since. He tooke ye degree of a Seminarie Priest a yere a goe or there abouts; & now was sent by Docto^r^ Barret President at Reames to this his countrie to use ye function of his Priesthood.

Jeffery Glydd, mayior
Tho. Gilberte, scrutator

Endorsed.—Decemb. 1589. The Examinations of the twoe Semynarie Priestes Myles Gerrard & ffrances Dickinson, taken by the Comissionrs of Douer.

(v)

JAMES DALTON AND NICHOLAS FULLER TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL

Most humbly, our duetyes to your honors premised. We have according to your honors commaundement examined towe Seminary Priests in Bridewell, the one called by the name of Myles Gerrard, the other by the name of Francis Dickenson, whose examinations also we have sent unto you, leving the consideration to your honors and other her Maiesties lerned Councell how farr they may be delt withall upon ye matters in there examinations conteyned, with this gyving your honors to understand that wher we had a commission of Oyer & Determiner for London & Middelsex, the same is discontinued by the late change of ye Maior, and as yet none other mayde, only there is a commifsion here of Gaole delyuerie, which we take for those causes will not suffice. There is a great difference between these priestes. Miles Gerrard seemeth to be a simple fellow misled by euell persuasion. Francis Dikenson, a yong man of the age of 24 yeres, a verie arrogant and a desperate person. He hath affirmed that yff the Quene be deprived by the Pope, or be puplesshed to be deprived by hym, she is no rightful or lawful Queene, that her subjects ought not to obey hir, and that yff an armye be sent into ye Realme he will take pte with that army and will perswade as many Catholykes as he cann to do the lyke. Both the one and the other leving to your honors consideration and farder direction, in the meane tyme we pray god to preserve your honors in all honor & prosperitie.

from London the xij^th^ day of December 1589
your honors most humble
Nich^o^ ffuller James Dalton

Addressed.—To the Right Honorable the Lordes & other of her Maties Privye Councell.

Endorsed also with a précis of the above letter.

Enclosure I

The examination of francis Dickenson taken the 3 of December A^o^ 1589 before James Dalton Nicolas Fuller & [*blank in MS.*] Topclyff Esquiers by ye order of ye LL. of y^r^ M^ties^ pryvie Councell.

Francis Dickensõ of ye age of 25 yeres or there about examined sayeth that before this tyme he hath named hym by ye name of Laurence Kytley, but he sayeth y^t^ is not his name, but that his name is Francis Dickenson. And he sayth it is true by ye faith of a Catholyk priest, he sayeth that he was borne in Oteley in Yorkeshire, and that about 8 yeres past he went to Church, herd service and sermons as other her M^ties^ subiects used to do, and that about 7 yeres past he went into fraunce, and there continued for the most part ever since and about a yere past he was mayde priest after ye order of ye Romish Catholyck Church by ye Byshop of Shallons in Fraunce.

He sayeth y^t^ he is a true subiect in temporall things to ye Quene, but in ecclesiasticall causes he is not, nor cannot be because he taketh the Pope to be above her in ecclesiasticall causes. Yff the Queene be not deprived by ye Pope she is lawfull & rightfull Queene, but yf she be deprived by ye Pope, then he sayeth she is not lawfull and rightfull queene, and ye lyke he sayeth yf the Pope hathe pronounced her to be deprived. He sayeth he went over to Reames by the comendations of one Haukesforth of haukesforth in Yorkeshire to Doctor Allen and by none others; he sayeth he hath not gon or com from beyond the seas but ones, and he retorned on monday was senight past, and was taken in Dover haven in a ship there, and he purposely intended to come to London when he came out of fraunce, the ship he came in being bound for London: and was sent by ye President of Reames Doctor Barrett for ye common cause, to reconcile men to ye Catholyck church and to exercise all other offices of a Priest.

He sayeth he had letters of diuerse of Reames to dyuerse p̄sõs but he will not tell to whom, and the letters he left on the other syde sea at Dunkerke, he sayeth he had for his viatico 15 crownes. He sayeth that he hath episcopall authorit[ie], and sayeth he may reconcile to the sea of Rome, and dispence with such sinnes as every priest in other countreys cannot do. He sayeth that yf eny Bull of Pius Quintus, Gregorie the 13 or Sextus quintus to deprive her Maies^tie^ of her crowne be published and not revoked by ye Pope, the same ought be obeyed by ye subiects of England and the Quene not to be obeyed as a lawfull quene by her subiects in England or Ireland for ye Pope, as he sayth, hath power to deprive the Quene and to discharge hir subiects of their allegiaunce towardes her. He sayeth that yf ye Pope shold sett out such a bull and send an Army to deprive the Queene and to sett up the Catholyck Romysh religion he wold take parte in that case with that Army, and persuade as many Catholyckes as he cold to do the lyke, and he sayth that when she were putt downe, then he shold have the crowne that were next of blood being a Catholyck.

By me francis Dickinsonne

James Dalton Nichs. ffuller Ryc. Topcliffe

Endorsed.—Thexaminacion of ffrauncys Dickinson 3 decemb. an^o^ 1589.

Enclosure II

The examination of Miles Gerrard taken the 3 of December 1589 before James Dalton and Nicolas fuller Esquiers by the llords of Councels order.

Miles Gerrard examyned the 3 of December 1589 affirmeth that to be his true name of ye faith of a Catholyck priest. At his examination he was of ye age of 40 yeres borne within the Queenes dominions in Wygan parish in Lancashyre: and before his goyng into fraunce he taught the children of *Mr Tylsley* of Moreles in yt shyre by the space of 3 yeres, and during that tyme refrayned to go to Church, and sayeth that about xen yeres past he went into fraunce, and hath remayned in the Seminary of Reames al that tyme, and was mayde priest after the order of the Church of Rome at Laoun in fraunce by the Bishop of yt place, and cam from thence of purpose to London, being sent by the President of Reames viz. Doctor Barrett, to execute the office of a priest to ꝑsuade such as were willing to ye Catholyck Romane religion, and his shipp being at anker in the sight of Douer about the 24 of November last the ship was brought in by 2 botes to Douer and one Francis Dickenson another semanary priest with hym therin as passangers, and after they cam to Douer they were seuerally examined before ye Maior of Douer. He sayeth and affirmeth upon his examination he hath byn taught and beleveth that the Bifshopp of Rome is the supreme head of the hole Catholyck church and hath supreme Authorytie aboue all Kynges and princes whatsoeuer in causes ecclesiasticall, and for yt cause in such cases he hath Authorytie ouer and above the quene in this realme. He sayeth that the Pope hath authoritie to deprive all kyngs and quenes, yf yt seme necefsary and expedient for the Catholyck romish religion of ye catholick Romane church. And further sayeth that yf the Pope hath for such cause deprived the Queen, he will not say it to be unlawfull, and after such deprivation that she is [not *cancelled*] lawfull quene. And other answer in that poynt he will not make, for being a chyld of ye Catholycke church he dare not disprove or disallow the popes acts.

He sayeth that yf the Pope did send a Catholyke Army into this Realme to sett up the Catholyck Romish religion and did certenly know that the Pope sent that army for yt cause he wold not take part, nor ꝑsuade eny other to take pte against yt army: but whether he wold take pt or ꝑsuade other to take pt wh such an army he sayeth he will not dele therin.* And being demanded whether he will take the oth of Allegiance, he sayeth he is not resolved therin.

Per me Milonem Gerard in the presence of

Ryc. Topclyffe James Dalton Nicholas ffuller

Endorsed.—Thexaminatiõ of Myles Gerrard 3° Decemb A° 1589.

* The Secretary at first wrote the contrary:—"He would not take part, or persuade others to take part with the Pope's army," will not say "whether he would take part *against* it." This has then been corrected as above.

LV.

THREE LETTERS OF EDMUND DUKE

28 September, [?11] November and 26 December, 1589

From Stonyhurst MS., *Collectanea M*, ff. 101–103, and 188.

These are Father Christopher Grene's transcripts (the marks of omission are his) from originals formerly preserved in the English College, Rome. Father Grene notes that the second was then to be found in the volume *Collectanea A* (which is now broken up, some leaves of it surviving in Stonyhurst MS., *Anglia A*). The other two, he tells us elsewhere (Stonyhurst MS., *Collectanea N.* i, 35), were "in shelf C, in the Archives," and with them a letter of "11 Nov. 1589, ad P. Samuelem—pauci momenti." Father Grene notes in the margin that the originals were "written in a very good hand." The *Liber Ruber* (or *Annales*, or as Brother Foley calls it, *The Diary*), of the English College, Rome, gives the 15th of September as the date at which our Martyr left Rome (Foley *Records, S.J.*, vi, 166). Father Grene (*Collectanea N*, ii, 17) notes, "Mr Baines in his *Diary* saith,—15 Sept: Went towards Rhemes, F. Mattheus Kellison, F. Duke, &c." The other two were Robert Tempest and Anthony Clarke, both invalids (*Douay Diaries*, p. 227). Kellison was afterwards President of the College.

Father Grene (*Collectanea N*, ii, 70) makes another reference, which one regrets not being able to follow up:—"See *Miscellanea C, De Persecutione*, f. 178. *De oblatione facta vitae.*" With these letters before us we may be sure that "the offering of his life" will have been made with fervour.

(i)

A letter of Edmund Duke, martyr, to Father Creswel, Rector of the English College at Rome, 28 September 1589. Coppyed out of the original.

My very deare father. Though it be scant two daies past since I wrott unto you, in which letter of mine I gave you to understand of mine ague, yet now by reason of another accident I thought good to add these few lines . . . The case is this. The day after I wrott last I hapned to talke with one Father Achilles* Præpositus della casa professae, to whome amongst other thinges I opened the state of my body, telling him that, because I wrastled with two diseases at once, I had the greater difficulty in dyetting myself by the way. The good man, as he is much affectioned to our nation, caused streightway† a chamber to be made ready for me, where I was kept the residue of that day and all the next (a physician being sent for to iudge of me) with such good attendance that the physician hath pronounced me to have noe ague, though indeed I am left very strengthlesse, yet meane, by Gods help, to depart tomorrow morning, vz. upon St. Michels day. Our manner of travaile is this: we have bought one horse of 24 crownes price to carry all our baggs and mee withall; the other three will they say be footmen, for indeed our mony shrinks to to fast, but we cannot

* For Father Achilles Gagliardi, a theologian and writer of repute, and confessor, it is said, of St. Charles Borromeo, see Sommervogel, *Bib. de la C. de Jésus*, iii, 1096; and Southwell's letter of 26 May, 1586.

† In MS. "streightly."

doe withall. I leave father to your wisdome to thank this good f. Achilles, committing yourselfe most hartily to God Almighty and myself most humbly to your charitable prayers. We sould all our s[t]uff here but our baggs and my bootes. Milan, on St. Michael's even, 1589.

Your most obed[t] son and subiect,
Ed. Duke.

(ii)

Epistola Edm: Duke Martyris, Anglicè scripta ad P. Creswellum Rectorem Coll: Angl: Romae, from Rhemes [? 11] *Nouember* 1589. *Eodem libro signato A, fol.* 99.

My very R[d], &c. . . . Since my last . . . from Milan I mended in my health in such strange sort, as in very truth, not knowing any other reason, I am constrained to say with that holy woman *Dominus mortificat et vivificat, deducit ad inferos et reducit.* For . . . till I came to Milan I was never a day almost without an ague . . . and the night after I departed from thence I was worse sick then euer before & almost in despaire of being able to proceed in my iourny: the day after att a place called Berinzona we bought a horse . . . for 21 crownes and sould him att Nancie againe for 14, which should have borne me forsooth and all our stuff, I and all not thinking me able to goe a-foot one mile . . . for beside my feavor I almost eate nothing . . . a senight before. Yet the first 8 miles riding . . . made me so weary as by no meanes I would ride . . . any longer . . . A-foot I went and the very first day when night came, was much lesse weary then some in our company, and soe I went forward euery day better and better . . .

Touching my abode here God and yourself . . . best know how long it shalbe, if (as I hope you doe) you perswade yourself of my sincere obedience towards you. I am your subiect for ought I know, and bound not only by duty but alsoe by will to whatsoeuer you . . . dispose of me in the name of God, how, where, whither or whensoever it shal please God and you. One thing good father I request of you, and look to obtaine of you too, if euer anything: yea, if my memory faile me not, I think I may chalenge it as partly promised already, since you tould me . . . a little before I was made Priest, that this winter I should have oportunity to make the Spiritual exercise . . . Whether I make it winter or sommer I little passe (but the sooner the better and the lieuer to mee), but my request is that before I passe into England you would procure me the meanes to make it.

Good father perswade not yourself that I demaunde it lightly, God Almighty knoweth both the sincere desire . . . and the great necessity I haue of it, and the hope lastly which I haue to gaine and profitt much by it. I beseech you . . . consider me in this case and vouchsafe if you please to yield me some answer, &c. . . .

D. Barret and D. Worthington I finde very beneficial to me touching necessaries about dyett and apparell, but yet . . . (I wil speake the truth) I often reflect upon our Collegial life which pleaseth me aboue all others; I doubt I was not capable of it and soe God Almighty taking me from it, &c. . . .

(iii)

Another letter of the same martyr to F. Creswel. 26 December 1589.

My very louing father,

My humble duty, &c.—I wrott not long since unto you, &c.—My present state causeth me to write these few lines unto you, that soe (if it were your pleasure) I might understand of you what shal become of me hereafter, for though I be farr from you, yet I trust you have care of me, as of one subiect unto you and belonging to your charge. I know, father (f. 102) mine own choice might easily preuaile with you, but I will chuse nothing without your iudgment, for I perswade myself that your religious feare of God, your wisedome and fatherly affection towards me wil suffer you to decerne nothing but that which shal be most to Gods glory and my profitt, none more fitt to iudge what is conuenient for me then you, to whome I am so well known, and that you may giue the more sound sentence, I meane by Gods help in this letter to open myself unto you as sincerely as I may, and with as great confidence as if I were present to speake unto you. Would God I were but one houre with you, I would verily so impart myself unto you as I would think to beare away a lighter hart from you then I brought to you. Say not, father, I beseech you, that I have heer as good as you, for though peradventure it may be true, yet cannot I perswade myself so of any secular man, as of you or the like, which since my coming hither hath caused me to chew upon many a hard bone, which your counsail and comfort would easily haue broken to powder.

What then? say you. Are you a malcontent? God forbidd, for other men suffer as much as I and perchance more in temporal difficulties and besides that when I consider my vocation, I dare not think anything difficulty, for feare of that which S. Bernard sayth: *Qui minora non superat, majora non superabit:* wherefore if this be the place which you wil adiudge me to live in, I purpose by Gods grace, as hitherto I haue done, to deuoure all difficulties stoutely and cheerfully: but *qui amat periculum peribit in eo*, and perchance I am here because it is thought most to my contentation soe to be. If I understood that your will and determination were that I should stay here, verily (I speake as I think) I were sufficiently armed against what difficulties soever might occurre. But who knoweth, whether peradventure you would as willingly I should be elsewhere as here? I say this, father, for that being recouered of my infirmity and remaining altogether voyd of danger my going into England seems lesse necessary now, then otherwise it might haue done. For mine owne part, in very truth, I wil be plaine with you and speak to you with my penn no otherwise then with my hart I speak to God Almighty. God knoweth I feare not at this time the fury of the persecutor; yea, verily, I could speak not with mouth but with hart too, as bouldly and couragiously as euer spake St Peter, and perswade myself moreover that (by His help who hath already giuen me this hart) I could doe as much indeed as I now say with tong and hart. Wherfore (if God putt not into your minde some reason to the contrary) let

me goe, I beseech you. Absolutely, I nether wil nor dare request it. Judge you, for Gods sake, what I may doe most to Gods glory, and by Gods grace I wil put it in practice, notwithstanding whatsoeuer inclination to the contrary. I know, father, but not better then you, how much I am behindehand with prouision fitt for a labourer in that vineyard. I know I am young and might prouide myself well enough and forced with no necessity to the contrary: I know I might gaine that now, whereby I might doe God better seruice much in his Church hereafter, which if not now I shal hardly euer gett hereafter; and perchance being but weakly grounded hazard that too, which I haue heretofore prouided. These and such like reasons may be made against me, which I beseech you to examin betwixt God and your conscience, and pronounce afterward an absolute sentence, and say "this is fittest for him to doe"; and let passe these words for the disobedient, "if he were so contented," "if a man could persuade him soe." Speak you the word and I am persuaded to doe whatsoeuer you shal deeme conuenient.

Thus, father, you see what you haue to do. But that which I desired in my last letters (God knoweth whether they came to you or noe) I desire now and that more instantly, if it be possible, that you would prouide me the opportunity to make the spiritual exercises before I goe into England. You may do it, if any man, and for Gods sake think a little upon the matter what it is to go thither without deuotion, and how fitt a thing that is to gaine deuotion, contempt of torments and whatsoeuer for the glory of God, to gaine vertue, resolution, charity and fervour. I feele myself well enough, in very truth I want these things: I remitt me to your charity in this point.

I tould you, father, I would deale sincerely with you and open my hart, if it were possible unto you. Wherefore if it should soe happen that after this my recouery (which in very deede is past my expectation) you should esteeme it conuenient and most to God's glory (which most of all, I beseech you simply to regarde) that I should stay awhile and proceede forward in my study, I haue already sayd I will stand to your determination, and soe I say still. But because I know to whome I write, I will not faile to open my minde; yea, I may say, supposing this my desire and hope notwithstanding for a milder interpretation of my said desire, then peraduenture I yeeld it myself for feare that I loue myself too well to desire or wish such a thing without vanity. Well then, father, supposing as I sayd I were yet longer to continue my studies on this side the seas, I could wish myself where you might easily place me, where I might leade such a life as I ledd under you, but make so much the more accompt of it, by how much I now better understand the sweetnesse of it, by this shorte time which I have bin bereaved of it: you understand already what place I meane. But because I must needes confesse my vaine in open words (for truly I dare not excuse myself, and yet God knows I could say something very probably, but you perhaps wil excuse me better if I say nothing) I meane our niew seminaries in Spaine. In very truth, father, it is for meer loue I have of that kinde of life, which because I finde very different heer makes me liue so much at lesse

ease, and lesse secure too, by meanes of to to pernicious liberty, which here is, with which I dare not securely trust these my young yeares. If it might be, I would be glad, but I turne againe to that which I meane to stand to by Gods help,—*Non mea voluntas, Pater, sed tua fiat.* And verily whatsoeuer I sayd I haue not spoken, upon any determinat vanity, but in the feare of God, submitting myself to your iudgment. God keepe you and giue us grace to doe his will: from Rhems upon the feast of St Stephen 1589.

Your humble Son and subiect
Edmund Duke, Priest.

LVI.

WARRANTS TO TORTURE CHRISTOPHER BAYLES

January, 1590

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccxxx, *n.* 57.

Walsingham was now on his death-bed (he died 6 April, 1590), and a subordinate persecutor, Richard Topcliffe, was rising to eminence. We see him here, and we shall see him for the next six years, entrusted by the Council with despotic powers, which he used for the perpetration of barbarous cruelties and unnatural crimes. There are reasons for believing that this was due, at least indirectly, to the favour with which he was regarded by the Queen herself.

The selection of Bridewell as the place of torture is again characteristic of the change. Ten years before one only heard of torture in the Tower, where, contrary to the law of the land but in accord with the theory of the Tudor lawyers, the sovereign had the prerogative to force political prisoners of importance to disclose secrets that might be hurtful to the State, and as we have seen, the final object to be attained used to be an indictment, which should sound as if it contained treasonable matter. Since the laws of 1585 this was no longer necessary, and all that was required was a confession of priesthood, and, if possible, an unpopular answer to "the bloody question" (see pp. 151,169). Now the prisoners were sent to Bridewell, the place of detention for rogues and the commonest criminals, as though they were unworthy of notice. Instead of being racked they were tortured "upon the wawle," that is, hung up by the hands, the mere weight of the body doing the work of the rackmaster, and even more efficiently, because it worked slowly and noiselessly. Bayles, as we shall hear, was for nearly twenty-four hours in this torture.

The date of these warrants will have been before 1 February, 1590, for on that day a letter was sent from the Privy Council for the trial of "three Jesuits" on information to be supplied by Topcliffe, presumably after the tortures. On the 18th the justices, &c., at Newgate, are ordered to proceed with care and diligence against the seminary priests and their harbourers, and on the 22nd the execution of Bayles, Horner and Blake, was ordered to be stayed until their Lordships should give further orders (Dasent's *Acts of Privy Council*, xviii, 338–378).

On the 4th of March they were executed, a placard being set over their heads to say that they died "For treason, and favouring foreign invasions" (*Troubles*, iii, 45), the result, doubtless, of the special orders issued from the Star Chamber.

Remembrance for theis Warrants to be mayd forthewith for Mr. Topclyff. Graunted at the Counsell Table.

A Warrant to the Master and Keeper of Brydewell to receve and kepe as cloase prisoners Chrystofer Baylles alias Evers a Seamenary

preest, Jhon Baylles his brother a tayller, Henry Goorney haberdasher, Antony Kaye and Jhon Coxed yoman. And no person to resort to any of them but Mr Richard Topclyff and Mr. Richard Younge, who is appoynted to examen them, and to procede furder with them according to direction gyven to them by the Lords.

Directed to the Master and Keeper of Brydewell.

Another warrant from ther Lordships to Richard Topclyff and Richard Younge Esquiers to examyn the sayd persons Christofer Baylles alias Evers a Seamenary Priest, John Baylles tayller, Henry Goorney, Antony Kaye, and Jhon Coxed from tyme to tyme, and if they see furder occacyon to commytte them or any of them unto such torture upon the wawle as is usuall for the better understanding of the trewthe of matters agenst her Maiestie and the Stayte etc.

Directed to Richard Topclyff & Richard Younge Esquiers.

Endorsed.—Remembrancs for Mr. Topcliff.

As the account of the martyrdom given in the *Relatione* of Dr. Barrett (see p. 2 above) does not seem to have been printed in English, I give it here from a slightly abbreviated copy in Fr. Grene's *Collectanea M*, 56.

"At the beginning of this Lent there was put to death the Reverend Christopher Bales, under pretext of justice and by way of trial, because, after being made priest by the authority of the Pope, he had come into England against the laws, and for this he was condemned. He had been tortured, and hung up off the ground by the hands for little less than twenty-four hours, in order to make him confess where he had said mass, and who had kept him. But he stood firm . . . and answered with a constancy and prudence which edified the Catholics and made the heretics wonder. His piety and faith were especially conspicuous at his death. He was asked by the judge according to custom . . . when judgment was about to be pronounced, if he had anything to say for himself. He answered, 'This only do I want to know, whether St. Augustine sent hither by St. Gregory was a traitor or not.' They answered that he was not . . . He answered them, 'Why then do you condemn me to death as a traitor. I am sent hither by the same see: and for the same purpose as he was. Nothing is charged against me that could not also be charged against the Saint.' But for all that they condemned him, and with him a citizen of London called Horner, for having given aid and support to priests."

LVII.

THE INFORMATIONS OF JOHN WARRENER

About March, 1590

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccxxix, *n.* 26.

The wife of one Anthony Atkinson, was mentioned before (p. 36) in terms which give us to understand that probably both he and she were Catholics about the year 1583. There was also a lawyer of the same name imprisoned before 16 August, 1594 (*Calendar*, p. 543), who was also apparently a Catholic; and again a priest of the same name who afterwards apostatised. Whether the Anthony Atkinson, the "searcher of Hull," of whom we shall now hear a good deal, is to be identified with any of the above, I do not know. One could wish that he was the same as the Anthony Atkinson who, with certain others, got into trouble for speaking disrespectfully of a member of the Privy Council in 1602,

and was thereupon sentenced by the Star Chamber to whipping, to the pillory, the galleys, &c. &c., according to the fashion of that tyrannical age. Atkinson, however, was excused the whip, and the nailing up by the ears to the pillory, because he had betrayed his fellows (*Calendar*, 1602, pp. 209, 220). But even if our "searcher" did meet with this set-back, he still continued to ply his degrading trade at least as late as 1608 (*Calendar*, p. 430). He seems to have been a member of the Temple, and to have had some grievances in March, 1591, about the terms under which he had taken office (*Calendar*, p. 19; and Foley, iii, 767).

This spy or "searcher" then, seems to have had John Warrener "in examination for matters of piracie," and the old pirate to exculpate himself tells the following stories against the Catholics. Warrener had, doubtless, many good sources of information, but considering the form and the circumstances in which this paper was drawn up, it is not to be trusted implicitly.

Matters for Her Maiestie

Certein Seminaryes and Papists which are in the North parts, as att lardge within appeareth, uppon the information of Anthony Atkinson shearcher of Hull. [*From the back.*]

The saide Warrener hath promissed to gyve knowledge secretly unto Atkinson when the saide Seminaryes and theire adheraunce is att Masses or some other open confessions which wilbe nowe in the beginninge of Lent.

A warrauntt for assistance herein to be directed to all maiestrats for aidinge the parties put in trust in this accion, not expressinge the Cawse for feare it be bewraied.

xi die Decembris
Anno Elizabeth Regine xxxij° being in examinacion for matters of pyracie a little from Pylafurthera in Fornis in Lancashire Theis matters were confessed followinge viz.:—

Memorandum that one John Warrener a substantial yeoman dwellinge within one mile of Banisterbridge in Westmerland did voluntarily and in greate secrecie and withoute any compulsion or demaund did make his severall and secrett repaire unto me att Kendall takinge my faithfull promise, that if I would kepe his counsell, he would open to me suche matters as hereafter followe. I demaundinge of him whie he did not reveil the cawses to the Maiestrats of that country, because he was afraide itt should be knowene that he did reveile the saide matters, that then he should be murthered in his bedd, beinge a very ould man and not able to travill willed me to make your Honour acquainted therewith &c.

Yf search be made for any of the saide persons in Lancashire uppon an howers warninge they wilbe in Westmerland and if searche be made there uppon another howers warninge they wilbe in Cumberland etc.

First there is one little fleebott kepte by a gentleman or twoo in that country nere unto the saide Pilafurther which doth carry and convey owte of Scoteland Ireland England and other placs, certein Semynaries Jesuwetts and Papists, and so hath their severall passages to suche places as they desire to be att.

Within iij hours they maie be conveyed by land into Scotland and if the wynd serve they maie be conveyed in one hower by meanes of the saide bote into Scotland or the Isle of Man.

The saide Middleton came from the Pope of late yeares, and is a Semynary Priste and doth many masses, and hath greate repaire, especially of women to heare the Masses.

There is one John Middleton* of age aboute xxx^ti yeares, the haire of his head very side† and flaxen cullored, smale heire on his face, of a middle stature, he is kepte secrett in a fellishe country in Westmerland called Wensidall att a place called Selsaide, with an ould woman called Agnes Hodgshon, whoe hath the kepinge of the saide howse, and so often as the saide Middleton repaires thither, she kepeth him very secretly, he is never sene abroad unles he walke into the woodes.

Agnes Hodgshon a good witnes to be examined and one ould Margarett whoe dwelleth att Cartmell shee can att any tyme fetche a Papist priste.

There is one ould Sir William Battey whoe was once the Vicare of Houghton in Lancashire who was reported to be dead longe agoe, and nowe is lyvinge and secretly kepte and saieth many Masses.

Sir William Batty a papist prist. Reported to be dead and yett lyvinge.

Richard Bardsey, a Semynarie priste.

There is one Richard§ Bardsey an ould man whoe is kepte aboute Fornis, he came lately from the Pope and is a Semynary priste, very thoughte [*sic*], he was brother to one ould Bardsey of Fornis whoe was a greate papist &c.

John Bost Seminary preist.

There is one John Boste a Semynarie prist, whoe is thoughte to be kepte very secretly in that countrie.

The Lord Pagett is thoughte to be in England in the Northe.

There is one Robert Warde whoe was Cooke to the Lord Pagett whoe fledd for Religion. The saide Warde is nowe dwellinge in Cartmell, and can saie as towchinge Lord Pagett, whoe is very thoughte either that he is or hath byn kepte in that Countrie and that both he and others of that secte was broughte owte of Scotlande or Ireland when the Spanierds were vppon the seas &c.

Robert Warde late the Lord Pagetts Cooke, a good witnes to be examined.

Sir James Dugdall and Richard Call vsed them selves as Clarcks in saieng of masses.

Richard Call of Cartmell scolemaster and Sr James Dugdell dwellinge att Warcopp. They Twoo have vsed them selves as Clarcks att saienge of masses &c.

Myles Atkinson and Ellen Fideler witnesses to be examined.

Myles Atkinson and Ellen Fideler be good witnesses to be examined, howe many severall persons have vsed to the saienge of masses.

William Besbie and Ellen Fideler witnesses to be examined.

William Besbie of Lindall in Cartmell and Ellen Fideler they Twoo fallinge att varyance vsed speaches howe many hadd byn att the hearinge of Masses in suche placs and suche.

* If this man was a priest, the name will be an *alias*, as it does not appear in the Douay or English Colleges Diaries.

† *Side*, for "long," "hanging," is still retained in some northern dialects.

§ A John Bardsey visited the College at Douay in 1597. But he was a merchant.

George Pirson and Henry Call witnesses to be examined.

George Peirson mynister of Selsedd is a good witnes to be examined in theis accions and one Henry Call of Cartmell likewise.

One Taylor a good witnesse to be examined, for Carrienge of papists in the saide botte.

There is one Taylor of Lindall in Cartmell whoe hadd a bott of his owne, and he hath seen papists carried to and fro in the foresaide fflebott.

The names of those that maintaineth theis Semynaries and knowe of there beinge in those placs, I referre to further examination &c.

In Cumberland and Westmerland within theis vj yeares not viij knowene papists and nowe there is *above* c: and they increase dailie by meanes of their Semynarie prists as is very thoughte.

Within theis v or vj yeares I have knowne that there hathe not byn viij noted papists or Recusants, and there within theis Twoo yeares above C: noted and knowene, which is thoughte to come by the occasion of theis Jesuwetts and Semynaries.

The Spaniards comynge is suspected this yeare and some of them should arrive att Pilafurthera in ffurnis, the pope hath graunted pardons for goinge to Churche vnder a pretensed Cullor &c. to blind the eyes of the protestants.

Also the saide Warener hath informed me that the saide Seminaries and theire adheraunce doe gyve owte speaches that the Spaniards will come into England this yeare, and some of them is appointted to arrive att Pilafurthera. And further they have gyven owte speaches, that the pope hath gyven owte pardons to all papists, that itt maie be lawfull for them to goe to Churches beinge comaunded, alwaies provided that they doe not gyve any creditt to any thinge done in the Churche towchinge this Relligion by Collor of which pollicie the nomber of papists maie encrease soddenly &c.

On the back.—The meanes howe to take the said papists and Seminaries must be by a privie Search by vertue of a Commission vnto some one or two trustie Gentlemen. The same to be executed uppon notice from the within named Warrener unto the saide Atkinson.

Addressed.—To the Righte Honorable the Lords of Her Maiestie's most Honorable Privie Counsail.

LVIII.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ANTHONY MIDDLETON AND EDWARD JONES

6 May, 1590

Oscott MSS., Kirk's Collections, vol. i, p. 33, written in a contemporary hand.

This paper was unknown both to Challoner and also to Father Christopher Grene. I have used a transcript by the late Father Stevenson.

Upon Sunday, being the iij of May, 1590, & xxxij year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was taken by the means of those wicked men R. T[opcliffe] and R. Y[oung] one Mr. Anthony Middleton, Priest, in the house of one Mr. Saunders at Clerkenwell, who was committed by R. Y. to the Clinck, & on the morrow, being Monday he was

brought to the bar at the Sessions house in the Old Bailey, with one Mr. Edward Jones, Priest, who not long before was taken in a grocer's house in Fleet Street, over against the Conduict, near Shoe Lane. They being there placed amongst the thieves, Mr Jones was presently called to the bar and there arraigned of High Treason, for that he being born within the realm of England was made Priest since the feast of S. John Baptist in the first year of the Queen's reign, by authority derived from the [Pope] of Rome at Layon in the parts beyond the seas, & afterwards did contemptuously come into this realm of England. To which indictment, being asked whether he were guilty or not, craved the patience & leave of the Judges to speak two or three words; which being hardly obtained [he] spake as followeth.

"I came not," said he, "contemptuously into this realm, but to save souls. And whereas there is a penalty appointed for the not observing of a law (as do this, or pay this sum of money, or suffer this punishment) there is no contempt."

"Why then," said Sir Edmund Anderson, "you are contented to suffer the penalty, which is to be drawn, hanged & quartered."

"Yea, very willingly," answered Mr Jones. "Then," quoth the Lord Chief Justice, "ye were best confess the Indictment."

"No," quoth Mr. Jones, "that will I not, for I came not contemptuously."

Whereupon the two Chief Justices alledged many reasons to prove it contempt. Many other vain speaches & invectives were spoken against him by the Lord Mayor & others, which are not worth the rehearsing; but Mr. Recorder by the inciting of Topclif, (who thirsted after their blood, as a lion or wolf doth after their prey) would have given sentence upon him before he pleaded to the Indictm^t^. At length he pleaded "Not Guilty," & put himself upon trial of God and the country.

Then was Mr. Middleton called to the bar & arraigned in like sort *verbatim* as the other was; & he being asked whether he was guilty or not, answered as followeth.

"I must not deny myself to be a Priest made as is contained in the Indictment, & although I came not into the realm contemptuously, yet (said he), that is nothing material, for in respect of God's laws I contemn man's law, for *melius est obedire Deo quam homini.* Therefore (said he) I am guilty." Then was the Jury of life and death called & sworn, and charged according to their evidence to enquire whether Mr. Jones were guilty of the treasons whereof he was arraigned or not. Which done, Topclif was produced & sworn for witnefs against him, who brought forth the examination which he had taken of Mr. Jones at his first apprehension, the effect whereof in sum was that the said Mr. Jones had been in Spain, in Greece, in Venice and in Rome, where he was put into the Inquisition House for xiiij days, in which time he was reconciled to the Catholic Church by an Italian Friar; one Symon Hunt, Jesuit, an Englishman, being his interpreter. Afterwards he came into France, to Rheims, & so to Laon, where he was made priest, & so into England. This was all the evidence was given against him.

Then was Mr. Jones [asked] to speak & inform to the Jury why he should not be found guilty; who alledged a statute made in the reign of King Edward the VI which was that no man should be indicted & arraigned of High Treason, Petit Treason, or Misprision of Treason, except the treasons were proved by two lawful witnesses, or by voluntary confession. "Here," saith he, "is [neither] two witnesses nor voluntary confession."

"No," said Topclif, "will you deny this to be your confession?"

"It was done by torture," said Mr. Jones, "for I was hanged by [the] wall by the arms, & therefore it was not voluntary."

Then said one of the Justices, whom I take to be Mr. Richard Wroth, "Will you deny yourself to be a Priest?"

Mr. Jones replied, "I am to be tried by law, & therefore I pray you, my Lord Chief Justice, let me have the law."

Then spake the Chief Justice of England, "Jones, you mistake the law, for that Statute doth not appertain to this Statute which was made sithence."

"Well," said Mr Jones, "it was never repealed, & therefore in force."

"You are in a wrong box," quoth the Recorder, "and therefore swear the Jury & keeper & let them go together."

Which being done the jury stayed not a *Pater Noster* time, but returned with a verdict grateful to Mr Topclif, which was that Mr. Jones was guilty. Then was he asked what he could say for himself why judgment should not pass upon him & execution of death be awarded against him.

[He] said in this manner.

"In the primitive Church when there were more Pagans than Christians rather than they would deny their faith [they] yielded themselves to any kind of death, and Mauritius serving under a heathen prince, being commanded with his soldiers to worship an idol, threw down his weapons & so did his soldiers, submitting themselves to any kind of torture rather than to deny their God. Even so (quoth he) I rather submit myself to any death whatsoever, before I will forsake the Catholic faith. But (quoth he) I crave the mercy of Queen Elizabeth that as she caused it to be published in pamphlets, which I have seen both in English & Latin, that none of her subjects should suffer the pains of death for their consciences, so no treason being proved against me but that I am a Catholic Priest, which is only conscience, I crave the favour of a subject & the mercy of Queen Elizabeth."

Then said the Recorder, "There is treason enough proved against thee in that thou art a Priest," using many irreligious and unreverent epithets and terms to that sacred name of a Priest, (which is the chiefest dignity of our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ, & shall endure for ever, as testifieth the holy Psalmist saying, *Juravit Dominus & non pœnitebit eum, tu es Sacerdos in æternum, secundum ordinem Melchisedech*) therefore I will give judgment upon thee as a traytor."

"Take heed what you do," quoth Mr. Jones, "for *Quis extendet manum suam in Christum Domini et innocens erit?*" Which sentence was wickedly scoft at by many of the Justices, specially by Justice

Francis Flower, an upstart gentleman & Justice, whom God pardon for his unseemly mocking of God's Priests.

After that Caveat given by Mr. Jones for meddling with God's annointed Priests, he proceeded & told them how uncharitable they were in their religion, never regarding the souls of men, which they ought and would, if theirs were a religion, but it was but a fond new devised opinion. "And after the reign of Queen Mary (quoth he) there were great speaches and outcries for the burning of heretics, which was not done by any peculiar law made by herself, but by a law made and received & put in execution by all Princes Christian whatsoever, & when any heretics were taken they were brought to the Bishop, who with his Chaplains in all charitable sort sought by often conference to reduce them to their mother Catholic Church. But what may be said after in the reign of Queen Elizabeth when so many Priests & Catholics are butchered by a peculiar law made by herself & never heard of before, without all charity, except it be charity to carry them to Bridewell or to the Tower to be racked, or hanged against a wall by the arms, or some other torture, & that without any conference of religion, except it be religion to examine where he hath said Mass, who gave him any maintenance, who relieved him, or what money he hath in his purse, as you, Mr Topclif, did by me."

With that they shouted against him, (as the Jews did against S. Stephen, when he spake of God's glory) & commanded him to be gagged or put to silence.

Then was blessed Mr. Middleton asked what he could say for himself why judgement should not be given against him & execution awarded; who most mildly answered that he meant not to deny his faith, which was the Catholic & undoubted faith, "And because (quoth he) I know I cannot be suffered to speak what I would. Give what sentence you please, for I am content & thank God He called me to this, although I am far unworthy."

So the Recorder, after his wicked scornful manner with many opprobrious words & taunts, pronounced the sentence against them, which they heard with great patience & mildnefs. After sentence given Mr. Jones would have spoken, but could not be permitted, but with how great constancy & alacrity of mind they went, (specially worthy Mr. Middleton) to Newgate, where they were cast into a dark & noisome dungeon, let the heretics themselves speak. Surely it was *Digitus Dei* (that is to say, the Finger of God) which directed them, & surely as the devils were forced to confess Christ Jesus, so many which I know to be heretics, were constrained to lament & also to confess these to be assured of salvation. On the morrow they were brought into the church of S. Sepulcher, where they disputed with great learning, as I have heard, with the Doctors; but because I was not present myself I will set down nothing thereof. The next day being Wednesday, & the sixth of May, in the afternoon about one of the clock, they were laid on the hardell at Newgate, from whence they were drawn to Fleet Street. There by the Conduict was erected a gibbet, where Mr. Jones suffered his martyrdom, at which time they persuaded him to forsake Christ & His dear Spouse, the Catholic

Church, offering him time to consider with himself & shewing him the fire wherein his heart should be burned, as Topclif told him. But that would not prevail with that happy martyr; & so after his prayers ended to himself he was put off the ladder, was cut down alive & quartered.

Then was Mr. Middleton drawn from thence to Clerkenwell, who all the way prayed most earnestly with such a cheerful countenance that all the beholders, which were thousands, wondered at his gladsome countenance. Being come to the place of his martyrdome was taken off the hardell & stripped out of his apparel save his shirt & breaches & commanded to ascend the ladder, which done & the halter fastened one bade him speak.

"Shall I speak?" quoth he.

"No," quoth Topclif, "except thou speak to the glory of God, the honor of thy prince & country. If thou wilt speak, quoth Topclif, as I have told thee I will entreat Mr. Sheriff thou shalt speak this hour, otherwise thou shalt not preach that doctrine which thou hast taught in yonder place, (which was the house where he was taken) & in other places, as in Gray's Inn Lane, Shoe Lane, & other places you know, quoth Topclif, I know where."

To whom Mr. Middleton answered, "You know, Mr Topclif, I never approached any man, nor confessed any place, therefore you wrong me. But, quoth he, if I had ten thousand deathes to suffer, I would suffer them for the Catholic Roman faith, & I hope my death shall confirm many Catholics in their faith, which are present."

With that the unruly people cried "Away with him," and Topclif bade him hold his peace and make himself meek to God. "I hope," quoth Mr. Middleton, "I am meek to God," & so not suffering him to make his prayers did throw him besides the ladder, cut him down alive, for he lived until that fury of hell & butchery knave Bull* had thrown his heart into the fire.

Thus ended this blessed man his wretched life, passing to the joyes of heaven, where he sitteth with Cherubins & Seraphins, singing *Gloria in excelsis Deo* etc., of whose prayers & all other blessed martyrs I beseech God grant me & all Christians a part. And if it please thy divine Majesty, most merciful God, remove this darknefs of heresy from thy people; if not, grant us yet such patience that as our Saviour thy only begotten Son with all humility suffered the most bitter & ignominious death of the Crofs for our sins we may in all humblenefs suffer what crofs of persecution soever be laid upon us either for thy glory, the testimony of the Catholic faith, or our own offences. Amen.

Laus Deo et B. Mariæ Virgini, et S. Johanni Baptistæ.

* Bull, "the hangman of Newgate," is mentioned as the executioner of Blessed John Felton, Blessed John Payne, John Bodey.

LIX.

THOMAS PORMORT'S LETTERS

25 April and 18 September, 1590

(i)

Stonyhurst MSS., *Collectanea M*, f. 105. A copy by Father Grene from the original then in the English College, Rome.

Thomas Pormort left the English College "6 March, 1588, and entered the household of the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Cassano," says the *Diary of the English College*, Rome (Foley, *Records*, vi, 147). Father Grene aptly quotes from *Baines' Diary* (on whom see *C.R.S.*, iv, 133). "A di 26 Marzo 1588, the Bishop of Cassano went from Rome to his bishopric, a little before Mr Thos. Pormort went to serve him . . . . . *Ibidem* Mr. Baines noteth a di 22 Decembre 1591, My Lord of Cassano returned to Rome" (*Collectanea N*, ii, p. 73).

How long Pormort remained with Bishop Owen Lewis at Cassano does not appear, but by the date of this letter he had come to Milan.

Epistola ad Patrem Creswellum, Rectorem Collegii Anglicani, Romæ.

My Rev^d^—Although I have bin negligent—in not wryting unto you so often as peradventure your love and affection towards me would require,—yet hereafter I hope to amend that fault if I can keep me out of the other, that is not to become too fastidious: yet therof I less doubt because that, being so far asunder, I think it can not come amisse unto you to heare euery day from me that loueth you. And for me, because I know you are intangled about greater affaires, it shall be sufficient for me to heare from you when you have leisure: alwaies this prouided that, whether you wryte or not, yet *in rei veritate* you do account of me not as of euery common friend, for in truth I will not proceed with you after the common course of courtesy, but thorowly and resolutely, if I can finde the like correspondence on your behalf. Newes I have none, &c. The bearer hereof, Mr Tempest,* and his companion &c. I would gladly this sommer go to Pauia to take degree of Doctor, if there were not two things to hinder me. The one is that I know not my Lord Cardinals Graces consent, nor yours, therein, without whose good will and almost commandment, I would do nothing; the other is want of ability, because it would cost me forty crowns,—which I am not able to make, and heer they be of no account, though they be very learned, unless they be Doctors. Thus humbly remembring my duty to my Lord Cardinals Grace and commending me to your good praiers, etc. Milan. 23^d^ April 1590.

(ii)

Our next letter about Pormort comes from Padre Bartolomeo Recalcati, a Jesuit writer of note (Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque d. l. C. de Jésus*, vi, 1562), who was then, it seems, *Prepósito* of the Jesuit *Casa professa* at Milan. He writes a charming letter to Creswell, that he has been delighted to see the two returning students (Edward Cole and John Nelson, see

* The *Pilgrim Book of the Hospice*, at the English College, Rome, shows that Edward Tempest, of [? the diocese of] Durham, arrived there on the 8th of May, 1590, and stayed for eight days (Foley *Records*, vi, 562).

Foley, vi, p. 176; *Douay Diaries*, p. 230), "but I should have been better pleased still to see myself in England with Father Robert (Southwell) and Henry (Garnet)" (who had been fellow students with him at Rome), "and I was deeply touched by the extracts from their letters, &c." The two missionaries had conversed with Thomas Pormort, "who has till now been acting as Prefect of Studies in the Swiss College, much to the satisfaction of the young men there. But, through no fault of Signor Tomaso, the Father Rector is somewhat unfavourable to him, so I have thought better to find him some other kind of work."

The original of the following letter is at Stonyhurst, *Anglia*, i, *n.* 46, f. 89—a copy, *Collectanea P*, pp. 20, 21.

✠

Molto R^do^ Pre in Christo. P. C.

Ho visto volontieri quelli Inglesi, come gli amo, ma piu volontieri vedrei me in Inghilterra col P. Roberto e P. Henrico ma non son degno. Benche mi consoli con dire che non so la lingua. Il deffetto delle virtù ben lo provo in Milano dove non manca occasione di servir' a Dio. Mi son consolato assai con quelli capitoli delle lettere di quelli buoni Padri. Il Signore li mantenghi. Parlorno col Signor Tomaso Portmorto, qual sin' hora è stato come Prefetto de studii nel Collegio Helvetico con molta sodisfattione di quelli giovani, ma il Rettore di quel luogo non gli era molto favorevole senza colpa pero del Signor Tomaso. Ho giudicato meglio il procurargli qualch' altro luogo. Qui siamo occupati in essercitii spirituali, et rinovatione de voti. V. R^a^ c' aggiutti colli suoi s^ti^ sacrificii et orationi.

di Milano, li 19 di Guigno 1590. D. V. R^a^ servo in Christo.

Bartol^o^ Recalcati

(iii)

The next letter enables us to see that the change which was foreshadowed at the close of Father Recalcati's letter, had been made at the end of the scholastic year, and that Pormort, a little upset by this, as was but natural, had made up his mind to go straight to England, even without waiting for priestly faculties to be given him. This letter is from *Collectanea M*, f. 105, a copy by Father Grene.

Epistola Thomæ Pormorti M., copyed out of the original ad Rectorem Collegii Collegii Anglorum de urbe.

My louing and good father. That which for want of health I could not doe at Milan, I supply now by the way in hast and therefore briefly. My state is thus. I made accompte that I had sett my foot more firme then to be remoued thus suddenly. But it is as it pleased God, and I am sorry that I was so suddenly taken, that I could not wryte unto you by whose counsail and direction I would willingly be directed, and by the fathers of your holy Society. But now I fear me I shalbe inforced to go into England, and therefore because of the great dangers, I can not passe by Rhemes, I beseech you send me into England my faculties, which you think conuenient for me, that I may doe some good; for til then I can heare no confessions of any man. Good father, I beseech you, leaue not the care of me that I have found of other fathers, and if I can possible find any meane recapito, I wil stay, and go no further untill I heare from you and

from my L[d] Cardinals grace, that you may thereby understand how desirous I am to be ruled by you as an obedient son of the Society, and so by God's grace you shall finde me. But if I can finde no recapito, I pray you send my faculties into England by some meanes or other, that I be not odious to the hereticks and contemned of the Catholicks. The whole order of my departure from Milan I wil send to you when I haue leisure. Til then I take my leaue, commending me to your good deuout praiers from Vrcera, on the way to Lucerna 18 September 1590 &c.

The next step is told us in the following extract by Father Grene, in his *Collectanea M*, f. 84.

"Epistola P. Henrici Walpoli Bruxellis 29 Nov. 1590, ad Rectorem Coll. Angl. de Urbe.

"... Here came commended somewhat from f. Lister Thomas Porrmort, resolved to have some state, or go presently into England. He might by means I made haue been in the regiment, receauing 10 crouns in six weekes, or haue had a condition in Don Gaston's house,* till we might have heard from thence, but they liked him not soe well, his affection being for England: not having his faculties he is gone with m[r] Pool's wife. God send him to do well."

Dr. Jessopp has published this letter in full, from the autograph now at Stonyhurst, in his *Letters of Fa. Henry Walpole, S.J.* (fifty copies privately printed at Norwich, 1873), p. 23, and adds this note.

"Pormort is mentioned under the name of Portman in the following passage, '*Antwerp*, Mr. Geffery Poole his wife and two daughters . . . I left her attending for passage to Flushing as determining to come to England . . . There was to pass with her one Portman, a Seminary, come from Rome, who Walpole the Jesuit commended to Mr. Poole as a friend of his, that could not endure service, &c. They not knowing him to be a priest, and so is or doth come as her man by name of Whitgifte, as was then determined upon.' (Lansdowne MSS., 68, p. 154)."

When Pormort arrived in England, Father Robert Southwell exerted himself sedulously in his favour. "He received him on his arrival with great kindness, gave him food and sustenance, provided him with clothes, and brought him with honour to his own house, a special benefit in these days of persecution. He also gave him 20 crowns, procured him friends of high rank, and established him in a very safe position; afterwards when captured by heretics [*MS. here illegible*] a few months later [he was] very well clothed, and had 40 crowns in his pocket. These things I have put in writing, for I was well acquainted with the times, persons and circumstances." The writer was James Standish, a priest of some importance, "Assistant" to the Archpriest Blackwell, and his agent in Rome, and the occasion of his statement were certain stories said to have been published against the Jesuit Fathers by Tempest and Sicklemore during the troubles of 1596.† After the first-hand information which we have heard as to the cordial relation which existed between Pormort and his former teachers, it is hard indeed to believe that he was "captured because of the destitution to which he was reduced by the injuries done him by the Fathers." Standish's paper, which is in Latin or in a Latin translation, survives in the Westminster Archives, vol. v, p. 369. The ink has in many places corroded and obscured the writing. It begins:—

*Jessopp reads "horse."

†I am, of course, far from asserting that Tempest and Sicklemore did give currency to the rumours. We have it on record (Law, *Jesuits and Seculars*, p. 145), that Sicklemore strongly reprobated story-telling.

Ad puncta quædam, quæ Tempestius et Siclemorus adversus Patres Societatis in Anglia . . . Responsio Jacobi Standicii Presbiteri Anglicani, qui, personalis et occulatus testis eorum omnium quæ ibi agebantur, innocentiæ et veritatis perhibuit testimonium

* * * *

Tertio dicunt patres fuisse persecutores Domini Pormorti, cuius memoria iam in Benedictione est, iam est martyr clarissimus. Dicunt enim istum captum fuisse propter inopiam ad quam redactus erat per Patrum injurias.

[Tertium mendacium . . .] contra gloriosissimum Martyrem Patrem Robertum Suthwellum, qui sicut jam in coelo sic vivus in Anglia . . . amicissime cum Pormorto vixit. Recepit nimirum eum venientem in Angliam perbenigne, eum aluit, sustentavit, vestivit, honorifice duxit ad suum domicilium (quod summa gratia in hac persecutione) insuper largitus est illi viginti aureos, procuravit nobilissimos familiares, collocavit in tutissimo hospitio, et postea ab hereticis captus in (*foro*) inter paucos menses in habitu honorifico etiam cum 40 aureis in bursa sua. Haec scripsi qui tempus et personas et circumstantias optime novi.

* * * *

Endorsed by F. Persons.—Dni Standitii ad nonnullorum inquietorum calumnias responsio. 1596.

LX.

FATHER HENRY WALPOLE TO FATHER CRESWELL

10 September, 1590

Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, i, *n.* 49, f. 92.

This little note escaped the vigilance of Dr. Jessopp in his excellent edition of the *Letters of Fa. Henry Walpole, S.J.*, from the original MSS. at Stonyhurst College (fifty copies for private circulation, Norwich, 1873).

✠

Reverende in Christo Pater. Pax Christi.

This bearer George Watson, according to his promise mad to god beinge disirous to come to Rome & after if he can, or find no other stay to go to m^{r} Crips* in Spayne, I am requested by himself & another gentleman to testifye to you for him. he hath confessed & communicated here in Brussles, & lived as I heare catholikly in England, so I desier your R^{ce} to respecte him as occasion serveth accordinglye. but seinge he hath ffa: Holts letters, as he tells me, these shalbe lesse needfull. Christ Jesus be allwayes wth you. Brussels this 10 of Septemb. 1590.

Your Reverence's Seruaunt in Christ,

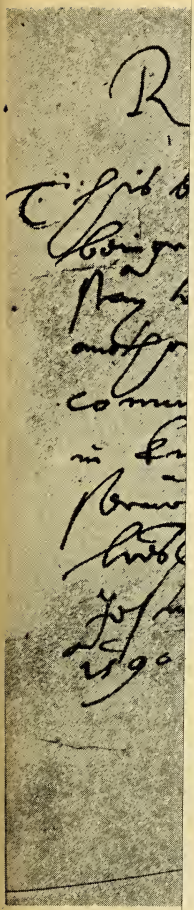
Henry Walpole.

Addressed.—✠ Al molto R^{do} in Christo padre il P. Giosepho Creswello della Compag^{a} di Giesu Rettore del Collegio Inglese Roma.

Seal.—I H S, &c., with legend, ✠ Sigil: Societatis . Iesu . Bruxell.

Endorsed by F. Grene.—P. Henr. Walpolus commendat quendam 1590.

* Captain Edward Cripps was an English sailor who had entered the Spanish Navy.



To face p. 190]

Ad puncta quædam, quæ Tempestius et Siclemorus adversus Patres Societatis in Anglia . . . Responsio Jacobi Standicii Presbiteri Anglicani, qui, personalis et occulatus testis eorum omnium quæ ibi agebantur, innocentiæ et veritatis perhibuit testimonium.

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* * * *

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LX.

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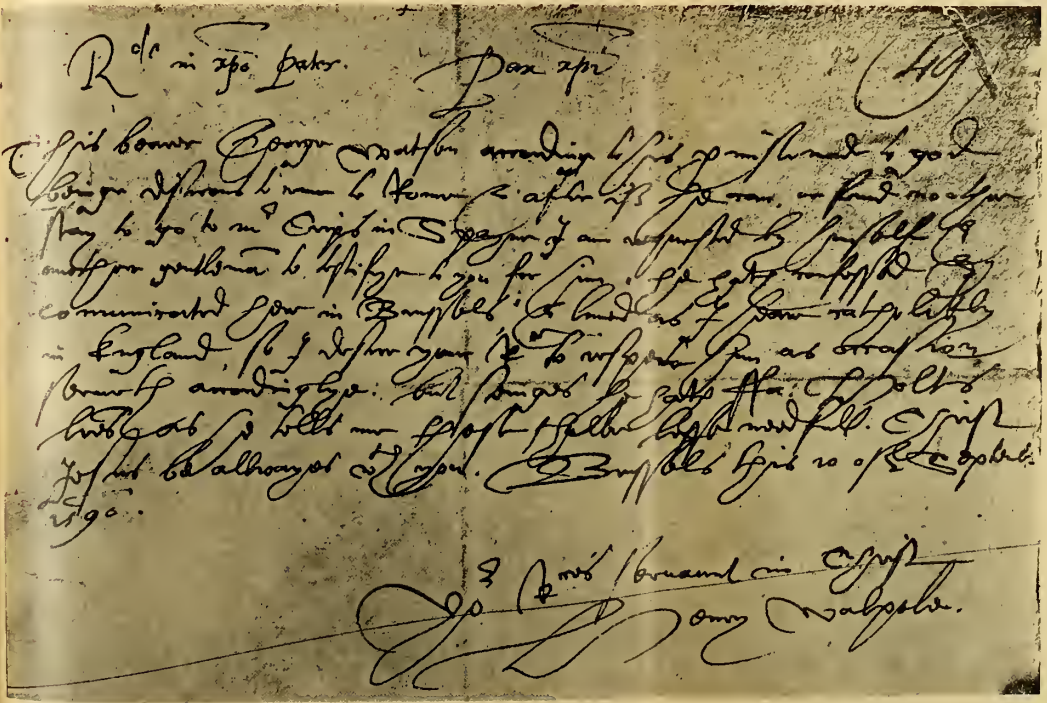

To face p. 190]

The VEN. HENRY WALPOLE, S.J.

LXI.

TWO CATALOGUES OF MARTYRS AND CONFESSORS WHO DIED AT YORK, 1582 TO 1590

(i)

Stonyhurst MS., *Collectanea M*, f. 190.

There existed in the Archives of the English College, Rome, at the end of the seventeenth century, a very valuable volume of original letters, &c., concerning the persecution, marked "A," which seems to have been afterwards broken up. Some of the papers which Father Grene copied from it are now to be found in various parts of the Stonyhurst collections, some seem to be among the Westminster Archives, some are apparently lost. Among the lost pieces will be the original of this catalogue, which Father Grene cites as folio 166 of "A." It is one of the very few *local* catalogues of Martyrs of ancient date which we know, though Dr. Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon, makes frequent allusion to such papers as *Catalogus Eboracensis*, *Dunelmensis*, *Hispanus*, &c., none of which are as yet recognised.

This catalogue, as will be noticed, stops *before* William Spenser, who suffered 14 September, 1589.

The second ancient list of York Martyrs known to me, is already printed by Fr. Morris, *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, iii, 39, from the MS., *Collectanea E*, now at Oscott. It names twenty Martyrs between 1582 and 1589, the last being Spenser and Hardesty.

The third ancient catalogue, the second of those printed below, is also from *Collectanea E*.

As to the first catalogue, Father Grene's criticism, *Hic Catalogus errat in multis*, is doubtless true, and may be easily confirmed by comparing the received dates of the York Martyrs with those given here. Still one is interested to know how a writer, who had some valuable sources of information now to us inaccessible, could have made so many deviations from accuracy. As to this we may notice two points. The heading, "Dyed in ye Castle;" and the list for 1586, where we find one series of Martyrs and another series of confessors following it, without any attempt made to fuse the two together. Hence one concludes that this list is a reduction from earlier materials of unequal value. One or two of the obituaries used by the editor would seem to have been unreliable, or written in a hand that was easily misunderstood, for the forms which the names have taken are evidently often at variance with those which would have been used in Yorkshire. In a small MS. volume at Stonyhurst by Father Grene, called *Martyres Angliæ*, pp. 94–108, he makes an elaborate comparison between our two lists, and shows that almost every name in the first list (except the Martyrs) may be recognised in the second, though differently spelt.

These persons following dyed prisoners and suffered martyrdom at ye citty of York for ye Catholick faith from ye yeare of our Lord 1582, to this present yeare 1592.

Anno 1582.

John Challmare Gentl.	7 Jun.	Rob. Jackes	28 Jul.
John Constable	1 Jul.	Rob. Spencer	28 Jul.
Rob. Viccares	13 Jul.	Isabel Porter	30 Jul.
John Santon	20 Jul.	Willm Smithson	29 Aug.
Isabel Chalmar	23 Jul.	Christop. Watson	7 Sept.
Willm Wright	23 Jul.	Rob. Bothouffe [? Belhouse]	7 Sept.
Isabel Langton	28 Jul.		

Dyed in ye Castle 1583.

John Fox 20 Nou.
Sir Wm Gnet.* priest 9 Jan.
Sr John Swall priest 28 Jan.
Mr Cuthb. Downing Esquire 22 Apr.
Ant. Clackson 22 Apr.
Wm Hart presb. & Rich. Thirkill presb. 29 Maij
James Robinson eod. die 29 Maij
Paul Lethame 1 Jun.
Mrs Frances Webster 13 Jun.
John Gille 1 Jul.
Mr Marm. Bowes 13 Jul.
Roger Parker
John Ellerby 21 Jul.
Wm Burton 23 Jul.
Sara Jackson 24 Jul.
Rob. Jebber. 25 Jul.
John Finglay Prt 8 Aug.

Anno 1584

Henry Blackburn 25 Jul.
John Stable & Margt his wife 26 & 27 Jul.
Arthur Mellare 6 Aug.
James Atkinson 21 Nou.

[Anno 1585]

Margaret Blackburn in ye Kid cot att Hull 8 Jan.

Anno 1586

Henry Comberforth Dr & Priest 4 Mart.
Margaret Clitheroe prest to death 25 Mar.
Sir Francis Ingleby 1 Jun.
Robert [*blank i.e.* Bickerdike]
Sir Alexander Crowe Prt 13 Nou.
Mr Rich: Langley 1 Decemb.
Wm Raynold
Elizabeth Conegeat uxor Cuthberti Conegeat mortua in Castro 13 Febr.
John Tinker eod. die
Ambrose Cook 7 Mart.
John Dockly 20 Jun.
Roger Torkers Esquire 11 Oct.
Sir Tho. Haiwood 9 Nou.
Sir Rob. Ferbert priest 29 Dec.
Jane Laughton 29 Dec.

Anno 1587

Anthony Ask 2 febr.
Dame Isabel Whitehead an ancient religious woman 17 Mart.
Sir Tho. Riddall pr. 11 Apr.
Sr Wm Salterson priest 21 Apr.
Sir George Douglas prt & Scotch man martyred att York 9 Sept.

Anno 1588

Wm Reynold 4 Mart.
Edm. Sireth priest martyred att York 4 Mart.
Edw. Burden Pt martyred ye same day

Anno 1589

Mr Amias & Mr Daberley Priests martyred 15 March, they were taken at Medding upon Palm Sunday euen.
Mr Duck priest suffd att Durresme 27 May
Mr Hogg, Mr Hill, Mr Holliday, all priests ye same day
Sir George Williams Prt upon Easter Eue att Niew Castle imprisoned

* Perhaps the same as Garyet or Garget *infra*.

Left out
Mr Lane Priest
Mr Hugh Tailer Prt
mr Tomson Pt who suffd at Yorke.

[*Fr. Greene*]—*Ita desinit hic catalogus qui errat in multis.*

(ii)

The following catalogue is found at the end of the Oscott MS., *Collectanea E*, f. 211. It is embedded in an ample though unfinished account of the sufferings in the North during this period. The author is presumably Father Richard Holtby, S.J., but the writing is minute and full of corrections, so that the decipherment is a matter of difficulty. I have made use of a partial copy written by the clerk of Dr. Gradwell before 1822, and now cod. 534 at Oscott, pp. 46, 47.

[*After narrating the sufferings of the prisoners even when allowed to purchase for money certain relaxations, the writer continues*]

Multa alia grauissima passi sunt in huiusmodi ergastulis, quorum fetore aliisque incommodis hæreticorum impietate perpessis, septem sacerdotes cum laicis quinque diversis temporibus extincti sunt, quorum nomina hæc sunt.

Stephanus Hemsworth, Thomas Mud, Joannes Akerick, Joannes Alman, Thomas Bedell, Thomas Akrick, Henricus Comberforde sacerdotes. Thomas Vauasor Doctor medicinæ, Oliuerius Walker, Franciscus Parckinson, Jeffray Steuenson, Alicia Dauson, laici.

Tandem qui residui erant 11 Dei sacerdotes diuturnam hanc injuriarum seriem perpetuo exilio condemnati in Gallias transportati sunt anno D. 1585, quorum nomina hæc sunt. —— Wright licentiatus theologiæ, —— Peacoc, Joannes Bolton, Phillippus Sherewood, Thomas Feild, Willielmus Feildesend, Jacobus Clarkeson, Robertus Williamson, —— Kent, Willielmus Ustison, Guillielmus Wilkinson, sacerdotes. Laici vero omnes, exceptis septem, in alios carceres translati sunt.

Qui autem in Carceribus Eboracensibus ab anno fere 1580 vita defuncti sunt, 76 numerum implent, quorum 8 fuerunt sacerdotes, videlicet.

—— Sigeswick Sacræ Theologiæ Doctor, qui tamen mortuus est an. D. 1573, Joannes Shawe, Thomas Ridiall, Guillielmus Bauderseby, Robertus Fribank, Willielmus Garget, Nicholaus Grene, et alius Guillielmus cuius cognomen non occurrit.

Laici autem nobiles 19 [? 20] videlicet Thomas Metham eques deauratus, qui mortuus est anno 1573, Rogerus Tockets armiger, Anthonius Aske, Cuthbertus Downye, Guillielmus Singleton, Thomas Blenkisop, Paulus Latham, Joannes Constable, Arthurus ——, Antonius Claxton, Joannes Stainton, —— Foster, —— Mallet, Cristoferus Watson, Thomas Pudsay, Elizabetha Conyers, Isabella Foster, Jana Rawson, Dorothea Vavasor et uxor cujusdam Allani ordinis equestris atque civis Eboracensis.

Reliqui autem honestæ conditionis sunt 48 videlicet.

Guillielmus Renold	Jacobus Attkinson	Robertus Jebb
Isabella Whitehead	Lucia Jud	Joannes Stable
quæ fuit monialis	Alicia Oldcorne	Robertus Spenser

Joannes Tinkeler
Jacobus Robinson
Margarita Webster
Francisca Webster
Joannes Ellenbre
Guillielmus Wright
Sara Jackman
Henricus Blackburne
Elisabetha Lanckton
Robertus Jarkes
Thomas Coplande
Radulphus Cowling
Robertus Belhouse
Thomas Harwood
Jana Page
Ambrosius Cooke
Joannes Chalner
Joannes Doclay
Joannes Gill
Rogerus Parker
Robertus Vicars
Isabella Chalner
Uxor Walton
Jennetta Geldand
Joannes Sylvester
Uxor Abbatti
Uxor Joannis Tinkler
Guillielmus Bolton
Isabella Porter
Guillielmus Smithson
Hercules Welburne
Joannes Fox
Margarita Blackeburne
Maria Hutton
Uxor cujusdam vocati Foster
Uxor Danielis cujusdam
Agnes Johnson
Uxor Williamsoni
Uxor Porteri
Isabella Bolton

Anno vero D. 1585 e carcere in exilium pulsi sunt sacerdotes 10 scilicet: Thomas Shillito, Willielmus Hudson, Willielmus Birkbeck, Michael Bolton, Willielmus Robinson, Joannes Marsh, Antonius Wilkinson, Thomas Smirthwate, Edmundus Hartburne, Edmundus Sykes qui postea in Angliam zelo animarum flagrans rediit atque captus martirio coronatus est. His adde Joannem Hugh Diaconum, qui ad ordinem Presbyteratus promovendus, iterum rediit in Angliam.

LXII.

RICHARD AND OWEN LLOYD

n.d. [about March, 1591]

Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, i, *n.* 39, f. 81. Original.

In the massacre which followed the defeat of the Armada, the twelfth victim was Richard Lloyd, who was sometimes called Fludd, or even Flower. Very little is known about him, but the writer of this paper was evidently well acquainted with his elder brother, the priest, Owen Lloyd, of whom a fuller picture is drawn, while a good deal is also told us about the Martyr. The *Douay Diaries* add a few particulars about the priest, they call him "Bangoriensis." The date of his arrival is not stated, but he received the sub-diaconate on the 24th of February, 1578, was ordained on the 28th of March, migrated to Rheims on the 8th of April of the same year, and eventually left for England on the 12th of October, 1581.

His name is not given in the Prison Lists (*C.R.S.*, vols. i and ii), but he may have been at Wisbeach (Morris, *Troubles*, ii, 231).

A Richard and Thomas Lloyd from the diocese of St. Asaph, came to the College of Rheims in 1582, and this Richard afterwards went on to Rome, whence he was eventually expelled in 1589 (*Douay Diaries*, 186, 198, 202; Foley, *Records*, vi, 507, 556). He was evidently a different person from the Martyr, Richard, who is here commemorated (see *C.R.S.*, ii, 209).

✠

I H C

AVREVM PAR GERMANORVM

(eorum memoria in benedictione sit) quorum poste-/rior in terris et prior in coelis, omnibus natu-/ræ bonis cumulatissime refertus, cum præcla-/ræ indolis specimen dedisset in ipsa lei-/cestrensis tragediæ

castastophe et fu-/nesto epilogo, religionis ergo londi-/ni comprehensus, illustre testimonium / Jesu Christo dedit, et martirii palmam / adeptus est, aº ætatis circiter 22 / die mens: aº D. 1588.

Senior vero, Presbiter venerandus & sensu & / aspectu, supra ætatem canus et gravis / ægro et infirmo corpore, sed mente semper / valida firmaque, quotidie quoad potuit / offerens Deo veneranda et illibata / sacrificia, fratris (quem unicum / habebat) languens desiderio, et horum / temporum iniquitate, et aliquorum / ingratitudine, loco (quo in-/firmus iacebat) coactus / discedere, cum ingenti pe-/riculo gestatus est in / Pauperis cuiusdam tugu-/rium, ubi intra paucos / dies, animo sacris fe-/liciter expiato, in summo / (quo aliquantisper tor-/sus est) corporis cruci-/atu, animam Deo reddi-/dit, aº ætatis suæ cir-/citer 45 22 martii / aº D. 1590.

*A*ttrahit in barathrum mea me fortuna doloris,
*v*ndique Densorum circumstat turba malorum:
*D*itatum bene nuper *A*mico, *P*atre, *P*ropinquo
*O*mnibus, immitis mors me spoliavit in uno,
*E*t facit (heu miserum) rumpente senescere luctu
*N*atura *C*ognatus erat, fortuna factus *A*micus,
*v*t simul atque *P*arens esset mihi, gratia fecit.
*S*ic tribus, unius en, orbor in orbe, nece.

*I*ugeo defunctum, venerandum iure *P*arentem,
*I*ugeo dilectum, fraterno more *S*odalem,
o ut nunc pungit, quod me recreare solebat,
*I*nditum ab illo cognomen (*C*ognatio nostra)
*D*um frueretur adhuc ille salute sua,

*M*agnus erat magno condignus honore sacerdos
*O*rbe tamen iusto penitus privatus honore.
*N*otis (proh dolor) æger clam peragrabat in oris,
*E*t limen nunquam valuit remeare paternum,
*N*ec patriæ fundos iterum calcare relictos.
*S*anctus *A*braham quondam fuit exul, ut iste fidelis,
*I*ustitia in terris quoniam peregrina moratur,
*S*ic bona, cana fides exulat orbe malo.

*P*rudens subtilis summa gravitate dotatus,
*R*ectus sincerus detestabatur iniquum,
*Æ*quum zelose, cupidis circumdabat ulnis,
*S*anctos devote antiquos, coluitque modernos,
*B*elle tractabat fratres, conviva facetus,
*I*mmordax, salibus mentes hilarabat abunde,
*T*erribili hæreticos, aiebat, fuste docendos
*E*stque precatus *C*hristum sæpe beare fideles
*R*ore beare *P*oli, rore beare *S*oli.

Hunc *M*ona Cambrorum Venetorum illa insula florens
Protulit insignem nobis pietate Parentem,
qui genus illic nobiliori ex stemmate ducens,

in patria teneræ ætatis tria lustra peregit.
Oxoniæ totidem (ni fallor) deinde terebat
unum Remigii consumpsit trans mare Galli
altera bina reversus partim degit in urbe
Londini, quo foedifragi male fraude nocentis
Carcere captivus squalido fuit ille semestris,
ex quo dilecto a mortalibus ære redemptus
exul ab urbe vagus, Præsul in orbe fuit.

*R*ectus erat germanus huic atque unicus orbe,
*I*ngenuus docilis juvenis lectissimus ille,
*C*um gremio ex materno ætas hunc iure vocaret,
*H*unc docet hic Senior iuniorem dogmata *C*hristi,
*A*rdenter iuvenis tum dogmata percipit illa,
*R*ecte et præterea mundanas imbibit artes,
*D*exteritas tanta est ingeniique vigor.

*L*umine perspecto, lumen complectitur iste,
*L*umen coelorum dispellens mente tenebras,
*O*rbatus vita pro *C*hristo, vivit in ævum,
*I*nclitus hic gestat gemmis diadema coruscans,
*D*ilectus *C*hristi, regnat in arce Poli.

Mater adhuc vivens gnatis orbata duobus,
quos habuit cunctis, orba fit orbe Parens,
O Martir Christi, coelo super astra triumphans,
omnibus evictis hostibus usque tuis,
Ora pro cunctis, fidei tibi foedere iunctis,
quorum est vera fides, sanguine teste tuo.
Sanguine teste simul sanctorum mille virorum,
totius et sacro sanguine martirii.
O Decus et Veneti Cambrorum gloria gentis,
ora pro Populo, pro patriaque tua,
Ora proque parente, sorore superstite utraque,
Cognatis, charis, omnibus atque tuis,
Ora pro misero servoque Propinquo et Amico,
me, iunctumque solo, me tibi iunge Polo.
*V*tere quo frueris regno sine fine *P*olorum.
*A*ccipe, quod nulli sic datur orbe, *vale.*

Endorsed by F. Grene.—De Audoeno et Richardo Lloid, qui non sunt in catalogo martyrum.

It will be noticed that besides the acrostics there are a number of other capitals in italics (red ink in the MS.). Writing all the italic script together we get *I.H.C., AVREVM PAR GERMANORVM, Senior, AvDOENvS lloID MONENSIS PRÆSBITER, RICHARD LLOID A.P.P.C.A.P.P.S.C.A.C.P.S.M.C.C.C.V.P.A. vale.* The care that has been taken to write these capitals in red ink makes me believe that they must be inserted with some method, though I cannot make out what it is. The twenty apparently irregular initial capitals may be arranged thus:—*MCCCCCCV PAPPAS PAPPAS.*

[*Translation*]

Two Brothers of Golden Worth.

May their memory be in benediction. Of these the younger born to earth, the first to inherit heaven, was most richly endowed with all the gifts of nature. After having given proof of brilliant talents, he was arrested in London on account of his religion during the dread calamity caused by the Earl of Leicester, with its fatal conclusion. He bore noble testimony to Jesus Christ, and won the crown of martyrdom on the [30th] day of [August], A.D. 1588, in about the 22nd year of his age.

The elder brother, a priest of venerable character and aspect, grave and grey beyond his years, sickly indeed and infirm of body, but gifted with a mind ever strong and vigorous, offering daily, as long as he was able, the adorable and spotless sacrifice. Wasted with yearning after his only brother, he was forced, by the iniquity of the times and the ingratitude of certain persons, to leave the place where he lay ill, and was carried with great risk into the hut of a poor man. Here, within a few days, his soul being happily sanctified by the Sacraments, after suffering the severest tortures for a while, he yielded up his soul to God in about the 45th year of his age, on March 22, 1590 [? 1591].

Ill fortune drags me down to the depths of sorrow,
A thick cloud of woes hangs o'er me on every side.
Till lately I was truly rich, possessed of Friend, Father, Relative,
But cruel death, by claiming one, has reft me of all.
Poor me! breaking with grief mine age I pass.
By nature he was my kinsman, by fortune he became my friend,
Grace made him also to be my Father.
Thus by the death of one I am in this world bereaved of three.
I mourn the dead, veneration is due to him as to a Father.
I mourn my loved one, a companion like to a brother.
Oh how that pains me now, which was wont to delight me,
The surname taken from him,—our kinship,
While he still was in enjoyment of health.
Great priest he was, entitled to great honour:
But on earth wholly deprived of the honour due to him:
Sick and in secret, alas! he strayed through places familiar,
And never was able again to cross the threshold of his fathers,
Nor to set foot once more on the estates he had left in his country.
Like him, Blessed Abraham of old was an exile, but faithful.
As Justice dwells on earth like a pilgrim
So the blessed, the hoary faith, is banished from a wicked world.
Prudent, penetrating, gifted with rare gravity,
Right-minded, sincere, he loathed the evil-doer.
The just man he heartily embraced with eager arms.
The Saints, both old and recent, he devoutly worshipped;
Agreeable in dealing with brethren, a companion witty,
Without bitterness, he brightened our minds with many a sparkling jest.
He was wont to say that heretics needed a lesson from the dreaded cudgel.
And he often prayed Christ to bless the faithful;
To drop like dew upon them blessings of Heaven, and the blessings of earth.
To him did Man, flourishing isle of the Celts, give birth,
He who to us was a parent noted for kindness paternal.
From a right noble stock there he traced descent.
At home were passed thrice five summers of his tender age,
At Oxford then, unless I err, as many more he spent;
Then five years at Rheims of France beyond the sea,

Other ten on his return he passed partly in the town
Of London, where through the evil fraud of a word-breaker,
He lay six months captive in a sordid prison,
From which he was ransomed by money beloved of mortals.
A wandering exile from the city, he was in the world a leader.

A brother he had, an only brother, righteous,
Frank, docile, a youth most choice.
When from his mother's side a fit age called him;
The elder brother taught the younger the doctrines of Christ.
The doctrines the lad took in even then with ardour,
With precision, too, did he assimilate the learning of this world,
So great was the vivacity and vigour of his mind.
When light was seen, that light he welcomed,
The light from heaven that scattereth darkness from the mind.
Reft of life for Christ's sake, he lives immortal,
Glorious he bears a diadem flashing with jewels:
Beloved of Christ he reigns in the courts above.

The mother still living, bereft of both her sons,
Of all the sons she had, is now in this world a childless parent.
O Martyr of Christ, triumphing in heaven above the stars,
After utterly conquering all thine enemies,
Pray for all, who are united to thee in the bond of faith,
Whose faith is true, attested by thy blood,
Attested also by the blood of a thousand saints,
And of the sacred blood of the whole martyr throng.
O pride and glory of the Cambrian race
Pray for thy people and for thy country:
Pray for thy mother, and for thy two surviving sisters,
For all thy relatives and dear ones.
Pray, too, for the luckless one, thy servant, kinsman, friend,
For me, united am I by race to thee on earth, unite me to thee in heaven.
Enjoy the kingdom in the skies which is thine for ever,
And accept a greeting, such as is given to none on earth. Farewell.

LXIII.

NEWS ABOUT THE MARTYRS OF 1591

20 September to 1 November, 1591

(i)

Westminster Archives, iv, 287 and 321 (*olim—Collectanea B*, 31 and 65).

The following "News" is interesting for its own sake, and also indirectly because of the information we acquire as to the methods by which such news got abroad and was eventually published. Though the latter topics do not directly concern the Martyrs themselves, they are too important to be passed over in silence.

The origin of our information is here a certain John Cecil, a priest indeed, but a suspicious and dishonourable character. Though he would not betray his co-religionists to death, he gave up the active work of the ministry in order to act the base part of a spy for the persecutors, and to advance their interests. He says truly that "Mr. Fixer and myself were taken, and . . . I was carried to the Treasurer," and after some questions "dismissed." He meant his correspondents to believe that he had hoodwinked the Government, but as we can now see (*Domestic Calendar*, 1591–1594, pp. 39–70), that he purchased his liberty by undertaking to thwart secretly as far as he could, the very men whom he here

professes to serve as a friend. There also seems to be good reason for suspecting that many of the accusations enumerated in the proclamation of 18 October, of which more below (p. 203), were due to the disloyal and treacherous statements of this man.

It sometimes helps us to form a broad judgment of a character such as John Cecil's, to see the end which he subsequently reached. He never left the Church, but after the persecutors had done through him all the harm they could to the Catholics at large, they cast him off with scorn and imprisoned him in 1604. After this he settled in Paris and became an ardent advocate of a French policy for the English Catholics, and died on 26 December, 1626 (*C.R.S.*, i, 113).*

Thus we see that despite very unworthy motives of the writer, there is not yet sufficient reason for rejecting his evidence cited below, which, indeed, may be confirmed in all its main lines by more than one other witness. The wording of some expressions does, indeed, sound a little forced, and one of these is annotated, but the point is not very material.

The value of Cecil's evidence is enhanced by his having given it twice over. We have considerable extracts from a Latin letter of his to Creswell (*Collectanea M*, 187), written "ex Anglia, 20 Septembris," 1590, and then a letter to Father Persons, endorsed by him 1 November.†

The latter is given here so far as it regards the Martyrs, and then the Spanish paper drawn up from it. The letter of 20 September agrees with that of 1 November (Father Grene has only copied the parts relative to the Martyrs), both in the order in which the subjects are handled and in the subject matter, though the phraseology, metaphors, &c., are of course different. The only material points of information given in the earlier letter, not in the later, are appended in footnotes.

Right R. & my very loving Father. . . . of your Spanish Mission, the first that went from Caler were all taken at Portchmouth and sent to the Council. In the way one feigned himself sick namely Roberts & for this companion Dudley was left to follow the rest for their reward to the Council: the other two Blount and Younger were carried to the Admiral, and after 2 or 3 days examination were rewarded and dismissed. Mr. Fixer and myself were taken by the Queens ships over against Dover by Sir Henry Palmer, and by him sent jointly to the Admiral and Treasurer, who being both out of the way the one at sea the other at Tibalds with the Queen. We were kept at a man's house of his in Westminster, and there had sent us certain interrogatories of martial men and warlike affairs of the K's intentions & preparations and such like. After 5 or 6 days I only was carried to the Treasurer, and by word demanded the same questions, which in writing were tendered us, and so we were dismissed, of the particularity whereof more hereafter either from Rome or in presence. Mr. Fixer was like to have been taken twice sithence that time, once they took his horse and rapier. Mr. Warford, Mr. Oliver and all the rest are placed and in colour, as also Coffin and Bell and the last mission from Rome, and Mr. Bishop out of France.

* See also *D.N.B. sup.*, i, 403.

† The last page with the original date is missing, and Father Persons has written at the head, "mense Julio 1592." This must be too late. If, however, it should be correct, it will increase the value of the argument drawn from the repetition,

In Easter and Whitsun term were martyred at York, to whose executions Toply the torturer went, a priest and a clerk, viz. Robert Thorpe and Thomas Watkinson.

At Winchester, Roger Dicconson and Ralph Milner,* who, desiring the Judges to be good to his wife and 8 or 9 small children he had, was answered this: "Go to Church, fool, and look to thy children thyself." He replied that the loss of his soul was too high a price to pay for so small and vile a commodity,† and so he died§ blessedly *in Domino.*

With them were condemned 8 or 9 young damsels¶ but not sentenced, the which with open outcries and exclamations urged the Judges most constantly that, as they were all culpable of the same crime, viz. of hearing Mass, relieving a priest, confessing their sins and serving their Saviour after the rite of the Catholic Church, so they might drink all of the same cup, with such fervour and vehemence that they made the whole assembly astonished.‖

At London‡ were martyred George Beesley and Mumford Scott of whom Topley said that he had that day done the Queen and Kingdom a Singular piece of Service, in ridding the realm of such a praying and fasting papist as had not his peer in Europe.

To make Mr. Beesly the more odious, after exquisite torments exercised upon his innocent members, they proposed this most barbarous and bloody question, what he would do in case the pope should command him to kill the Queen. He answered that he thought it a meritorious act, being so commanded.**

Mr. Portmort was taken some xx days before I departed,†† first committed to Bridewell, and then had to Topleys house, and men stood in fear of his confession§§ . . .

Endorsed by F. Persons.—Mr. Sicils aduices, 1 Nov. 1591.

* The earlier letter calls Milner—comitem vitae et martyrii, cuius ope et opera uberrime et diu in vinea Domini usus fuerat.

† The letter has—pro re tam momentanea et caduca. These reports reflect, I take it, the want of true sympathy in the writer. "*A relation written by a Priest in England,*" gives an answer with much more of a true Catholic ring about it. "He answered that he hoped to do them as much good where he went (*i.e.* in heaven) as if he were with them." Having the halter about his neck, his son asked his blessing, which he gave him in this following manner, "I pray God send thee no worse end than thy father" (*Acts of English Martyrs*, p. 97).

§ Letter of Sept. 20 *adds*—mense Julii.

¶ Letter of Sept. 20 *reads*—virgines nobiles numero 7.

‖ Letter of Sept. 20 *adds*—at sententiam Judices prae pudore pronunciare noluerunt.

‡ Letter of Sept. 20 *adds*—in platea Fleet Street.

** Letter of Sept. 20 *reads*—Respondit Papam tale quid non iussurum, verum si iuberet meritorium esset si exequeretur. Here, too, I fancy that Cecil has coloured the words which he reports. The actual phrase used by the Martyr does not seem to be on record, but we must remember that none of our Martyrs ever subscribed to such an opinion, and that it was never taught or admitted in the Seminaries. If Beesley did say what is here ascribed to him, it will have been by some confusion or inadvertence, to which anyone may be liable when on trial for his life, and his sincerity and evident good intention would no doubt have corrected whatever bad impression might be made by the ill-judged concession, if indeed he ever made it.

†† Letter of Sept. 20 *reads*—mense Augusti.

§§ Letter of Sept. 20 *adds*—Charissimus frater noster Thomas Stanneus, Collegii vestri alumnus, in unica prouincia Hamptoniensi animas trecentas Christo Domino lucratus est.

Father Persons has also headed it, "Mr. Sicils letter written in Italy in his iourney to Rome, mense Julio 1592. He telleth of the Martyrdoms of Thorpe, Watkinson, Dicconson, Milner, Beesley and Scott, and of the apprehension of Portmort." But this is probably a later addition, added after the loss of the last page of the letter on which the original date would have been written.

(ii)

Westminster Archives, iv, 287 (*olim—Collectanea B*, 31).

We here see the form in which the above letter was published by Father Peralta or Father Persons in Spain. It has been combined with another letter of the 1st of October. [In the translation the added passages are distinguished by square brackets.] We can thus see the way in which the expressions were gradually modified as the news passed from mouth to mouth. It is interesting to note that while this paper follows the variants of the letter of 1 November, addressed to Father Persons, the paper which is printed by Ribadeneira (*Historia Eclesiastica del cisma de Inglaterra*, ed. 1786, pp. 397–400), follows the variants of the letter of 20 September, addressed to Creswell.

Avisos de Inglaterra de prim° de Otubre 1591

Ya V.R. aura sauido como aca han llegado a salvo todos los ocho Sacerdotes Ingleses, qui ay se embarcaron en Andalusia, y estan repartidos por el Reyno; y juntamente casi al mismo tiempo llegaron otros de los Seminarios de Roma y de Rhemis: de los quales a uno llamado Portmorto prendieron la semana passada, y esta en la casa de Topeli donde se entiende que pasara muy rigorosos examines, pues el Topley es el mas cruel perseguidor y verdugo de los Catholicos que los hereges tienen en estos Reynos. Este verano ha auido muchos martirios de Catholicos en este Reyno por que en la ciudad de Yorque martirizaron a dos. El uno era Sacerdote llamado Roberto Churche, el otro fue clerigo llamado Thomas Watginnson, y para darles mas crudeles tormentos ymbiaron a Yorque desde Londres (que seran mas de cinq^ta^ leguas) al sobredicho Topely para este effecto, sus muertes fueron de muy grande edificacion.

En la ciudad de Wintonia llamada Winchester hizieron lo mismo, porque martirizaron a un sacerdote cuyo nombre era Rogero Diginnson hombre de grande virtud, el qual avia servido a los catholicos que estan presos en las carceles desta ciudad mucho tiempo, proveyendoles de todo lo que avien menester en lo temporal y espiritual. A este siervo de Dios llevaron preso y atadas manos y pies a londres y sentenciado a muerte lo boluieron a Winchester para martirizarlo, y pusieron espias para prender a todos los Catholicos de aquella provincia que viniesen a su martirio. Con este Padre murio juntamente un lego hijo suyo espiritual llamado Rodulfo Milnero, porque avia estado con este sacerdote, y Rehusaua andar a las yglesias de los hereges. Y assi quando los Jueçes conforme a la costumbre de Inglaterra le pronunciaron la sentencia de muerte en publico con la solenidad y pregones que alli servan, este la recibio con Rostro muy allegre, y les dixo que una sola cosa les avia de peder, que tuuiesen quenta con su muger y con ochos o nueve niños chiquitos que tenia, pues ellos no tenian parte en este delicto de lesa mag^d^ que se le ymputava. Ellos respondieron que en su mano stava Remediarlos

todos y de salvar aun su vida, si quisiesse andar a sus yglesias y conformarse en esto con las leyes del Reyno. Pero el les replico que esto seria en prejuycio de su alma, y que no queria comprar tan caro el Remedio temporal de sus hijos, que Dios era poderoso de Remediarlos, y con esto fue alegremente a la muerte.

Con estos dos varrones fueron tambien condenadas a muerte ocho o nueve doncellas por los mismos delictos, de averse confesado con sacerdotes y oydo misas y pensaron los Jueçes (como parece) que un sola la condenarian se spantarian y boluerian otras. Pero quando las vieron constantes y muy animosas delataron la sententia publica que se suele dar (para consultar el negocio con la Reyna y su conseyo como se puede creer). Pero quando las donzellas oyeron la sentenza dada contro el Sacerdote y el lego y no contra ellas, comencaron a llorar y dar voces a los Jueçes, que no las apartasen de aquel Padre y hermano, pues ellas tambien estavan ya condenadas por los mismos delictos que los otros dos, con que toda la multitud de la gente quedo attonita y los Jueçes mandaron que las boluiesen a la carcel.

En Londres martirizaron en el mismo tiempo a dos sacerdotes llamados Jorge Bisley y Monfredo Scoto al primero por ser hombre animoso y averles respondido con mucha libertad le dieron muy grandes y Rigorosos tormentos, y despues para hacer lo mas odioso a la gente lo sacaron en publico para examinarlo de nuevo, y le preguntaron que le parecia se deuia hacer, si el Papa mandase a alguno que matase a la Reyna. A lo qual el respondio que si el papa lo mandase, seria con mucha Justicia y circunspection, y asi le pareva que seria meritorio cumplir la obediencia, con lo qual los hereges quedaron muy enojados.

Del otro que era hombre muy manso y de grandes penitencias el Topely dixo en la corte el mismo dia que lo auia martirizado, que entendia aver hecho el mayor seruicio aquel dia a la Reyna que le avia hecho en muchos dias antes, por aver librado el Reyno de un papista hypocrita de los mayores ayunos y de las mas largas plegarias que avia en toda Europa.

* * * *

Endorsed.—Advises of England. the first of october 1591.

[*Translation*]

Advices from England: the first of October, 1591.

Your Reverence will already know that all the eight English priests who embarked in Andalusia arrived here safely, and have left again for the kingdom [of England].* Almost at the same time there arrived others from the Seminaries of Rome and of Rheims. Of these they have arrested one called Portmort last week. He is in the house of Topcliffe, where, it is reported, he will undergo very severe questioning, for Topcliffe is the most cruel persecutor† and torturer of the Catholics in these realms.

This summer there have been many martyrdoms of Catholics, two in the city of York, one a priest called Robert [Thorpe], the other a cleric

* The ambiguity is no doubt intentional. "Here," the place of writing, is not defined.

† Notice the alteration of "ten days before I started" to "last week," and the omission of the fears for Pormort's constancy.

called Thomas Watkinson. They were sent from York to London (which would be more than fifty leagues), to the aforesaid Topcliffe, to be tortured; their deaths gave very great edification.

In Winchester they did the same, executing a priest called Roger Dicconson, a man of great virtue [who had attended the Catholics in prison in that town, providing for all necessities, temporal and spiritual. This servant of God was carried prisoner, hands and feet bound, to London. Being sentenced to death, he was returned to Winchester for martyrdom, and spies were set to arrest all the Catholics of the county who might come to see him suffer]. Together with this Priest a layman, his spiritual son, by name Ralph Milner, suffered for being in his company and refusing to go to their churches. So when the judges, according to English custom, publicly pronounced the sentence of death with the usual solemnities and proclamations, he received it with a cheerful countenance, and said that he had only one thing to ask them, that they should take care of his wife and his eight or nine little children, who had had no share in this crime of treason which had been imputed to him. They answered that the remedy for all was in his hand and the saving of his own life too. Let him but go to their church and conform himself in this to the laws of the realm. He answered that this would injure his soul, and that he would not buy the temporal advantage of his children at so dear a price; God was able to make it up for them. Herewith he went merrily to his death.

Together with these two men eight or nine young maidens were condemned to death for the same reasons, for having confessed to priests, and heard masses. The judges thought (it seems) that they would condemn one and that they would terrify and upset the rest. But when they saw them constant and very courageous, they postponed the public pronouncement of sentence that is usual (to consult, as one may think, with the Queen and her Council). But when the young ladies heard sentence pronounced against the priest and the layman but not against themselves, they began to ask the judges that they should not separate them from their Father and brother, since they were also now found guilty of the same offences as the other two. Hereat all the people were astonished, and the judges gave order that they should be returned to prison.

At London they martyred at the same time two priests called George Beesley and Monford Scott. The first, a man of courage who answered with great liberty, they accordingly tortured very much and severely, and afterwards to make him more odious, they examined him in public once more, and asked him what he thought should be done if the Pope ordered someone to murder the Queen. To this he answered that the Pope, if he ordered it, would proceed with much justice and circumspection, and so it would seem to him that it would be meritorious to be obedient. In fine the heretics were much annoyed.

As to the other, a man very gentle and of great penances, Topcliffe stated at Court on the very day that he had martyred him, that he thought he had done the Queen a better service that morning than he had for many a day before, for he had ridded the Queen of a Papist hypocrite, one who fasted more and prayed longer than any other in Europe.

LXIV.

JOHN INGRAM TO FATHER CRESWELL

28 September, 1591

Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, i, *n.* 65, f. 116.

Having left the English College, Rome, 4 September, 1591 (Foley, vi, 168), Ingram should, as appears from the following letter, have taken up

at Florence ten crowns in gold, in accordance with the note of Father Creswell to be addressed to the Rector of the Jesuit College there. But the note had not yet arrived, and Ingram wishing to push on, begged the rector to forward the letter to the provost of the Jesuit house at Milan. But again on his arrival at Milan the note had not arrived, so the future Martyr was constrained to borrow from the *Proposito* the ten crowns necessary for travelling expenses, and wrote the following paper in acknowledgment of his debt, which he calls upon Father Creswell to discharge. *Proposito* should mean the superior of the *Casa Professa*, not the "Rector" of the Jesuit College, yet the terms are sometimes confused. The Padre in question may have been Father Achilles Gagliardi, of whose affection to the English we have heard before (p. 174 *supra*), but he was more probably Father Ricalcate (p. 187).

✠

R.P.R.

Cum ego Florentiam appulissem, adiui collegium Patrum Societatis Jesu, et a Rectore petij utrum literas quarum vi 10 aureos in auro ab illo reciperem, accepisset; sed cum nil literarum se habuisse diceret, rogare non destiti ut, si post discessum internuncius cum tali epistola adventaret, illam ad collegium patrum Mediolanum nulla interposita mora transmitteret. Sed cum hoc non sit culpa alicuius præstitum, cogebar (ne partem tantam viatici mei amitterem) ab admodum R^do^ Patre Casæ Mediolanensis Proposito petere ut ipse scuta hæc 10 aurea in auro mihi persolveret; quod præstitit. Itaque vestræ curæ erit secundum promissum et ius meum illi quamprimum tot nummos aureos in auro reddere. Mediolani 28 octob. 1591.

Joannes Ingramus Sacerdos.

Addressed.—Rdo patri Rectori collegij Anglicani Romæ.

Endorsed by F. Grene.—Literæ Joannis Ingrami Martyris 28 8^br^ 1591.

LXV.

THE MARTYRDOM OF EDMUND GENNINGS AND COMPANIONS

10 December, 1591

While considering the papers for 1588, we noticed that some mitigation of the persecution would naturally follow in time after the defeat of the Armada of Spain. But certain as was the decline of Spain's naval power after that defeat, it would be a mistake to think that the fall was a sudden one. Two or three years later the religious wars in France reduced that power to impotence, and Spain seemed to be relatively more powerful than ever. When, therefore, King Philip gained a foothold in the north of France by the capture of Calais, &c., there was a great deal of anxiety in England, and this was used by the persecuting party as an occasion for a new outbreak of severity. On the 18th of October, 1591, a remarkable proclamation against the Catholics was published, and was afterwards circulated as a tract under the title of *A declaration of the great troubles intended against the realm* (Strype, *Annals*, iv, 78; *Domestic Calendar* 1591, p. 112. The order for inquisition after Catholics is given at p. 114, their renewal in 1592 at p. 200. On p. 118 it is stated that up to 31 October, 1591, the proclamation had not been published).

It was only to be expected that charges so false and injurious as those contained in Elizabeth's tract, should have been met by vigorous

at Florence ten crowns in gold, in accordance with the note of Father Creswell to be addressed to the Rector of the Jesuit College there. But the note had not yet arrived, and Ingram wishing to push on, begged the rector to forward the letter to the provost of the Jesuit house at Milan. But again on his arrival at Milan the note had not arrived, so the future Martyr was constrained to borrow from the *Proposito* the ten crowns necessary for travelling expenses, and wrote the following paper in acknowledgment of his debt, which he calls upon Father Creswell to discharge. *Proposito* should mean the superior of the *Casa Professa*, not the "Rector" of the Jesuit College, yet the terms are sometimes confused. The Padre in question may have been Father Achilles Gagliardi, of whose affection to the English we have heard before (p. 174 *supra*), but he was more probably Father Ricalcate (p. 187).

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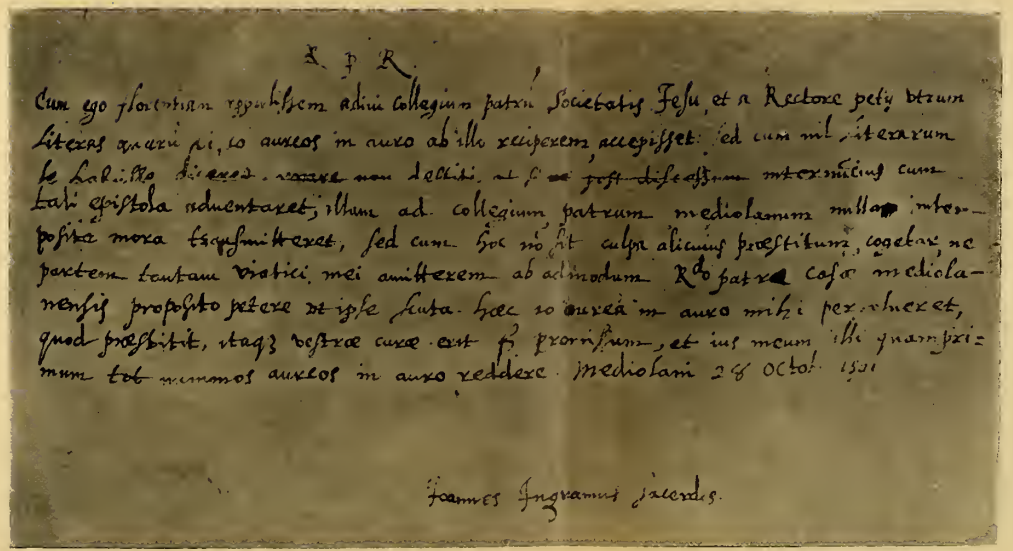
THE MARTYRDOM OF EDMUND GENNINGS AND COMPANIONS

10 December, 1591

While considering the papers for 1588, we noticed that some mitigation of the persecution would naturally follow in time after the defeat of the Armada of Spain. But certain as was the decline of Spain's naval power after that defeat, it would be a mistake to think that the fall was a sudden one. Two or three years later the religious wars in France reduced that power to impotence, and Spain seemed to be relatively more powerful than ever. When, therefore, King Philip gained a foothold in the north of France by the capture of Calais, &c., there was a great deal of anxiety in England, and this was used by the persecuting party as an occasion for a new outbreak of severity. On the 18th of October, 1591, a remarkable proclamation against the Catholics was published, and was afterwards circulated as a tract under the title of *A declaration of the great troubles intended against the realm* (Strype, *Annals*, iv, 78; *Domestic Calendar* 1591, p. 112. The order for inquisition after Catholics is given at p. 114, their renewal in 1592 at p. 200. On p. 118 it is stated that up to 31 October, 1591, the proclamation had not been published).

It was only to be expected that charges so false and injurious as those contained in Elizabeth's tract, should have been met by vigorous



R. P. R.

Cum ego florentiam appulissem adiui collegium patrum Societatis Jesu, et a Rectore petij utrum literas quarum si, 10 aureos in auro ab illo reciperem, accepisset: sed cum nil literarum se habuisse diceret, ~~vocare non dedisti, et si ne post discessum~~ intermicius cum tali epistola aduentaret, illam ad collegium patrum mediolanum nulla interposita mora transmitteret, sed cum hoc non sit culpa alicuius praestitum, cogebar, ne partem tantam viatici mei amitterem ab admodum R.do patre Casae mediolanensis proposito petere ut ipse scuta haec 10 aurea in auro mihi persolueret, quod praestitit, itaque vestrae curae erit pro promissum, et ius meum illi quamprimum tot nummos aureos in auro reddere. Mediolani 28 Octob. 1591

Joannes Ingramus sacerdos.

To face p. 204]

The Ven. JOHN INGRAM, M.

replies on the part of the Catholics. Four of these have survived, by Dr. Stapleton, Father Persons, Father Creswell and Richard Verstegan.* The controversy became somewhat diffuse, as it included all the matters in debate between England and Spain. But in most of these books, however, there is something that illustrates the cause of the Martyrs.

Soon after the proclamation and long before any answer had appeared, the scaffolds were reddened with a new outpouring of Catholic blood, more copious than had occurred on any one day except during the massacre after the Armada. These Martyrs form an attractive group.

(i)

The Draft of the "Life and Death of Edmund Genings"

Stonyhurst, *Collectanea M*, 186, 187. Father Grene's abbreviated copy.

That well-known book, *The Life and Death of Mr Edmund Genings, Priest*, printed "at St. Omers by Charles Boscard 1614,"† with its twelve engravings by Martin Bas, of Douay, though but a quarto of 110 pages, is upon the whole the most sumptuous, artistic, and, typographically speaking, the most interesting literary monument to our Martyrs which our poor persecuted church was ever able to set forth. From the following paper by Father Grene, we see that an early edition was planned at least (if not published) in the year 1603. That it was actually published I do not think likely, as we have no record of it, and the whole edition of a book so interesting as this would hardly pass away without at least being described by some bibliographist. It is much easier to believe that the manuscript copy which Father Grene had before him represented the author's first draft, prepared indeed by him for press, but postponed because he wished to bring out something more sumptuous and complete, as indeed he did in good time.

Though the finished work contains a notice of Gennings' companions in martyrdom, which Father Grene notes to have been wanting from the MS. draft, it contains, on the other hand, a few names, which for caution's sake, were omitted in the printed book. We here learn that the Martyr was born at Lichfield, and that the gentleman whom he, when a page, visited in prison, was Mr. James Layburne.

A brief relation of the life and death of Mr Edmund Jennings priest, martyred 10 Dec. 1591 in London.

Written by Mr J. J. (*stretto parente del martire, nay brother*), 1600, and published of late by J[ohn] W[ilson] etc. printed with licence 1603 (*but in the book cited it is in written hand*) a fol. 238 usque 275.§

Edmund Jennings born in Lichfield (Staffordshire) of honourable citizens of that town; with one fair tooth to the astonishment of all. Of modest behaviour in childhood, little given to play, much delighted to view the heaven and stars: one night saw in the heavens armed men killing others unarmed with immensity of blood all round about, whereat frighted ran into the house to his mother, who with three or four more saw the same. This was in the beginning of the persecution, not long before F. Campion's death. A gentleman (R. S.) [Richard

* See below, lxxxv, (ix), 11°.

† The *Approbation* is dated, St. Omers, 10 February, 1614. Reprinted in 1887 by Fr. W. Forbes-Leith, S.J.

§ That is folio 238 to 275 of the now lost *Collectanea A*.

Sherwood], Catholic, by chance passing by Lichfield in the inn where then Edmund lived, about 14 years old, took him for his page, and soon after converted him to the Catholic faith. Devout after his conversion and fortunate in all business, and particularly when he was sent to speak with Mr James Layburn, then most close prisoner, in Lancaster, after a glorious martyr.

His master resolved to retire to a religious life, he to study at Rhemes and to be priest, he arrived with unexpected good fortune there. By application to study and devotion fell into a consumption, therefore sent towards England. At Newhaven unexpectedly recovering his strength and zealous to prosecute his studies, returned to Rhemes, although he now had bargained for his passage with a ship. There his zeal very great: at the mention of persecution and martyrdom frequently using to repeat *Vivamus in spe* and *Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos?* [He] obtained a dispensation to be priest at the age of 23 years, showing ever great esteem of that dignity, and celebrating with singular devotion etc. trembling at those words of Malachy *Labia sacerdotis custodient scientiam, et legem* [*requirent ex ore ejus*]*; quia Angelus Domini exercituum est.*

Soon after he went to England with Polydor Plasden, then passing by Rhemes from Rome. Landing in England they presently at midnight separated one towards the north his country, Edmund towards London, after praying God to send them a happy meeting of suffering in this world etc. Finding all his parents and kinsfolk dead but only his brother John, whom in Lichfield he had heard to live somewhere at London, came hither and after long search in vain, unexpectedly and indeed miraculously at last found him (just when he was about to depart out of town) being seized on by a cold sweat etc. twice when he met him in the street etc.

On All Saints' day, primo Novembris, Mr Jennings returned to London (*sicut promiserat ante unum mensem fratri suo Joanni*), was taken by Topcliffe at Mr Swithin Wells his house in Holborn, together with Mr Polydor Plasden come to London by chance, and others, Mr Gennings saying mass, at end of which he in his vestments with all there present, about ten in number. Mr Wells then absent out of town, returning was also imprisoned. After many examinations [they] were carried from Newgate to the Sessions House in the Old Bailey, arraigned etc. although nothing could be justly objected but that they had heard Mr Jennings' mass. Topcliffe enraged as having been thrown down the stairs by Mr Brian Lacy's man at the chapel door, threatened therefore to have him hanged, and so he was. The next day morning all carried from Newgate to Westminster, there the Jury (the day before empanelled) found them all guilty and they were condemned, Mr Jennings for saying mass, the rest for hearing it, Mr Wells only for mass being said in his house. All carried back to Newgate, and Mr Jennings refusing many fair offers of his life, if he would go to church etc., was put in a dark dungeon unto death.

On Friday morning, 10 of December, Mr White, Mr Plasden, Mr Briant Lacy, with two other lay people carried to Tyburn and there

executed; Mrs Wells reprieved; Mr Jennings and Mr Wells dragged on a sled to the upper end of Holborn (over against Mr Wells' house) Mr Jennings arrived to the gallows said, *O Crux diu desiderata et jam concupiscenti animo præparata etc.* Being bade to confess his treason and so doubtleſs the Queen would pardon him, answered, "I know not ever to have offended her etc. If to say mass be treason, I confess to have done it and glory in it etc." At which Topcliffe enraged, giving him leave to say no more, and scarce to recite the Pater noster, made him be turned off the ladder, and the rope immediately cut. The martyr stood on his feet, then the hangman tripping up his heels, cut off his members and disbowelled him. Then the martyr crying upon St. Gregory his patron to assist him, the hangman astonished said with a loud voice, "God's wounds! His heart is in my hand and yet Gregory is in his mouth."

Mrs Lucy Ridley after much desire finding no means to get a relic, took one of his thumbs (happened to light on the ground just by the virgin one of the quarters showed to the people by the hangman at the door of Newgate where the quarters were to be boiled) as if she would touch it only reverently, and behold, the whole thumb remained in her hand: and she soon after became a nun of St Benet's order in Louvain, and now liveth Anno 1600. His brother John, a perverse Puritan, glad for the martyrs death, being so well rid of an importune persuader, some ten days after being alone at night, weary with sports of that day, began to think of his brother the martyr's life and death, was strangely moved, suddenly resolved to be Catholic, go to the Seminaries and follow his brother's footsteps, and so he did, and wrote this relation Anno 1600.

[*Grene*]—*No other mention here of ye companions martyred wth Mr Jennings.*

(ii)

The Companions of Edmund Gennings

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccxl, *n.* 109.

There is no sign as to the authorship of the following paper, but to judge from the last clauses, it seems to have been drawn up by some bloodsucker, who was hoping for still greater booty to be pressed out of the Catholics.

Edward Jennyngs alias Irenmonger Preiste, Hanged and quartered.
Swethinge Wells, Sydney Hodgson, & John Mason Hanged.
Swethinge Wells wyffe condemned to dye and is reprived.
On Dixson adiudged to paye a hundred marks, but he is supposed to be nothinge worthe.

Anne Lawrence
Mary Harcotte
A basket maker
& Wells his mayde
} Nothinge worthe.

✠ Edwarde Knighte my Lord Caunterburye's Lawnderer.
✠ Mr. Harrington a man of livinge and ability cussen to Justis Younge, these 2 are in houlde and as farre as I cane lerne shall shortly be delyvered.

✠ Mrs. Clarke a wydowe and verie welthye, by ye confession of these before named is knowne to have bin at two of his Massis at Wells his howse and as yet not called in question.

Blasden & White prests Hanged and quartered & on* hanged for conselinge them.

Endorsed.—Seminaryes and Jesuits.

LXVI.

RICHARD VERSTEGAN'S DISPATCHES

5 March, 3 August, and *n.d.* 1592

Westminster Archives, iv, 293, 309 (*olim—Collectanea B*, 37, 53), and Stonyhurst, *Anglia*, i, *n.* 68, f. 119. Verstegan's holographs.

Richard Verstegan, the author of *The Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, and other quaint books, was at this period correspondent and agent in Flanders between the English Jesuits in England and those upon the continent. The following are all taken from his *Advices*, which were generally addressed to Father Persons, who was then in Spain.

(i)

The enumeration of Martyrs given in the first paragraph has its importance, because it has been copied by *Ribadeneira* (ed. 1786, p. 405), lib. iii, cap. x, and from him by other martyrologists, who have considered that this "priest executed at Norwich" must have been a Martyr separate from any other known to us by name. But on comparing Verstegan's series of names with our "official list," it will be seen that the Martyr described is presumably Pormort. His name is not otherwise mentioned, and the place where this "priest at Norwich" is entered, is just where Pormort's name should have been found, as he died in February after the martyrdoms of Gennings and his companions. I am, however, unable to explain why Norwich is assigned as the place of his execution instead of St. Paul's Churchyard, nor can I give any particulars of Mr. Grey.

Right Reverend . . . There were executed about Christmas 3 priests, and 4 laymen for receiving them: the names of the Priests were Mr Jenings, Mr Eustace Whyte, and Mr. Paul Blasden: 2 of the laymen were gents: the one named Swithin Wells the other Bryan Lacy, the other twain were serving men, whose names I have not. Since which time there hath been a priest executed at Norwich, and one Mr Grey, in whose house he was taken, is sent vnto the tower. The last month was one Mr. Patteson a priest executed at Tyburn, for receiving of whom one of the gents before mentioned is fled away.

This Mr. Patteson the night before he suffered being in a dungeon in Newgate with seven prisoners that were condemned for felony he converted and reconciled six of them, to whom also he ministred the sacrament, which the seventh remayning an heretic in the morning vttered. They were all executed together, the six died Catholic, which made the officers to be the more fierce and cruell unto the priest, who was cut down and bowelled being perfectly alive. No priests are suffered to speak at their deaths, but so soon as they are dead, Topclif in an oration unto the people faineth the cause to be for the assisting the intended invasion of the realm, and to that end he fixeth also papers upon the gallows or gibbet.

* This will have been Brian Lacey.

The afflicted state of Catholics was never such as now it is, and therefore it is high time to sollicite the redress thereof. Some other things I could signifie, which for want of more secure means of wryting I will omite. . . .

Antwerp this* of March 1592.

Your Fatherhoods assured Servitor

R. Verstegan

5 of march. I have expected these 3 days past to hear from F. S. but the wind seemeth contrary &c.

Addressed.—Al molto R^do^ in X^o^ il P. Roberto Personio della . . . gnia di Giesu [. . .] a Validolid o Madrid.

Endorsed by F. Persons.—Mr. Verstingham of the Martyrs 5 Martii 1592.

(ii)

To appreciate the significance of the following paper, one must bear in mind that the object of the writer was not to give currency to scandal against Queen Elizabeth, but to show what a rascal Topcliffe was. The charges were given, we see, to members of the court, and did not come into the hands of Catholics till much later, nor indeed did they ever publish them against the Queen. But Topcliffe was, as has been said, the dominating spirit at this period of the persecution. It was he who, before the Council, the courts and the people, produced the evidence on which the Martyrs' lives were taken. Prudence advised them to expose his untrustworthiness as well as in their weakness they could. In effect Topcliffe was disgraced for a short time in 1595, and even imprisoned, and his power was afterwards abridged. It is not impossible that the representations of Pormort contributed to this result. He had made the charges openly at the bar, stating that "Topcliffe had said unto him that he had used very secret dealing with the Queen, and had seen her bare above the knee. This Topcliffe spoke to Mr. Pormort when he thought to have persuaded him to recant, in hope to come to preferment by Topcliffe's means, being as it might seem by that action in great favour with her Majesty." At his execution Pormort "was enforced to stand in his shirt almost two hours upon the ladder in Lent time upon a very cold day, when Topcliffe still urged him to deny the words, but he would not" (*Acts of English Martyrs*, p. 120, from Stonyhurst, *Anglia*, vi, 117. This is an independent account by James Yonge or Younger, which confirms the main points of the following paper).

We see, therefore, that Pormort did not allege Topcliffe's words to be true. The charge was that he did utter them. Topcliffe, not Elizabeth, was the person incriminated. He was notorious as a coarse braggart, lewd as well as mendacious, and here was one more proof.

Again we may note, that, if we descend to details, the authenticity of the statements cannot be considered strong. Verstegan tells us little of the original from which he copied. But this does not invalidate the document, for the age was uncritical, and very few adverted to the necessity for full and accurate references. Taking this paper together with Younger's, quoted above, there can be no doubt that Pormort was entirely convinced of the truth of his allegations.

So far as Elizabeth's reputation is concerned, it can be little affected by Topcliffe's talk. There will be but few nowadays who will take his word for proof. But unfortunately there are other matters on record, which, if not exactly of the same kind, are perhaps in other respects rather worse.

* Blank in MS.

To say nothing of court scandal, which it might be hard to substantiate, or of certain rough manners, such as "nipping" or "kittling" a favourite, a lack of restraint for which her age would not have condemned her severely, and which may explain the origin of Topcliffe's vaunts, we have two letters from Topcliffe to her. The one is addressed to her as his "goddess," the other actually asks her "pleasure" for the torturing of the sweet poet Robert Southwell, whom he desires to hang up in the gauntlets, and he even pictures for his correspondent the writhings of the victim. "It will," he says, "be as though he were dancing, a 'trick' or figure at 'trenchmore.'" The leave was given, the torture inflicted, and the patient Martyr declared on his trial that he would rather have endured ten deaths than pains so exquisite. *

The letters are in the British Museum, Lansdowne MSS., lxxii, 39 (printed in Strype, *Annals*, iv, 9, Foley, i, 354, *Rambler*, 1857, i, p. 116), and Harleian MSS., 6698, f. 184. See Morris, *Life of J. Gerrard*, p. 227; Jessopp, *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, 1878, p. 63.

These letters do not substantiate the truth of Topcliffe's boasts in regard to the precise character of the improprieties mentioned. But they show that there was a very objectionable understanding between them, and they help us greatly to understand why Pormort should have stood so firm in his report of Topcliffe's speeches.

A copy of certain notes written by Mr Pormort Priest and Martir, of certaine speeches used by Top[clif] unto him whyle he was prisoner in the house and custody of the said Topclif. The which notes were since delivered to Wade one of the clarcks of the counsel, and by him shewed to the co[unsel] in november last 1592. †

1. Topclif said that all the Stanleyes in England are to [be] suspected to be traitors.

Whitegift§ of Canterbury was god father unto the said Mr. Pormort.

2. Item Topcliffe offred (this priest) his liberty, yf he would say that he was a bastard of the Archbishop's of Canterbury, [or] that the Archbishop had maintayned him beyonde the seas.

Item [he, *cancelled*] Topcliff told (vnto the said priest) that he was so [MS. torn] familiar with her maiestie that he many tymes putteth [MS. torn] betwene her brests and pappes and in her neck.

That he hathe not only scene her legges and knees [. . .] with his hands above her knees.

That he hathe felt her belly, and said unto her maiestie that she h[ath] the softest belly of any woman kynde.

That she said unto him: "Be not thease the armes, legges and body of king Henry?" To which he answered: "Yea."

That she gave him (for a favour) a whyte linnen hose wroughte with whyte silke etc.

That he is so familliar with her that when he pleaseth to speake with her he may take her away from any company, and that she [is] as pleasant with every one that she doth love.

* For other cases of Elizabeth's interest in Topcliffe's barbarities, see below Nos. lxix, lxxvii, lxxix.

† 1592 has been altered by a later hand to 1593.

§ Pormort had taken the name Whitgifte as an alias (see before p. 189).

That he did not care for the Counsel, for that he had his authoritie from her Maiestie.

That the Archbishop of Canterbury was a fitter counselor [in] the kitchin amonge wenches then in a Prince's courte. And to Justice Yonge the said Topclif said that he would hang th[e] Archbishop and 500 more, yf they were in his hands.

Addressed.—Al Padre Personio.

Endorsed.— . . . . . Topcliffe's speeches 1592.

(iii)

✠

In Antwerp the 3 of August 1592.

About the 10 of last month Mr Roger Ashton was drawn hanged and quartered at Tyburn: there was present at his execution their Bishop of Bristow, who willed him to desire the people to pray with him; whereunto he answered, that he desired such Catholics as were present to pray for him, but the prayers of the others he requyred not, because they could do him no good. He was charged by Topclif that he had been a principal actor in the delivery of Deuenter, and that he had taken a pension of the King of Spain, and moreover that he had practised with dyvers fugitive traitors beyond the seas. He answered that he was not any principal actor in the delivery of Deuenter, and confessed that he had a pension of the King of Spain. "For," quoth he, "I being a younger brother had only 5 pounds annuity by year, and yt pleased the King to give me 25 crownes the month." But that he had ever practised treason with any fugityve he denied, saying further that he did never among them hear any talke of treason.* He was willed to pray for the Queen, and so he did, and was bid farewell by diuers of his acquaintance, and so died very resolutely making profession of his faith, nevertheless he was not exclaimed on, but rather pitied of the people in such sort as the lyke in this time hath not been seen. . . .

F. Southwell was apprehended at one m^r^ Bellamys 15 miles from London, about the 12 of July, he came thither but the nyght before, and by a name that before that time he had not used. And Topclif coming thither to apprehend him asked for him by the same name, which argueth that he was betrayed by some of that house. Moreover Topclif did will the gentlewoman of the house (for her husband was absent) to tell him where the secret was wherein he was conveyed, and she answered that she knew no such place. "Then," quoth he, "I do." And so he went directly vnto the place.

* Ashton seems to have been commissioned by Sir William Stanley to ask Cardinal Allen to write in defence of the surrender of Deventer; at all events Allen's *Defence* is ushered in by a letter written with that purpose, and signed R. A., under which it seems natural to recognise our Martyr. This was probably his worst offence, from a political point of view, against Elizabeth's government (Allen's *Defence of Stanley*, ed. Heywood, Chetham Society, 1851, p. 3). When he denied having practised, or even having heard of "treason" against the Queen, he no doubt meant plotting against her life, of which he had been recklessly accused by the Crown lawyers.

Topclif carried the Father with him to his own house in Westminster, and there he hath exceedingly tormented him at four several tymes, both by hanging by the hands and otherwise, demanding of him whether he were not a Jesuit & whether his name were not Southwell, whether he were not employed there for the Pope and King of Spain. The Father refused to answer to any thing, saying that if he should tell them any thing at all, yet would they not leaue to torment him to know more: yea to know more than himself did know. Whereupon one of the examiners did ask him whether he would confess yf ever he had been in Pauls. The Father answered that he would not confess that neither, because he could confesse nothing unto them but they would still infer further matter upon it, and seek to get from him more than he knew. Vpon this he was hanged by the hands against a wall many hours together, and Topcliffe left him hanging and so went abroad.

After he had been a long while absent one of his seruants perceiuing the father to be in a swoon, or in some danger to give the ghost, called him hastely home again to let him down for that time.

Because the often exercise of the rack in the Tower was so odious, and so much spoken of of the people, Topclif hath authority to torment priests in his own house, in such sort as he shall think good, whose inhuman cruelty is so great as he will not spare to extend any torture whatsoever. Our Lord of his infinite mercy strengthen and comfort this good father and all such as shall fall into his merciless hands. . . .

Addressed.—To Fr. Robert Parsons, Madrid.

Endorsed by F. Persons.—Mr. Verstinghams advises from Antwerp 3 Augusti 1592.

LXVII.

THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON TO LORD BURGHLEY

(i)

31 July, 1592

British Museum, Harleian MSS., 6995, *n.* 76, f. 89.

[Autograph postscript to a letter dated Durham 31 July 1591.]

Of the two Seminaries taken in Newcastle, one that is Lampton was executed. But Waterson* is yet stayed, upon his suit made to the Judges, and me to have conference with some learned.

Your L^ps^ most assured.
H. Huntingdon.

[With further postscript to ask favour for the bearer, who is an "honest" man, and inward with Papists in Newcastle.]

(ii)

17 October, 1592

British Museum, Harleian MSS., 6,995, *n.* 94.

I feare your lordship maie somwhat mislike my lonnge silence, but knowinge that you were advertised of all thinges doen at Newcastell and Duresme where the Bushop and diverse in Commission did

* The date of Edward Waterson's death is given by Challoner as 7 January, 1593.

accompanie me, I have spared to trouble your Lordship with my lettres, because synce then I had not suche matter to write of as I desiered and have laboured for, whereof this hath bin speciallie one thinge viz. to have taken three principall Caterpillers, and sedicious seducers of hir Maiesties subiects in these partes, by whom most of the Seminaries here scattered be directed, and on whom our principle Recusants doe chieflie depend, their natures in the paper enclosed your Lordship shall reade.* Trulie Syr, I have endevoured in the beste sorte I could to doe that which hir Maiestie commaunded in everie respecte, and as allreadie some good hath bin doene in everie place, soe surelie noe doubte, muche more good wilbe doen, yf the hope which is conceaved of great favour to be obteined, take not place. For be they frustrated once of that, noe doubte your Lordship shall see, to your Comfort, a thorowe yeldinge in outward obedience of the stouteste and grettest recusants here. It is not my opinion onlie, which I am bold thus to deliver to your Lordship, but the wyseste that ioyne in this service with me, are of the same minde. Thus hopeinge shortlie to see your Lordship myself, for this tyme I take my leave, and committ your Lordship to the Lord Jesus.

ffrom yorke this xvijth of october 1592.

Your L^{ps} moste Assuered
H. Huntingdon

Names of ye principal Recusants

Smith	Dudley	William Mushe
Thwayts	Stafferton	Atkinson
Nelson	Frankish	Bakehouse
Crawford	Jackson	Sewel
Johnson	Clynche	Pickering
◦ Hemsworth	Pattison	Norley supposed to be a Jesuite
◦ Parker	Graie	
◦ Anlabie	Holtby	Anthony Trollop, son of John Trollop, supposed to be a Seminary
Pullein	Samuel	
Boast	John Mushe	

Addressed.—To the R^{t} honorable my verie good Lord the Lord Treasurer of England.

LXVIII.

MR. JUSTICE YOUNG TO THE LORD KEEPER, SIR JOHN PUCKERING

23 December, 1592

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccxliii, *n.* 93.

This letter gives us a lively picture of the miseries suffered by prisoners even in the Marshalsea, one of the easier places of confinement. "Ric: Stone," as we hear, had "objected certain Speeches & matters" against two fellow-prisoners, and the objections dated 30 September, 1592, may be read at p. 275 of *Domestic Calendar*, 1591–1594. Faukes and Webster, forsooth, are represented as having actually grumbled against Elizabeth

* This paper is now missing. It will be noticed that in the list given in the postscript three names have points opposite to them, yet they are not names which are specially well known.

and her persecutions, the most objectionable words being the wish that "God or the Devil would fetch her ere long," saying that "if the Spaniards landed they would find plenty to follow," and that "if the Catholics thought Elizabeth would live 20 years more, it would kill their hearts"; and these words were alleged to have been uttered from three months to a year before.

Even in that age serious action would rarely have been taken upon matters so unimportant, but here, as it happens, we are able to trace an external cause for the prosecution of further inquiries. It appears that one Renold Bisley had been employed by some of the English exiles to take messages into England from various persons, and in particular from Hugh Owen, who was in the service of Spain, and against whom Elizabeth's Government was naturally suspicious. It was rumoured that Bisley had once carried a letter about some plot against Elizabeth's life, but as he was in the sequel taken into Elizabeth's service, the authority for this rumour must have been trivial (*Calendar*, 1594, pp. 162, 298, 371).

There was, moreover, yet another complication. Phelippes, the decipherer (who had contributed so much to bring Mary Stuart to the block), was in difficulties with his subordinate spies. One of these, who was then going by the name of Sterrell or St. Main, had had dealings with Bisley, and believed himself to have been somehow taken in by him, and was now anxious out of revenge "to get something by these two knaves [Bisley and Cloudesley] that had so often cosened him" (*Calendar*, p. 164). On the other hand Bisley, who had been arrested by July, 1592, was already beginning to win Phelippes' confidence, and, as has been said, eventually succeeded completely, was freed (8 September, 1593) and rewarded by Elizabeth.* But in July, 1592, Phelippes was still very doubtful about his captive, and has written under the abstract of his examination, "He [Bisley] will, as others have done, make his profit of me at one thing or other. Query." It was no doubt with a view to settle some of these sordid squabbles that Phelippes wished Webster to be examined, for he suspected him of having received letters from Bisley. There is still a note of the interrogatories which he wished to be proposed to Webster, "as to his acquaintance with Bisley and Birkett [the future archpriest] and receiving letters through them" (*Calendar*, p. 297).

Amidst much, therefore, that is obscure, we see the persecutors, apparently for no better reason than to advance the vile intrigues of spy against spy, making use of Stone's mean tale-bearing in order to subject Webster and Faukes to the ordeal of examination under torture. Both denied the truth of Stone's reports, and Faukes persevered in this denial even amid tortures. Webster, a Catholic schoolmaster, who had already endured ten years imprisonment for his religion (*C.R.S.*, ii, 231), on being asked about Renold Bisley, ingenuously confessed his dealings with George Beesley, the Martyr. In the opinion of the Attorney-General this was enough "to touch his life," and, moreover, the same legal authority "gathereth *by presumptions* that he is guiltie of the accusations against him." So here the inquisitors paused until they should learn from court whether their brutalities were to be carried further. Presumably they were ordered to continue, for Webster was transferred to Bridewell, the ordinary place for torture at that time (*Calendar*, p. 310). Next April he was examined again (Strype, iv, 256). In 1595 he was back in the Marshalsea, and remained there till the end of Elizabeth's reign (*C.R.S.*, ii, 285, 288).

* After which his name absolutely disappears from the *Calendars*, as if he had really been imposing on Phelippes all the while.

Righte Honourable myne humble duety remembred. Yt may please your Lordship to bee advertised that Mr. Bowyer and I have taken paynes in the Examininge of Ric. Webster and Robert Vaukes, and did first seeke by all meanes to drawe from them quickly & curteously what could bee done for her Maiesties service without Torture. and the said Webster confessed that hee was maried in the marshalsea about three or foure yeares past by George Bisley the prieste, a notorious executed traytour, and that hee gave the said Bisley for his paynes ij s. vj d. And hee saieth that about a yeare or two after, Bisley came to this examinate to see him, and his wife did make the said Bisley a Cawdell, and when he had eaten it hee wente his waye.

The said Fawkes confesseth that about three or foure yeares paste before hee was committed to prison hee gave to one Forreste a priest a gray nagge with saddle and bridle, which hee delivered to the said priest at an alehouse in Stoke in the county of Northampton, and hee heard about vi or vij yeares past that the said priest was aboute Harborowe.

And the said Webster and Faukes being examined concerninge the speeches and matters obiected against them by Ric. Stone they doe both flatly denye them, whereupon wee did putt Fawkes to the torture for awhile but could not by any meanes drawe any further matter from him, and as for Webster wee thought good to acquainte Mr. Attorney with his voluntary confession before wee would putt him to the torture, and Mr. Attorney is of opynion that he hath confessed yneughe to touche his life, and gathereth by presumpcions that he is giltie of the accusacions againste him, and so the matter as yet resteth. As for Brownell, hee is so sicke that we cannott deale with him untill he waxe stronger. And thus havinge advertised your Honour of our whole doinges, I humbly take my leave prayeing God to bless your Lordship with health and much encrease of honour.

London this xxiijth of December 1592.

Your honours most assured to commaunde

Ryc: Young.

Addressed.—To the Right Honourable my very good Lord, The Lord Keeper.

Endorsed.—Mr. Justice Young of Webster's confession, & Fawks Examinacion.

LXIX.

THE CAPTURE OF JOHN BOSTE

11 September, 1593

British Museum, Lansdowne MSS., lxxv, *n.* 22.

(i)

The First Examination

Apud Dunelm.
11º Septembris 1593.
Presentibus
- The Lord President
- Mr. Deane of Durham
- Sr William Bowes
- Charles Hales
- Raphe Rookebie

John Boste then examined being of the adge of aboute 50 yeres.

Confesseth that aboute xiij yeres synce, he departed from Oxford to the partes beyond the seas, and that within a yere and an half after his departure, he was made prieste at Rhemes, by the Busshop of Laon, or the Busshope of Soissons or bothe, and that about the yere and halfe's ende, after his said departure, he retourned ageine to England, at which time there came alsoe 25 other priestes awaie from Rhemes, whereof Ballard was one, what his viaticum was he cannot remember, but he had iiij^{or} crownes thereof lefte at his arrivall in England. He saieth, that he arrived at Hartlepoole, and then without anie greate staie he repaired Southward.

And confesseth that since his arrivall, he never departed the realme, savinge at divers tymes into Scotland, in which realme he was some tyme at Edenbrough, some tyme at the Lord Seatons, some tyme at Fernehurst and at other places, and these five yeres he never was in Scotland.

And he confesseth that this laste yere he was never out of England, nor forthe of Yorksheire, Busshoprick, and Northumberland.

And he confesseth that within these five laste yeres, he hathe bin by a moneth to gether in Yorksheir. He confesseth that he hathe saied Masse, but when or howe manie he will not confesse he hathe saied. Yeat he confesseth that, if he saied not everie daie a Masse, it was against his will. He alsoe saieth he is an Englisheman borne at Dufton in Westmerland.

John Boste.

Vera Copia

H. Huntyngdon

Endorsed.—The Examinacion of John Boste 11° Septembris 1593.

(ii)

THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON TO LORD BURGHLEY

British Museum, Harleian MSS., 6996, *n.* 19, f. 37.

I have receaved bothe your Lordships lettres the one dated the xxijth thother the xxvth of the laste moneth. By the firste, I doe, to my great comfort perceave, that hir Maiestie pleaseth to give me thanks for the takeing of *Boast*. I have bin often and greatlie abused by those which I have trusted for the takeinge of him, but I thanck God that nowe at the laste, I have obteined him to hir Maiestie's likeing.

By the second I see it is hir Highnes' pleasure that he should be sent thither with safetie soe closelie as maie be, for which I have taken the best order I canne; and I hope it wilbe faithfullie performed accordinge to my direccion. I thinke I maie be assured, that he shalbe at his firste night's lodging before he be myssed here. And syns he was first taken tooe of my owne servants, which was at the takeinge of him, have allwaies attended him, and be parte of that companie which is chardged with convoie of him this journey: but I have speciallie commaunded the pursivant, for that he is hir Maiestie's sworne servant to be with him allwaies, throughe the hole journey, and untill some other order be taken not to departe from him.

I praie God hir Maiestie maie at the laste have all the principalls of his faction and societie, if the hole rabble of them cannot be gotten, or driven out of the land; which were to be wished, for none doe more impeache the happie government of hir Maiestie, then these wicked Seminaries and Jesuits doe, whoe under the pretence of holiness, plante chieflie treason, and treacherous conceits ageinst hir Maiestie in the hartes of those subiects, with whom they doe prevaile.

This your Lordship knoeth better then I canne tell you yeat I am bolde to touche it, and to lett your Lordship knowe, that for this cause I have bin carefull allwaies, to cutt them shorte, within my chardge, so muche as in me did lye, and mind still soe to continewe, tyll I be commaunded the contrarie, for he that [? knoeth, *cancelled*] loveth hir Maiestie and tendereth hir safetie canne doe no other (as I thinke) if he desire to doe well.

Uppon this Texte I have verie manie tymes discoursed (I will not saie preached) unto the Justices and others here within my chardge, and I could wishe (if it soe liked hir Maiestie) and my Lords of hir Counsaill, all we which serve abroade in the realme might be once ageine streightlie warned for our receavinge of suche guests, or winkinge and slacke dealinge, when we heare where they doe haunte: suche an admonicion will quicken our dulle spirites, and manifest the contynuance of hir Maiestie's goodnes. Your Lordship will pardon my boldness, and to your wisdome I leave the reste.

I cannot well certifie your Lordship (as in your laste lettre you require) what the some is of the stipend which is paied to the *Ladie Margaret Nevile* [Daughter to ye Earl of Westmerland, one of ye Heads of ye Northern Rebellion in ye year 1569 *Foot-note in a different hand*] or by whom the same is paied, for it was a thing spoken in my hearinge at *Durham*, but by whom I doe not remember. I shall write to Mr. *Saunderson* to aske of hirself. Till the receipte of your Lordships last lettre, I thought your Lordship did better knowe this matter then he that spake of it, and therfore I gave the lesse heede therto. Thus ceasinge anie further to trouble your Lordship, I committ the same to the mercifull proteccion of the Allmightie.

From Yorke this second of October 1593.

your L^ps^ most affured
H. Huntyngdon.

Addressed.—To the R. Honorable my verie good Lord the Lord Treasurer of England. *Endorsed*, &c.

(iii)

Postscript to a Letter from Richard Topcliffe to Sir John Puckering

10 October, 1593

Record Office, State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccxlv, *n.* 124.

The letter is dated "At the Court thys x^th^ of October 1593. Your Lo. humbly at Commandment Ryc. Topclyffe." It recommends the bearer, Henry Alred, for the Vicarage of Marneham, in Nottinghamshire (yearly value v^li^ or vi^li^). Topcliffe also praises Alred's brother (? Solomon Aldred).

Postscript.—The Lord Treasurer and Sir Robert Cycell bee ridden this morninge to Wymelton &c. Sir Robert Cycell, Sir Jhon Woollye, and myself, (by her Maiestie's commandment,) to attende them, were with Boaste ye Northerne Preest yesterday to examyn him. Since ther Honors knew the world they never hearde a more resoluyt Traitor, for he saiethe that he is

1. sorry ther is not xx^{ty} preests for every one Popish preest in England.

2. That he hathe not woone to ye Church Catholicke, xx^{ty} for every one. That he loves the Quene and will tayke her part, if the Pope of him self send an army ageinst her Maiestie. Butt if ye Pope by his Catholyck auctorytee do proceede ageinst her to depryve her as an herityck, Then he cannot erre, nor ye Churche, then Catholyks must obbey the Churche, &c. Full of treason as ever wretche was; I dare say they learned to knowe more of a Traitors dispocytion then ever they knewe before. And never heard a Traitor ledd to his haunts better on the borders than I ledd hym. He must to the Tower. But I would your Lordship and my Lord Chamberlayn spent one afternowne with him before. I chardged him with accompanying with Ballerd a lytell before he was taken, & he could not deny it. There is a spy out of ye Northe to learne news of Boast, &c.

Endorsed by Puckering.—Mr. Toplif about Bost the preest.

LXX.

THE TRANSFER OF BOSTE TO WINDSOR

15 October, 1593

Record Office, Pipe Office, Declared Accounts, 542, roll 193a.

To William Nevell gent., upon the Councils warrant dated at Windsor xv^{to} Octobr 1593 for the charges and pains of himself and five others in his company for bringing up one John Boaste a Seminary Priest apprehended in the North parts by the Earl of Huntingdon Lord President there, and for their horsemeat diet and lodging and for coming and returning the sum of x^{li}.

LXXI.

TOBIE MATHEW, DEAN OF DURHAM, TO LORD BURGHLEY

16 October, 1593

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz. Additional*, xxxii, *n.* 89.

Right Honorable, my very good Lord . . . Those two late letters Righte Honorable which I receaved from your L. thone touching the acceptance of my second in the cause of thearle Bothuell, thother concerning my reddinesse against Seminarie Priestes and suche like, were so favourably and beningly written as in verie truthe I must confesse, I knowe neither howe to beginne nor where to ende in yealding your L. suche condigne thankes, as my dutifull heart beareth me witnesse, that I owe and vowe to your good L.

Mr. Atkinson hath made too muche of my little in that mater, him selfe in dede dealt verie circumspectly in Boste's apprehension, and seemeth a man of sufficient discretion, courage and experience, to be emploied in that kinde, in suche a countrey as this, if he be considered as he expecteth, & his nede requireth, which mought happly be some encouragement to him and others to adventure to advaunce the like services hereafter.

Howbeit I could have wisshed he would rather have only followed the dewe of his oune desert then therewithall to have taken upon him to censure so grave learned and reverend a man, for slacknesse or slownesse in his proceedings. Full little knoweth thone what the other maie be forced sometymes to forbeare to doe. And as your Lordship doth moste wisely and rightly ponder what is the meetest meane to amend that amisse, if anie suche were: So shall I, upon the signification thereof receaved from your Lordship in your said last letter (yet as of my selfe and not otherwise) handle the same according to my dutie with all the good maner I can, as occasion shalbe offered. Trewe it is, for all my Lord Bushop's care and diligence, which is muche more then some wolde have it seeme: for all my Lord Presidents travaile and charge, which is verie great and continuall: for all the direction and commandment of Lawe, which is as muche as wisdome and policie can devise: for all thexhortacions and executions therof from your Lordship, and other the Lords of her Maiesties most Honorable Privie Counsell, which are as effectuall and precise as authoritie in yourselves, or Soveraigntie from her highnes maie prescribe, yet these remote corners it wilbe harde to reduce to an egall conformitie with other Counties and Diocesses nerer about the Court and in the heart of the Realme. Howbeit I should conceave good hope the brunt were nowe past, in case this late Commission of Enquirie against the Wyves and Servants of Recusants, when it shalbe retourned up to your Lordships maie not be suppressed, or by respect of persons uneavenly handled, but dewly executed, yea and as thes tymes and this place require, more severely prosecuted with effect according to the statute, without suche Intercessions and Mediations from above, as hertofore have drawen on great inconvenience both to Religion and the Realme. If myne eares and myne eies were not greved herewith, my penne should not blott the paper at this present. *Sed expertus loquor*, and I could name the particulers. But I will only saie with the Prophet Jeremie, Myne eie breaketh my heart.

And as to the Schedule of names included in your L. letter, amonge some other pettie mistakings of him that did present it to your Lordship, one great error I dare saie there is touching Mr. Ewbanke, supposed to have had speache with Boste about Julie last. Pleaseth it your good Lordship to licence me somewhat particularly to saie both of the mater and of the man. I knowe the man well and have knowen him long: he is verie honest, learned, sounde and painefull in his Charge, as well thought of as anie of his coate and calling here. He with his owne brother and with his curate about seaven yeares sithence, not without the Danger of his life did apprehend Bernard Pattenson (the first Seminarie priest that ever hand was laid on

herabout) together with Thomas Trollopp a base begotten desperat and dangerous fellow, who caried in a cloke bagge on his horse behind him the priests massing vestments bookes &c. The priest and his Man he caried to Yorke upon his own Charge, where Pattenson brake the Castle and made escape, Trollop afterward being here indicted upon that felonie remaineth still in the Gaole of Duresme unexecuted, I see not howe.

Before or nere about the tyme aforesaide, Mr. Ewbanke, by my Lord Presidents allowance and appointment, not without my privitie I must confesse, had conference once with Boste and was in some hope to have brought him to his Lordships hande, the rather for that in their youthe they had been Chamber fellowes in the Quenes College in Oxford, and were countrymen, and had been scholefellowes before in Westmorland. But Boste growing ielous of his safetie, they never mett since as Mr. Ewbanke protesteth depely, untill Boste was nowe taken, where Mr. Atkinson knoweth Mr. Ewbanke was present by my special direction, and behaved him selfe so consideratly, as without him and his man, Boste percase, had not been gotten at that instant. I will saie no more, nor this neither to lessen the merite of Mr. Atkinson, or of anie other therin used by my Lord President, but only to testifie Mr. Ewbankes fidelitie, and to justifie his reddinesse and aptnesse to her Maiesties service. Whereof (if your Lordship doe doubt and will trie the truthe further), I shall cause him to waite upon your Lordship, with what spede you please, to discharge himself of the former imputacion, and to saie that to your Lordship of Boste, that all men peradventure cannot charge him with.

I have importuned your Lordship over-longe: but your Lordships extraordinarie favour and goodnes towardes me is the cause thereof. Wherefore I will here take my humble leave, yet not leaving daily and howrely to praie to God for your Lordships longe and prosperous continuance, to the comfort of her Maiestie, and desire of all her faithfull subiects. At Duresme 16 of October 1593.

Your L. most humble & most bounden
Tobie Mathew

Addressed.—To the right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England, at the Courte.

Endorsed.— 16 oct. 1593. Deane of Durham to my L.

LXXII.

ANTHONY ATKINSON'S INFORMATION

24 October, 1593

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccxlv, *n.* 131.

24° octobris 1593 byshoppryck of Durham

Enstruccions for your Honour

Medcalf a preist said Mass att ye Waterhouse att one Claxtons house a recusant who is in prison and y^r^ were present att ye Mass ye 12 and 13 of Julye 1593—George Errington Nycholas Bridges, Francis Eglisfeild and many others.

Boost did say Maſs att ye said Waterhouse ye v^th^ of August 1593 in y^t^ componye and many gentlewomen. Upon Sonnday ye 26 of

August 1593 one Lee *alias* Stapfourth a preist and one y^t^ sarveth ye Ladye Graye, one of ye Earle of Westmerland dawghters and last wife of Sir Thomas Graye, said Mass at ye Waterhouse in ye company of ye said Ladie Gray, Ladye Margarett Nevell her sister, ye wife of one Wattson, Mrs. Anne Lee, Francis Eglisfeild and others. Vernon a preist dothe kepe companye with all theise persons, and he is chaplen to Josephe Connstable, and remaynes most at Kirtley knowle, a house of ye said Connstable in Yorkshier.

Walles ye poostmaster of Durham is in ye like manner.

John Carr ye post master of Newcastell in Julye 1592 did resave and harbor Boost Dudleye and a nother Semanarye preist and knewe theme. And ye said Carr ded buy and provide certen thinges for Boost and sent him to ye Waterhouse, or to East Brandon at Charles Hedworth's house.

Upon Thursday ye 30th of August 1593 Davy Englebye and George Errington ded harbor all night at one Wilfride Lee house in Bushoprick.

The vth of September 1593 Davy Englebye, Thomas York, William Norton and two others not knowne rode by Peares brige, and had everye man a case of pistolls.

Yorkshier.

At Rainscroft a litle from Rippon at Mrs. Ardington house, she beinge sister to Davye Englebie dothe harbor hym and sonndrie preists and other recusants.

Yorkshere & Northumberland.

Also one Mr. Nycolson, Mrs Pudzaie, Mrs. Gascoyne, Mrs. Witham, Mrs. Lambartt, Mrs. Bowmer, Mrs. Crathorne, all dwellinge within tenn myles of Peares bridge dothe harbor bothe preists and all other recusants: and ye said Nycolson is supposed to have some great somme of monye, y^t^ comes oversea for reliefe of ye nedfull papists.

Mr. Ratcliff of Darnton and Mrs. Ellerington of ye same in Northumberland are ayders of preists, and likewise Mr Ratcliff of Mowgray in Yorkshier.

Westmerland and Combreland

Y^e^ names of suche as favours and aydes preists.

Mrs. Mydleton of Leighton, Mrs. Kirkbie dwelling about Fornas [Furness]. William Beaslie dwelling about Cartmell. Richard Cole of Cartmell. Robert Ward about Cartmell, who was cooke to ye Lord Pagett. Richard Tailler of Lyndall in Cartmell hathe a boatt and he

This Haven in Westmerland.

dothe often convey from Milne-throppe haven bothe preists and bad persons into ye hele of Man or Scotlande, when any Searche is made for any preists or Recusants.

And when any Searche is maid in Yorkshier, Bvshopprick, Northumberland, Comberland, Westmerland and Lancashier ffor any papist preist, then eyther they ar conveyed into Caves in ye grownd or secrett places not possible to ffeind theme. And, further some ffleethe into Darbieshier into ye Hie Peeke, and ther is one Robartt Eyre a Justice of Peace onely for y^t^ County, and he ffavoringe his brother Robart Eyre and many of his kynsmen y^t^ ar Recusants geves warnning when any searche is pretended, and so makes theme ffle into y^e^

mounteynes in ye Peeke country, where ye papists have harbors in ye Stony Rockes, and then ar releved by shippards, so y^t^ y^t^ Country is a Sanctuary ffor all wycked men, and is more used of late than ever was in respect of y^t^ Justice of Peace. Butt he hathe moe ffellowes y^t^ are under ye Poopes dispensation, which may do any thing to ye ayd of Papists, eyther go to ye churche or be in Authoryty or obey any commaundment uppon saffgard of liff, landes, or goodes. Suche matters ye Papists hathe (*sic*) amongst theme to increase ther number, whiche is devised by a pollocy to prevent ye knowledge of ye nomber of y^t^ Religion.

The xth of September 1593 I tooke John Boost ye preist, who said Mass at ye said Waterhouse: and y^r^ was in his componye ye Ladie Margarett Nevell, her maid, Adylyn Claxston, Mrs. Claxston. Now they ar in Bransbie Castell. Thomas Robinson servant to ye Ladie Graie who is in Yorke Castell.

Anthony Mayor a preist and now in prison at York used muche Boost his Componye, and can saie muche, being examyned.

The Ladie Hilton ded muche use Boost componie and hathe bene often att Mafse in ye Northe.

Thomas Leades, dwellinge upon Peckfeild, [More, *cancelled*] is a papist and harbors manye preists, and y^r^ is a house y^t^ standes nere unto Bugwithe Ferrie. It belongs [to] ye Bushopp of Durham, and she y^t^ is fermer y^r^ of is a wedow dwellinge in Duncaster a Papist, and she dothe harbor preists in hir house.

About Sir Thomas Cornwalles house.

Boost abowt xvii^teen^ yeares past when he went oversea he lay at Brome in Suffolk and had in his Componie one Yaicsleie a [preist, *cancelled*] Papist.

Theer is one Mr. Craik in Yorkshier, a great harborer of Preists, and thousandes moe y^t^ upon certentye can not be named. But ye counteyes of Northumberland, Bushoprick, Comberland, Westmerland and Yorkshier ar muche within theise twoe yeares converted unto popery and especially Westmerland tennants and his freindes.

Davie Englebie hathe married Ladie Ann Nevell second dawghter to ye Earle of Westmerland, and he, havinge many freindes in ye Northe, hopes for a daie of alteracion and rides in Yorkshier and ye Northe parts like Robin Hoode, and in like manner dothe Josephe Connstable and his wife and sonndrie of y^r^ consorts.

The names of ye preists y^t^ are now in ye Northe

1 Dudleye	6 Petfourthe	11 Hemsworth, et	16 Claxston
2 Patteson	7 Dakins	12 Hemsworthe	17 Dugdaile
3 Mydleton	8 Medcalfe	13 Cleborne	18 Pearson
4 Greme	9 Gerrett	14 Ingless	19 Bardhay
5 Lee alys	10 Elwold	15 Typpin	20 Fetherston
	manye more I can not name.		21 Battye

The ix^th^ daie of September 1593 upon demand of me to knowe of him ye said Boost whether he was one y^t^ wrote and sent lettres of intelligence oversea of ye state of England or no, he answeared and said, I am ye man y^t^ beares ye name of suche matters but ther [be] Sonndry preists of my ffunction in ye Northe y^t^ might have bene taken aswel as I am, y^t^ deales more in those matters then I doe, and y^e^

cheiff intelligence gevers of matters of state ar abowt the Courte, and if they weare well loked unto, would be ffownd owt.

And he being moved for Dacres to be some Conspiracy with him answeared me then [? that] he was moved for sonndry causes to deale with him, but suche matters as ded concerne the state he wold ne medle nor come at him, sayeing further he would hereafter tell me what mocions they weare was maid to him abowt Dacres, and upon y^{t} I mayd him promes off ffavour.

And now upon his examynacion he maid no derect or plaine declarance but referred all to one Welton called Nycholas Welton, Lord Welton brother in Northumberland and to one John Whitfeild who sarved Dacres.

Boost makes yt a Conscyence not to accuse no man in matters y^{t} may concern liffe, but if your Honnor will permytt me frome tyme to tyme to have recourse to him I may perhappes learne some more plainly to gett knowledge of things. And if he be used in curtesse manner and not to hardlie punished yt may better perswaid him to open what he knowes, or at least who can open all matters derectlie, all which I do leve to your Honnorable consideracion.

Your honnors to Commaund
Ant: Atkinson.

The Earle of Westmerland, ye Lord Padgett, Sr William Stanley, Dacres and all those Rebbells ar drawne into ye Lowe countries.

Not addressed, but presumably intended for Sir Robert Cecil.

LXXIII.

TWO LETTERS OF FATHER HENRY WALPOLE

3 September, 1593

(i)

To Father Cabredo

From the Autograph in Arch. Gen., S.J.

Partly printed in Yepes, p. 672, who adds that it is addressed to Father Cabredo, the Rector of the Seminary at Valladolid. It should be compared with the farewell letter to the Rector of Seville (Jessopp, *Letters of H. Walpole*, p. 45).

Rd^{o} Padre. ✠

Oy a 3 de Septembre recibi la de V.R. del 24 de Agosto iuntamente con los 4 libros de P. Ribadeneyra los quales en flanndes seran muy agradecibles. Escriuere a Richardo West que mira se ay papel blanco y de buena marca en Bilbao como entiendo que aura, y si sea mas baratto que en Valladolid de embiar algunas rezmas para el Colegio. A mi han dicho que si no compremos vna fardele grande de muchas rezmas iuntos, que no se hallara a mezor precio que alli, y con el porte costara mas.

En flanndes terne cuidado de hazer todo lo que V.R. a mi ha mandado, y tambien en ynglaterra si Dios mi concede libertad y vida, y se no, no dexare entonces de tener memoria de V.R. delante de Dios, a la cuia Diuina magestad supplico a V.R. de encomiendarmi

en las oraciones y sacrificios de su R[a] y de los demas de su Colegio del qual yo indegno son hijo, y asi todo lo que sera de mi sera reputato del Seminario de Valladolid. Plega a Dios que sea de manera que su diuina Magestad sea glorificado, y V.R. y todo el Colegio consuelado. Al P. Gaspar, al P. Richardo, P. Ministro y todos los padres y hermanos nostros, y alumnos muy queridos mis humildes y intimas encomiendas, al P. Personio he scrito mas a la largo en ynglaterra, en [? sua] lingua, y espero la de V.R., aunque no sean [? mas in]teligibiles que estas mias en Romance, aunque [? per ? forse] han de ser a causa de la gramatica. V.R. per amor de Dios mi perdone todas las faltas y me tenga en su alma y coraçon come hijo, porque asi tengo de ser siempre. Amen. Portugalete a 3 de Septembre 1593. Di V.R. sieruo y hijo

[Address not given.] Henr[o] Walpolo

[*Translation*]

✠

Reverend Father. To-day the 3rd of September I received yours of the 24th of August, together with four books of Father Ribadeneira, which will be very welcome in Flanders. I will write to Richard West to see whether there is white paper of good quality at Bilbao, as I hear there is, and if it be cheaper than at Valladolid, to send some reams for the college. I have been told that if we do not buy a big bundle of many reams, we shall not get it at a better price than there, and that with the carriage it will cost more.

I will take care to do in Flanders all that your Reverence has commanded me, and in England, too, if God gives me liberty and life. If He does not, I shall then not fail to remember you before God, to whose Divine Majesty I beg you to commend me in your prayers and Holy Sacrifices, and in those of the rest of your college, of which I am an unworthy son, so whatever comes of me shall be ascribed to the Seminary of Valladolid. I pray God that it may be in such a way that His Divine Majesty may be glorified, and your Reverence consoled with all your college. To Father Gaspar, Father Richard, Father Minister, and all the Fathers and Brothers of our Company, and to my most dear students, my humble and sincere commendations. To Father Persons I have written more fully [? about] England in [? his] tongue, and I hope in that of your Reverence, though they should not be [? more un]intelligible than these letters of mine in Spanish; though [? perhaps] they must be, because of the grammar. Forgive me all faults for God's sake, and keep me in your soul and heart as a son, as I ever take myself to be. Amen. From Portugalete, 3 September, 1593.

Your Reverence's servant and son,

Henry Walpole.

(ii)

To Father Persons

13 November, 1593

Westminster Archives, iv, f. 135.

To judge from the endorsement it seems likely that the first half-sheet is missing.

T & π remain great with H who commends him to you, and they desire your N were in R[s] place which they think more easily obtained than for ↄ his friend, T or other.

I remember your words, but would be glad to have had your opinion in particular if occasion should be, but chiefly I desire your prayers, and holy sacrifices that I may bestow my tyme and life to Gods greatest glory, how and when it shall please his divine majesty to appoint.

It hath been told w y^t ff would be geuen T as dd or such like, if he would vse it. If א hear that w is great friends with ש ם &c. I know he will like it well, and so do I desire he were with all men as S. Paule saith *pacem quam fieri potest habentes cum omnibus.* Some fear צ is ʢ, some not.

By some mens unsecrecy, which I will not name, my iourney is much known, which may breed danger or rather infinite gain to me, that go in so happy a mission and message, though most vnworthy, *legatione fungens pro xpo, ut per eundem obsecrem, et reconciliem Deo.** Wherein if I employ my life, how can I wish to bestow it better. Wherefore R^d Father I humbly thank you upon my knees for so high a fauour obtained and granted, and desire you to demand grace of God for me, that I may be thankful to his divine majestye, and walk always worthily in his presence, in whose business I am now immediately to spend all the days to come of my life. I mean by our youths to write† to Sir Francis, both our Rectors, Ministers and Fathers and friends of those Seminaries, so dear vnto me. But if commodity of passage should offer itself before, I desyre that these may signify my duty, love and most hearty & humble commendations, beseeching them all to remember me in their holy sacrifices and prayers to God, as I hope to be mindful of them for euer and euer. And thus Rd. Father I humbly crave your benediction, and commend you to the eternal love of Jesus.

After I had written thus far, F. Rector cometh here and he showeth himself altogether resolved to sett forward this work what he can, and for the number he saith "On Gods name when there be means let them come an hundreth." And whereas some of the Magistrates have seemed backward, he will reprehend them to their faces and tell them their duty to the K[ing], and how they should be ashamed to be more rude and unciuil or rather uncharitable then they in Doway, France, Spain and Rome. And if that will not serve, will cry out upon them in the pulpit in behalf of God. Some there be which had need be cried [at the fier of . . . . . *MS. torn*].

Also in your next it will be good presently to appoint to F. Flack, F. Smith and F. Bray their seueral charges vnder the new Rector when he cometh, which they will better take from you then from any other, as I perceyve, and perhaps otherwise not be so at their contentment.

This is all which occurreth to me now, and the rest and much of this you shall have from others. Our Lord Jesus direct and bless you and all your holy actions to his greatest glory. I pray you good Father pray for me. S. Omers this 13 of 9^{ber} 1593

Yours all euer.

H. W.

* *cf.* II Cor. v, 20.

† That is the youths for the Seminaries at Valladolid and Seville were to carry the letters.

Before I had a messenger to send this away f. Bray is returned from Nieuport bringing with him vij c. (700) florens and an half, the half of the [? three months . . .]. They of Gant deal not so well with us, who should pay the other half. F. Rector desireth me again and writeth himself to you to moue you in behalf of Mouns. Souastie for the gouernment of Bethuine a town here hard by.

We hope to have a house very commodious and large for 25^{li} by year at Candlemas by fa. Rectors means with a gentleman his friend.

Addressed.—✠ Al Padre Roberto Personio dela Comp^{a} de Jesus.

Endorsed by Father Persons.—F. Hen. Walpole 13 Novemb. 1593 from S. omers.

Endorsed in another contemporary hand.—fa. Henry Walpoles letter to fa. Persons of the 13 of Nov. 1593 concerning the beginning of S. Omers Colledge, with the K's pension for 16, and with subordination to the Walon Rector. About our hauing a College for 25^{l} at Betuyne by Candlemas by means of a friend; of fa. Henry Walpoles going in Mission to England & about fa. Persons booke of Resolution.

LXXIV.

EXAMINATION OF JOHN WHITFIELD

16 November, 1593

British Museum, Harleian MSS., 6998, f. 118.

Though endorsed as "Whitfield's examination, set down by his own hand," this does not seem intrinsically probable. See also Strype, iv, 264–271.

The Sommer before Francis Dacre went forth of Scotland he sent me with a letter to John Boste from the Laird of Bouingedward to Nicholas Tempus of Stella his house, wher I should hear of the said John Bost, ther I did meet with John Whitfeild a Recusant to whom I was directed by Francis Dacre to goe unto for to help me to the speach of Boste. The effect of which letter was, as I do think and as by Francis Dacre I did understand, both to requier his counsell what was best for hym to doe as touching his going into Spain or into Flanders first, and also he desiered his company to have gone with him, but the said John Whitfeild did answere that John Bost did saie unto hym, that if he had knowen Francis Dacres purpose before he had gone forth of England, he could have gotten hym passadg from Newcastell or theraboutes in a ship that had commed laitly out of Flanders to Flanders again before his going out of England, also he showed me a letter sent from John Boste to Nicholas Tempus wife, which did signifie unto her that he was gone out of Bushobrick into the South, and that he would not retourn again for the spaic of half a year. The said John Whitfeild is now at Nicholas tempus house. A messadg came to Francis Dacre when he was in Scotland that he should haisten hymself out of Scotland for ther was no goodnesse meant hym by her Maiestie nor her counsell

John Whitfield is a scooul maister to teach young children to read and write, and he teacheth gentelmen children to play of the lute and citeren and al others. (*Marginal note by Topcliffe.*)

but delay of tyme. He knewe not from whence the messadg came, nether the messinger, but it came from one who was of creditt both with her Maiestie and with the councell, and as he thought it came from my Lord Mountague or some frindes of his in the South. In the Lent before Mr. Dacre went out of Scotland he sent me with a letter out of Scotland from the Laird of Boingedwards his house to his daughter Francis Dacre at Sir Robert Dormers hous in Buckingham shire and with me one Henry Ridley a recusant who is at Thornbrough in Northumberland at this present.

The Messingers name was William tomlinson, who had bene a servant unto Francis Dacre and now dwelleth in Cumberland. (*Same hand as rest of paper.*)

The effect of the letter was cheifly that his daughter should come unto hym in Scotland and that he ment that she should goe with hyme to Spain and ther to be with the duches of feria as he ment. But mistris Dormer would not consent that his daughter should goe, but delivered by his daughter unto me thre messadges sent as tokens from Mistris Dormer to the duches of feria in the behalf of Francis Dacre that she would be a help unto hym in his buusines. Which messadges I delivered unto Francis Dacre and which when he came to the duches of feria I was called to make recitall of the same before her grace. The effect of these said messadgs was by a token that the envite which the duches of feria had of her frindes she had resined it over to her sister the Lady Hungerford; and that envite which the Lady Hungerford had she geven it unto her two men, one Gardiner and one Godsole; and also that she had sent or would send by don Francisco maldonado y figuroa, who had bene a prisoner in England and that he would be there before Francis Dacre could gett to Spain and make it knowen unto the duches of feria that he was coming to Spain. The third token was that Sir Robert Dormer had procured liberty for a man who did belong ether to the duches of feria or to the lady hungerford and sent hym over. [*Autograph Signature*] John Whitfeild.

Francis Dacre told me that before his going forth of England he sent to John Bost for [to] have help hym with a passadg to Flanders; but John Bost refused to speak unto the messinger.

Endorsed.—Whitfeild. Examinacon set downe by his owne hand 16 of Nov. 1593.

Endorsed by Puckering.—about Dacres, bost, Whitfield & al. *Then follows a Summary in Puckering's law French, beginning* "Dacre myt ce depon^{t}," &c., *very hard to decipher.*

LXXV.

FATHER GARNET'S REPORT ON THE MARTYRS OF 1592 AND 1593

Early in 1594

Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, i, *n.* 73, f. 149.

Father Garnet used to send Annual Letters or yearly reports to the Father General in Rome. This is one of the few that have survived. The paper is in several sections. What follows is the part devoted to

the Martyrs. The year-date is evidently 1593–4, and though the report, which is very long, is dated at the end 17 March, the following section may have been written earlier—at the beginning of 1594.

Magnifice Domine, Fuit tum nobis . . .

Habuimus hoc anno martyres nonnullos insignes D. Gulielmum Pormortum Presbyterum, de quo iam antea initio anni [15]92[i] scripsi, qui in [urbibus, *cancelled*] ditione Neapolitana ac Mediolanensi varia fortuna exagitatus, huius mundi vanitatem perspicere, atque eius illecebras contemnere incipiens, in patriam remeare constituit, ibique pro Christo, si ita illi placeret, vitam profundere. Quare regnum ingrediens nihil prius duxit, quam ut cum D. Roberto quem tum Londini esse cognoverat amicitiam laesam quidem antea a se, ut ipse dicebat,*redintegraret, quod item in Italia prius cum nonnullis aliis e nostris hominibus fecerat, factaque illi generali totius vitæ confessione, illius in omnibus sequi consilium nunquam destitit: donec comprehensus ac miserandum in modum cruciatus, denique usque ad sanguinem resistere non dubitavit, de quo plura alio anno scripsi.

Hunc secutus est D. Gulielmius [*sic*] ex antiquis illis Catholicorum temporum Presbyteris, quem nihilominus morti damnarunt, quod Calvini partibus relictis, in quibus Ministri aliquando functus erat officio, Ecclesiæ Catholicæ se aggregasset, atque in bigamia, quam incurrerat, dispensationem obtinuisset.

De D. Josepho Lamptono in ipso regni ingressu comprehenso, ac misere dilaniato, quem Carnifex insolitum illud munus exhorrens, dissecto ventre in medio laniatu destituit aliæ iam litteræ egerunt.

Nuperrime per litteras de alio Presbytero martyre cognovimus, cuius nomen adhuc ignoramus apud Novum Castrum [ut opinor, *cancelled*], palmam consecuto: utrum hoc ipso anno 93° an sub finem præcedentis nihil certi habeo. De huius morte ex illa Provincia scribit Presbyter quidam, eum cum crati impositus esset, nulla ratione loco dimoveri potuisse, quamvis acriter instante atque equum stimulante ac verberante carnifice. Quam rem conspicatus Molendinarius quidam qui equum forte ducebat, quo frumentum portare ad molendinum solitus est:—"Sinite me," inquit, "equum hunc trahæ apponere: hic enim equus eum pertrahet profecto usque Jericho." Factum igitur ita est. Atque equus strenue quidem rhedam per loca lutosa atque aspera ad exiguum intervallum pertrahit. Ubi autem ad viam pulcherrimam ac planissimam ventum est, nullis verberibus cogi potuit, ut vel unum gradum faceret. Quare pedibus martyr ad eum locum pergere coactus est, unde anima evolaret in coelum.

In civitate Wintonensi habitis generalibus comitiis in quadragesima anni 92[i], oblatus est Iudicibus laicus quidam iuvenis eiusdem civitatis civis, cuius Pater adhuc vivit et magistratum in ea urbe iamdudum gesserat. Is accusatur quod Recusans sit. At ille qui iam totius decenarii spatio fere semper in carcere propter hoc videlicet crimen fuisset, ac Londini carceres fere omnes ac flagella ipsa eo nomine

* See p. 189. It may be noticed that Pormort did not sign the declaration of loyalty to the Fathers who governed the English College in 1586, though he was certainly in the College at that time (Foley, vi, 507).

expertus fuisset, de palma illa quam ei Dominus iam præparabat nihil suspicabatur. Tum Andersonus alter ex summis regni Iudicibus duodecim viros convocans, quorum erat de latronibus sententiam suam ferre, ita illos allocutus est.

"Habetis hic Ioannem Birdum Recusantem. Scitis quid sibi velit Recusans. Recusans est qui Ecclesias adire recusat: hoc nemo recusat, nisi qui Ecclesiæ Romanæ sit reconciliatus. Qui autem Ecclesiæ Romanæ reconciliatus est, perduellis ac Proditor est. Iam scitis quid agendum vobis esse videatur."

Ergo illi post modicum secessum pronunciant Iacobum esse perduellem. Illud enim intelligere oportet: posse quidem hæreticos ex lege Anglicana omnes Catholicos morti adiudicare. Nam quicunque confitetur sacerdoti peccata sua absolvitur. Ergo absolvitur potestate accepta a Romana Ecclesia. Atqui hoc capitale est. Solet tamen fere (nisi ubi Dominus aliter disponit), (fol. 149*b*) legem illam mitius interpretari, de prima illa reconciliatione qua ab hæresi quis revertens Ecclesiæ restituitur. Quod si quis asserat se reconciliatum quidem Deo sæpius esse per sacramentum Confessionis, Ecclesiæ autem Romanæ nunquam reconciliatum fuisse, in cuius communione et iam vivat et semper antehac vixisset, hic reconciliationis periculum declinatur, nam reconciliationis nomen adversarii semper inculcare solent.

Tamen quoniam Iacobus iste longo tempore Ecclesias hæreticorum frequentasset, et postea frequentare destitisset (quamvis revera nunquam fortasse extra Catholicam Ecclesiam fuerit, utpote qui in omnibus quoad sciret illius fidem ac præcepta servare potuerit [*sic*]) placuit Domino Iudici ita rem interpretari, ut reconciliatus omnino censeri debuisset. Neque vero repugnavit Iacobus, sed mortis sententiam alacri animo sustinuit. Verum cum diu dilata mors fuisset, ecce adsunt quodam die qui hominem deferant ad supplicium. Descendit gaudio ac voluptate repletus. Sed cum festinus accurreret nuncius, ac diceret differendam adhuc supplicij diem esse, incredibili cum eiulatu in cubiculum revertitur, indignum se vociferans præmio tam singulari. Noluit autem militem suum Dominus tam pio desiderio fraudari; quare ductus tandem ad supplicium post multam fidei ac constantiæ demonstrationem mox e scalis deijciendus: "Obsecro," (inquit), "Domine vicecomes, quoniam huiusce urbis sum civis, unicum mihi beneficium præsta antequam moriar." "Quodnam?" inquit ille. "Ut mihi dicas quam ob causam sim moriturus." Tum ille, "Ego," inquit, "nescio: tu coram Iudice fuisti, mortis sententiam accepisti: quis te ipso melius causam, ob quam damnatus es, intelligat?" "Atqui," ait alter, "Ego minime intelligo." Tum vicecomes, "Quin age, crimen tuum fatere, promitte te ad Ecclesiam iturum, et venia tibi a Regina impetrabitur." "Immortales," ait Iacobus, "tibi gratias ago. Si enim Ecclesias adiens vitæ meæ consulere possim, profecto hoc totus terrarum orbis agnoscat, me nulla alia causa interfici, quam fidei ac religionis. Hoc tantummodo volui ex te elicere. En iam libens morior." Atque in ea voce deiectus e scala est.

Alium ibidem laicum mense Augusto martyrio donarunt. Is in quadragesimalibus comitijs, simul cum Iacobo eadem de causa damnatus, horrore acceptæ mortis sententiæ perculsus adhuc coram

iudice stans, promittit Ecclesias se aditurum. Ergo Iudex cum revocare sententiam datam non potuit, iussit tamen [eum] non occidi, ut postea venia ei a Regina impetraretur. Ille autem ad carcerem rediens secum reputans quod egisset, vicit tandem (forte et non sine Iacobi exhortationibus), timore gehennæ mortis horrorem ac protinus Iudicibus iamiam ex urbe discessuris nunciari iubet pœnitere se suæ timiditatis, firmiter in animum induxisse, nihil unquam facere, quod Catholicum non deceat. At Iudices:—"Adeone festinat ad furcam? Ne dubitet, si ita contumax perstiterit, minime serum erit in proximis comitijs suspendi." Et tamen cum latrones ad mortem ducendi essent, accurrit simul ille, linteum brachio gerens, quo involvatur ad sepulturam, et sistit se vicecomiti. Vicecomes quid vellet interrogat. Ille se ait damnatum esse, paratumque ad mortem venire. Cui ille, "Quando te," inquit, "tantum suspendij desiderium tenet, scito me libentissime tibi satisfacturum, si in mea schedula esses, verumtamen quoniam descriptus non es, abito." Discedit ille miserabiliter flens peccatum suum, simulque prioris vitæ peccata incusat; nam in Calviniano ministerio, Lectoris munus obierat.

Neque hunc distituit Dominus, longa enim poenitentia purgatus, atque auctus meritorum cumulo, Augusto mense, quod avidissime concupierat obtinuit.

Alij duo Presbyteri in carcere diem obierunt. D. Cliftonus qui post decenij perpessa vincula, et iniurias inauditas, squalore carceris enectus, magna cum pietatis significatione et dolore ob præcedentia delicta concepto incredibili, mortuus in Domino est. Et D. Io: Brusfordus, vir valde pius, qui e Societate cuius Novitius fuerat ob perpetuam invalitudinem dimissus, eas quas habebat corporis vires, ac vitam ipsam in Angliam rediens ex carcere diuturno pro Christo dimisit.

Haec de Martyribus. Alij fortasse nonnulli me praeterire potuerint. . . .

17 Martii, 1593. Mag^{ae} Dom^{is} V^{ae} Servus obs^{mus} H. G.

[*Translation*]

Most noble Sir . . . We have had this year some remarkable Martyrs. Mr. William [Thomas] Pormort, priest [20 February, 1592], of whom I have already written at the commencement of the year 1592, having been tried by various changes of fortune in the kingdom of Naples and in the *Milanese*, began to see through the vanities of this world and to despise its snares, and resolved to return home, where, for Christ's sake (if He so willed) he would spend his life. Entering this realm and learning that Father Robert Southwell was then in London, he made it his first duty to renew with the Father a friendship, the break in which was, he said, his own doing (in Italy, too, he had acted similarly with some other Fathers of ours). Having made a general confession of his whole life, he never ceased to follow Father Robert's advice in all things, until finally being arrested and tortured pitifully, "he did not hesitate to resist unto blood." I wrote more about him last year.

He was followed by Mr. Williams, one of the old priests made in Catholic times, whom they nevertheless condemned to death, because, having abandoned the side of Calvin (for he had discharged the office of minister among them for some time), he had joined the Catholic Church

and had obtained a dispensation for the impediment *bigamia*, which he had incurred.*

Of Mr. Joseph Lampton [27 July, 1593], who was arrested whilst landing in England and gruesomely mangled, my other letters have treated. The executioner, overcome with horror at his unwonted task, abandoned it after he had cut open his stomach, when the butchery was only half done.

We have just heard by letter of another priest and Martyr, though we do not know his name yet, who won his palm at Newcastle, whether during the current year 1593, or at the end of last year,† I have no certain news. A priest of that county writes about his death:—that when he had been laid on the hurdle, it could by no means be moved from its station, though the executioner made vigorous efforts, now encouraging now beating the horse. A certain miller seeing this, as he was leading the horse with which he usually carted his grain to the mill, called out "Let me," says he, "harness this horse to the hurdle; it will drag him, for sure, even to Jericho." So it was done, and the sturdy beast drew the hurdle for a short space and over a rough and muddy part of the road, but when it arrived at the excellent well-laid high road, no amount of beating could make it go one step farther. The Martyr was therefore constrained to walk on foot to the place from which his soul took its flight to heaven.§

In the city of Winchester when the general assizes were held in the Lent of 1592, there was set before the justices a young layman, a native of the town, whose father had long since been in office there and was still alive. He was now charged with being a recusant. As he had now been almost continuously in custody full ten years for this offence, and had become acquainted with well-nigh every prison in London, yea, and with violence too for the same cause, he was not expecting the palm which the Lord was preparing for him. Then Anderson, one of the two Chief Justices of the realm, calling the jury, thus addressed them:—

"Here you have John [James] Bird, a recusant. You know what a recusant means. A recusant is one who refuses to go to church. This no one does except those who have been reconciled to the Church of Rome; but he that is reconciled to the Church of Rome is a rebel and a traitor. Now you know what you have to do." So after a brief retirement they pronounced Bird to be a traitor.

This should be kept in mind. The heretics *can*, according to English law, condemn all Catholics to death, for whoever confesses to a priest is absolved from his sins. Therefore he is absolved by power received from the Church of Rome, and this is a capital offence. As a general rule, however, except where the Lord disposes otherwise, the law is wont to be interpreted more mildly of that first reconciliation, by which a convert is restored to the church. But if a man asserts that he has often been reconciled to God by the sacrament of confession, but never reconciled

* On this martyr see Persons' *Responsio ad Edictum, &c., per D. And. Philopatrum*, § 376. His position in our lists of martyrs has been much obscured, probably through confusing his name with William Patenson and William Davies, who both suffered this year. He is generally transferred to 1588, and called Richard Williams, where he seems to have taken the place of Symons. (See pp. 10, 12.)

† This was Edward Waterson, who suffered 7 January, 1594. So that we see Fr. Garnet is here using the *old style*.

§ Challoner tells the same story from *Broughton's Relation*, Westminster Archives, xi, App., but omits the last words, "This Jane and Dorothy Hodshone, vertuous good Catholic gentlewomen did report unto me, that themselves did see it." The expenses of this execution are on record (Chester Waters, *Parish Registers of England*, 1883, p. 56).

to the Church of Rome, because he now lives and has always hitherto lived in communion with it, such an one avoids the penalty of "reconciliation," for the adversaries are always wont to harp on the term "reconciliation."

Nevertheless, as this Bird had long frequented the churches of the heretics, and afterwards ceased to frequent them (although he was perhaps in reality never outside the Catholic Church, being one who observed so far as he could whatever he knew of its tenets and precepts), the judge put such an interpretation on the facts (by God's permission), that James was sure to be considered as "reconciled." Nor did he raise objections, but received the death sentence with ready courage. The execution having been long delayed, one day the men arrived to lead him to the gallows. Down he went full of joy and gaiety, when a messenger arrived in a hurry to say that the day of execution was still postponed, at which he went back to his cell with expressions of grief that would hardly be believed, declaring himself unworthy of so special a crown. The Lord, however, would not disappoint His soldier of his pious desire, so eventually he was taken out to execution after many a proof given of faith and constancy. Just as he was about to be thrown off the ladder, "I beg you, Mr. Sheriff," said he, "seeing that I am a native of this city, that you would grant me one favour before I die." "What favour?" said he. "Tell me what I am to die for." "I know not," quoth the sheriff, "You received the death sentence in the presence of the judge. Who can know better than you the reason for which you were condemned." "Nay," said the other, "I don't understand it at all." Then said the sheriff, "Come now, confess your crime. Promise to go to church, and the Queen's pardon will be begged for you." "Right heartily do I thank thee," quoth Bird. "If by going to the church I can save my life, surely all the world will see this, that I am executed solely for faith and religion and nothing else. It was just this that I wished to elicit from you. Now I gladly die." With these words he was thrown from the ladder [25 March, 1593].

They martyred another layman* there in the month of August. In the Lent Assizes he was sentenced at the same time as James for the same cause, but struck with horror at the sentence of death, he promised the judge that he would go to church. The judge could not recall the sentence he had given, but he ordered him not to be executed so that he might hereafter obtain the Queen's pardon. Going back to prison and thinking of what he had done (perhaps, too, helped by Bird's exhortations), he conquered the horror of death by the fear of hell. So he at once sent word to the justices, as they were leaving the city, to tell them that he repented of his cowardice, and that he was resolved to do nothing which a Catholic ought not to do. The justices' answer was, "Is he in such a hurry for the gallows? Let him not be afraid, if he persists in such contumacy he will not be too late to be hung next assizes." Yet when the thieves were being led out to execution, he ran up carrying a linen sheet on his arm ready for burial and presented himself to the sheriff, who asked him what he wanted. He said he was condemned and came ready to die. "As you are so greedy of hanging," replied the sheriff, "know that I would most willingly satisfy you if you were on my list: but as your name is not written there, you must go back." So he retired pitifully bewailing his sin and the sins of his past life, for he had been a reader in the Calvinist ministry. Yet did not the Lord

* This was John Thomas, who is not in the official list of Martyrs (see *Acts of English Martyrs*, p. 234). On Thomas Clifton, see *Douay Diaries*, p, 175, &c. On John Brushford, see H. Foley, *Records*, iii, 276–8; vi, 149.

desert him, for purged by long penance and with a large increase of merits, in the month of August he obtained what he desired.

Two other priests have died in prison. Mr. Clifton, who after suffering bonds for ten years and injuries unspeakable, was killed by the miseries of his prison. He died showing great evidence of piety and of deep grief for past sins. The second was Mr. John Brushford, a truly good man, who had been a novice in the Society, but sent away because of continued ill-health. Such health as he had and life too, on his return to England, he gave up in prison for Christ's sake.

So much for the Martyrs. There may yet be others who have escaped me.

LXXVI.

FATHER HENRY WALPOLE, S.J.

January, 1594

Archives S.J.; *Anglia Historia*, ii, f. 64.

Ex[a] responsione P. Henrici Walpoli exhibita Judicibus dum in vinculis pro fide teneretur, de seipso, suoque ex Anglia discessu, Die mense Januarii 1594.*

Discessi ex hoc regno Angliæ annis ab hinc duodecim ut liberius alibi Deo deservirem, abunde de veritate fidei Catholicæ jam antea edoctus. Quare ad portum Novo-Castrensem memet contuli, et inde solvens brevi in Normanniam applicui, cumque Rhotomagi et Parisiis exiguam fecissem moram, Rhemos petii, ubi theologiæ moralis studio tradidi annum unum et postea tantumdem Romæ; donec Religionem ingressus Societatis JESU mentalibus exercitiis et humilibus mortificationis operibus ad nutum Spiritualis magistri anno uno totum me impendi, quando contracta pectoris necnon stomachi imbecillitate jussus sum a Præposito generali meo P. Claudio Aquaviva, coeli mutandi causa, in Galliam profiscisci et in Collegio nostro Mussipontano commorari; verum prolabente etiam illic in deterius valetudine, primo in prædium quoddam suburbanum, mox Virodunum destinatus sum, quo in loco, quia tyrocinium nostrum erat, ut inter novitios altero adhuc anno degerem petii et impetravi. Hic tandem postquam convaluissem penitus, Mussipontum remissus in Scholastica theologia duos vel tres annos continenter impendi, et Sacros Subdiaconatus . et Diaconatus ordines in Metensi civitate suscepi, quando jussus a Præposito Generali in Belgium me transferre, Parisios primo (ubi Sacerdotio initiatus fui) mox Bruxellas profectus sum, ubi confessiones Italice, Gallice, Latine, Anglice, et subinde etiam Hispanice excepi. Nonnunquam etiam ad castra ministrandorum Sacramentorum causa militibus præsertim Anglis sub Colonello Gulielmo Stanleio merentibus missus sum, et dum de civitate in civitatem ut fit transirem, ab hostibus captus Vlissingam in vincula abductus fui, donec elapsis quatuor vel quinque mensibus [?] lytro memet redimere a Francisco Walsingamo Equite permissus, persolutisque eo nomine sexcentis circiter florenis a P. Provinciali, Bruxellas redii et officium pristinum resumpsi. Hinc Tornacum post paulo evocatus tertium probationis annum pro more Societatis nostræ in mentalibus exercitiis exegi, eoque elapso Brugas ire iussus Confessarii

* In MS. 158$\frac{8}{4}$ erased, with note *non puo stare*, and 1594, written beneath.

munus tam Nostrorum de Societate quam externorum præsertim vero Scotorum quorundam exercui, et residuum temporis cum bibliothecæ præterea curam gererem, privatis studiis insumpsi, verum effluxerat ibi vix bimestre spatium cum Generalis mei nomine, procurante id P. Personio, iubeor in Hispanias profiscisci, quare navigationem commodam Caleti post trimestrem expectationem nactus Hispalim tandem appuli, ibique primo in Collegio Societatis mox in Seminario Anglicano aliquantisper hæsi. Translatus inde ad Seminarium Anglicanum Vallisoletanum officio Ministri (prout in Societate vocamus secundum a Rectore) per sex circiter menses functus sum, donec Madritum missus cum P. Personii literis commendatitiis ad procurandum diploma regium pro erectione novi Seminarii Audomarensis in Belgio, ibi id negotium aliquandiu tractavi, et illius occasione cum Secretariis sta[? tus] aliisque viris primariis sæpe egi, et denique votorum compos factus ad ipsum Regem gratiarum agendarum causa accedere permissus fui. Hinc statim in Belgium remeavi, et eiusdem Gubernatori diploma a Rege tradidi et ut executioni res mandaretur aliquantisper solicitatorem egi. Denique eo ex sententia confecto reditum in patriam institui, et Deo volente appuli.

[*Translation*]

From the answer of Father Henry Walpole to his judges whilst he was in bonds for the faith. Concerning himself, his leaving England, &c. January, 1594.

I departed from this realm twelve years ago, in order that I might serve God elsewhere with greater liberty, being already fully informed of the truth of the Catholic Faith. I therefore betook myself to the port of Newcastle, and sailing thence soon landed in Normandy. After I had made a short stay at Rouen and Paris, I went to Rheims where I spent one year in the study of Moral Theology, and afterwards as much at Rome, until I entered the order of the Society of Jesus, and devoted myself for a whole year to spiritual exercises and humble works of mortification, at the bidding of a master of Spirit. Then having an ailment of the chest and stomach, I was ordered by my General, Father Claudius Aquaviva, to go into France for change of air and to stay at our college of Pont-à-Musson.

But even there my health continued to decline; and I was sent first to a neighbouring farm near the town, then to Verdun. As there was a novitiate of ours there, I asked and obtained the favour of passing another year among the novices. Having finally grown quite strong again here, I was sent to Pont-à-Musson for Scholastic Theology, in which I spent two or three years continuously, and received the sacred sub-diaconate and diaconate in the town of Metz.

Then I was ordered by our General to go to Belgium, and went first to Paris, where I was ordained priest, and immediately afterwards to Brussels, where I heard confessions in Italian, French, Latin, English, and occasionally also in Spanish. Sometimes I was sent to the camp to administer the sacraments to the soldiers, especially to the English serving under Colonel William Stanley. Whilst I was passing from town to town, I was captured by the enemy at Flushing and led off in bonds, until four or five months later I was allowed by Sir Francis Walsingham, knight, to ransom myself, and about six hundred florins were paid for that purpose by Father Provincial. I returned to Brussels and resumed my old work.

From thence I was summoned before long to Tournay, and passed the third year of probation according to the custom of our Society in spiritual exercises. When it was over I was ordered to go to Brussels to discharge the office of confessor, both for ours of the Society as also for externs, especially for certain Scots, and the rest of my time I passed in private study, having the charge of the library. But two months' space had hardly passed when, in the General's name, by the arrangement of Father Persons, I was bidden to start for Spain. So having found a convenient passage at Calais after three months' waiting, I finally reached Seville, and there I stayed a short while first in the college of the Society then in the English Seminary. Moved thence to the English Seminary at Valladolid, I discharged the office of Minister (so do we call in the Society the second below the Rector) for about six months. At last I was sent to Madrid, with introductions from Father Persons to procure the King's charter for the erection of the new Seminary of St. Omers, in Belgium. I looked after that business for some time, and frequently treated with the Secretary of State and other principal persons. Finally, having obtained what I desired, I was permitted to see the King himself to return him thanks. Thence I immediately returned to Belgium, and handed to the Governor of that country the royal charter, and for some time solicited its execution. Finally, when this had been satisfactorily settled, I set out on my return to my country, and with God's blessing reached the land.

LXXVII.

TOPCLIFFE TO SIR JOHN PUCKERING

25 January, 1594

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccxlvii, *n.* 21.

Notwithstanding the tone of triumph which Topcliffe assumes, and the Earl of Huntingdon's "leaping for joy," the capture of the Walpoles and of their letters, and the confessions of the younger brother, led to no great "benefit to her Majesty in state *and purse*." We are not, in fact, able to trace any calamity to the Catholics from the inglorious confessions, of which we shall hear in the following papers, though some ill consequences there will probably have been. Ere the next year was out, Topcliffe himself would be in disgrace and the Earl of Huntingdon dead.

Right honorable. I know not my good Lorde, whether my Lorde President of the North have signefyed unto your Lordships and the residew of her Majestie's Preevie Counsell owr proceedings with those : 3 : persons tayken at there arryvaile at Flambroughe or not. Father Wallpoole ye preest Jhezewit, a younge man his brother a soldyor under Stanley, & Lyngen a soldyer under him also. Butt for many convenient regards I thought my dewty that her Maiestie maye (by your Lordship) have some inkeling by your Lordship (to whome her Highness cheeffly referred mee in this my travell) to signefye how farre wee have digged into the hartts of two of those unnaturall trators the Jhezewit preest and Lingen. By the incredible toyle day and night of ye Lorde President him selfe, for his Lordshipp in wisdome fyndinge the 3de personn a younge man of a mylde dispocytion, and not so fare gyven over in ye poyntz of cyvell honestye as the other too ye Jhezewit and Lyngen, his Lordshipp applyed him him selfe with godly persuacion himself & y^t^ day and night, and then applyed him with ye

labor of his chaplain, Mr Doctor Favor, a very mylde devyne well knowen to my Lorde of Buckhurst. That after the younge man Wallpoole once hadd grace to know what offence he hadd commytted to God in his disobedience & runninge to her [? foes] to serve them, to serve his Idolatroos hewmors. Then all trewthe, secretts, and matters even ageinst himself, & ye other too ye Jhezewit and Lyngen flowed from him as fast as his Lordship culde or can imadgen questyons, lyke & more yen lyke to proove very greatly to do her Maiestie highe service, thus mutche beinge fawllen out from him alreddye.

Fyrst, the Jhezewit and Lingen bee so farre gyven over in Poperye, and so therby bownde to disloyaltye that they wold nether of them utter or confesse any one letter eather delyvered [to] them, or brought over by eather of them, or by younge Wallpoole, or one cipher, marke, noate, toaken, dyrection or message for any purpose, But Salutacions by worde of mowthe from one frinde to another. The Jhezewit avowed so, and Lingen upon y^r^ conciens. But after my Lord hadd so paynfully labored younge Wallpoole But younge Wallpoole, the fyrst tyme he was examyned before mee with a good concyence (as wee might well iudge) confessed that his brother the Jhezewit did delyver to him to keepe vj smale pieces of parchment wrytten upon, lyke to theis fyxed in the margent, and a packett of lettres and directions seeminge to bee about xij, and iij parchments to Lyngen. The parchments bee cutt in halffs that whosoever hereafter should flye over with theis noats to Dunkyrk havinge ij of them, or to Newport havinge j of the greatest, he should be receved, and any thinge that he should bringe with him to ether of those places or any person y^t^ shoulde cume with hym, without daindger stopp or losse.

The very originalls his Lo. will send by mee they bee not fitt to bee hazarded. Nor the lettres.

☞ He furder confessed yt besids those xij letters delyvered to him by his brother the Jhezewit, the Jhezewit did at Dunkyrk in his chamber before him reade to hym self (ye Jhezewit) iiij^er^ or v other letters and burned them, and one letter ye Jhezewit pulled in peecees, but still desperaytly (lyke devylls of nether faythe loyaltie or honesty) the Jhezewit and Lyngen denyed any suche, thoughe broade speche were revealled to them to trye ther desperayt spyrets.

Herupon ye Lord president sent younge Lingen and ye Jhezewit severyd [*i.e.* severally] to rest, and younge Wallpoole, to prove his honesty, his Lordship sent well garded to the sea syde, to see if he culde fynde ye place where he hadd with his dagger cutt upp a sodd very neare a fyr bushe, and buried his xij lettres as ye Jhezewit had dyrected him. And by ye younge Wallpoole a trusty servant of my Lordes was brought to ye sodd, & ye servant tooke upp the bundell all wyett with rayne, and brought them home to Yorke to his Lordship, whiche mayde him leape for joye.

Presentlye his Lordship delyveryd them to mee, and before a fyer his Lordship and I so tenderly handelyd the same that we unfolded xxij lettres and dyrections, which were every one in all those xxij not one tyttill blemyshed.

His Lordship hathe delyvered me them all.

And before younge Wallpoole did go y^t^ iorney for ye letters, he honestly for ye fyrst prooffe delyvered to my Lorde the vj lavells or preevie marks above fyxed.

By this your Lordship may shewe unto her Sacredd Maiestie how God blesseth her Highness with the utteringe of that whiche I see will turne to Her Highness's service for discovery of disloyall men and women both about London in sundre cuntres in England and deepely in Irland, and her Maiestie shall see what a toyllinge Lorde President can do by day and night's labors in this, wherof I am an eye wytness and not one of this counsell. After his Lordeship had gotten this light he glanced at this Jhezewit so that he confessed ix^en^ of those Lavells or parchment marks whereof vj delivered to his brother ye yoinge man, and iij delivered to Lyngen, which Lyngen yet shaymefull and tratorlyke deniethe lyke an Atheist.

Now hathe his Lordship digged out of that hollowe harted Jhezewit that the intent of the use of those parchments was (as his brother confessed honestly before his goinge and finding them) for any to passe that hadd them.

☞ Theis I bringe upp to Her Maiestie also.

Ther also is fownde about the Jhezewit a bracelett of gowlde flagon fashion & upon the loop a cypher or mark of armes that will bewray the sender in Spaygne or in the Low Cuntries & to whome it was sent in despight of the Jhezewit.

A ringe with a seale of armes theron ingraven fayre ancyent coatts (if not disperdged* with treachery to the sovereigne of the owner), that cannot bee hidden, for I will proove a harreld.

A weddinge ringe the Jhezewit is trusted with, for freares and Jhezewits bee farre and deeply trusted by Catholike Popyshe women.

Theis must bee gotten by Her Ma^ty's^ power & your wisdomes.

Muche more lyethe hydden in theis tow lewde persons, the Jhezewit and Lyngen, whiche wytt of man gevethe occacion to bee suspected that labor of man withowt further auctorytie and conference then his Lordeshipp hathe here can never bee digged out. And therfore, as it is most honorrable for her Maiestie's fayme yt theis [thinges] whiche thus hathe beene gotten owt by his Lordeshipp with fayre counsell and labor and conversyon of the sowle and body of young Wallpoole; so the Jhezewit and Lyngen must be dealt with in some sharpe sort above, and more will burst out then yett, or otherwise can bee knowen. Yett see I more in this servyce then ever I did in any before to her Maiestie's benefyet bothe of stayt and pursse; and so I beseche your Lordship to shewe to her Maiestie [? and] that the woorst affected subiectts in the Northe gaze and [looke] after the iustice and doings of her Maiestie, and the Lord Pres[ident] syttinge in her seat as her iustice, the countenancinge of whome in this and lyke services in theis partts will make trators appaulled. And so must I say, with all trewethe and hewmilytee to

* Disperge. See Murray's *Dictionary*, iii, 476, under "disparage," § 3, meaning "to lower in position or dignity."

Her Maiestie at my returne, when she shall vowchesayffe to heare mee, or els I shall not dischardge the oathe I have avowed to Her Maiestie, nor the dewty of a trewe Englisheman and so wearyenge your Lordeshipp with my tedyoosnes, but so muche the playnere, whiche yow may abridge at your pleasor, I ende with all dewty At Yorke where I will see a little furder the 25 of Januarye 1593.

Your Lordeshipps ever at commandement
Ryc. Topclyffe.

Postscript. His Lordeship is not previe hereunto. My Lorde presedent still laborethe yoinge Wallpoole and gettithe contynawallye as ye yoinge man can remember. About the end of this terme I shall wayt upon your Lordeship. Before which tyme I hoape her Maiestie will commande for ye Jhezewit and Lyngen to bee sent for upp, for to utter y^t^ woorthe knowinge, for great is the opynyon emongs all papists here of Wallpoole ye Jhezewit.

Addressed.—To the Right Honorable Sr Jhon Puckeringe Knight Lorde Keeper of the great Seale of Englande.

Endorsed by Puckering.—Walpole & Lyngen from Mr. Topliffe. Walpole overtoke Caihill at Cales [& au emp al Docu de ŧ roñ & comend ŧ fact & al entend il ne fera conq p ŧ doblet il au' serve que Je change Doblets une luy. *Reading doubtful.*]

Attached by threads are three slips of parchment—

On one is written.—of this is wryten a spanyshe sentence hard to bee perceved but by the fellow.

On the second.—of this ioyned with ye other another nayme.

On the third.—of the originall of this is wrytten a nayme, joyned with the others.

LXXVIII.

THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON TO LORD BURGHLEY, YORK

11 February, 1594

British Museum, Harleian MSS., 6996, *n.* 34, f. 66.

These are to advertise your lordship that before the receipte of her Maiesties commission and letters for the border causes I had appointed to be at *Durham* for a gaoll deliverie and other causes and when I came thither I caused indictments to be drawen against sundrie Recusants, and some of those which had receaved Boaste, and comforted other Seminaries in that countie, as by examinacions taken was apparent; amongest which the ladie *Margarett Nevile* was one, whom my self and others thought it noe waie fytte to omitte and [to] deale with the rest. Therefore thus farre she hathe bin proceaded against, firste she was indyted, then called to the barre and arraigned, where with great humilitie appon hir knees she confessed the indytment, and desired hir Maiestie's mercie; the others did not soe, but putt themselves to the countrey, whereof *Grace Claxton* of the *Waterhouse* was one, and she was found guiltie as another meane man was. They all have iudgement of deathe, but because the execucion (as your L. doth knowe) is to be hanged, I thoughte fytte to reprive the Ladie, till hir maiestie were made acquainted with the cause; and for the others,

when I departed for the border causes to *Newcastell*, I lefte order with the Sheriff to execute them, with the reste that had iudgement of deathe. But the next daie beinge Sondaie, a peticion was brought me to Newcastell, in which the saied *Grace Claxton* desiered to be reprived, alledginge herself to be with child, my answere was, that if it were soe she had loste the benefitt thereof, because she did not require it before iudgment, and yeat I sente unto the Sheriff to staie the execucion of the prisoners till my retourne to *Durham*, and at my cominge thither, thoughe my firste answere was agreable to lawe, yeat to stoppe the mouthes of those that inclyne allwaies falselie to slaunder the mercie and iustice of this happie and graciouse government, I willed the Sheriff to make choise of some viij or more grave woemen, to goe to hir, and in that morninge after they had viewed hir, to bringe me their answere, which was done accordinglie, and their opinion was this that they thought she was with childe, for which cause she is alsoe reprived, and the man named Speede with the reste of the felons was executed. I have thought fytte to acquainte your Lordship with the proceadings in this cause, and soe for this tyme take my leave, and commit your Lordship to the mercifull proteccion of the allmightie. From York this xjth of Februarie 1593. Your L$^{p's}$ moste assured

H. Huntyngdon.

Thys was forgotten to be put in y^{e} last pakkytte.

Addressed.—To the Right honorable my verie good Lord the lord Treasorer of England.

LXXIX.

THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON TO SIR JOHN PUCKERING

12 February, 1594

British Museum, Harleian MSS., 6996, *n.* 35, f. 68.

My good Lord.—I had appointed lonnge sithens for a gaoll deliverie and some other causes to be at Durham the xxxth of the laste moneth, and the daie before I should take my journey your L^{ps} letter dated the xxiijth with hir Maiesties letter and commission was brought to me which made me to goe a little further then I was determyned to have done, to sett forward the service by them commaunded, whereof I neede here to write no more, because my lettres written to my Lords will come to your Lordships viewe. I have noe *doubte but afore this time, Mr Topcliffe hathe waited on hir Maiestie, and after bin with your Lordship.*

Sithens his departure, I have not delte ether with Walpole the Jesuite or with Lingen, because I have bin absent; but by that I heare of their kepers synce my retourne they remayne the same men I did leave them. And for the Seminarie which was sente from Barwick, I finde hym still to be bothe moste close, obstinate and resolute, but I thinke I maie boldelie affirme that he is an Englisheman borne, and noe Scotte, thoughe himself saieth otherwise. I cannot hitherto learne his right name, and I fynde nowe, that it is doubted his name is not Bourne, as it is most certeine that it is not Oglebie. But with Scotland he is

* From here to end of paragraph scored in MS.

greatlie acquainted, and amongest others speciallie with the Earle of Huntley, with whom (as to me it is verie constantlie affirmed) he hathe bin for tho moste parte of one yeare and a half, and soe greate is the reputacion of him with the Arch-papists of Scotland and some others, that if money wold redeeme hym, he should not longe continewe prisoner, and I have bin tolde that if the time of his sending from Barwick had bin knowen, some wold have adventured to reskewe him, before he had passed Northumberland, a matter which I had cause to doubte of, and therefore I sente a man to mr. Carey expressely to send him awaie well garded on the soddaine, which [? was] well performed.

I thinke I shall shortelie be hable to advertise at whose house, and with whom he hathe bin in the Southe, as I doe allready partlie know, some places and persons where and with whom he hathe bin in Northumberland when I have gotten hereof more certeintie, I wishe rather that I might be licensed to bringe him to London, then commaunded to sende him, for I doe greatlie desire to see hir Maiestie, and saie somewhat to herself, which I will not write, and that done, if my service here be requisyte, I will appon tooe daies warninge retourne againe, thoughe I could be contented to stay there a moneth or sixe weekes this springe tyme. I make bold to write of this to your Lordship, because by your lettre I perceave your Lordship did see my wif in the courte, and that she tolde you she hoped shortelie to see me there [which is more then from hir I can learn, *cancelled*].

But to returne to this Seminarie, I thinke till he come to the Tower, he will not speake Englishe, soe rightelie as he canne and should doe.

Thus takeinge my leave I commit your Lordship to the mercifull proteccion of the Allmightie.

From York this xijth of February 1593.

Your L^{ps} assured poore frend

H. Huntyngdon.

I doo advertise thease thyngs to your Lordship onelye. Because Mr. Topclyffe dyd tell me (as I remember) that hyr Majesty dyrected hym to your L^{p} for ye lyke causys.

Addressed.—To the Right Honorable my verie good Lord the Lord Keper give theese.

Endorsed.—22 Feb. 1593. My L. of Huntingdon about the Jesuyte taken at Barwyk.

Note by Harley.—"Bought of Mr Baker."

LXXX.

THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON TO LORD BURGHLEY

23 February, 1594

British Museum, Harleian MSS., 6996, f. 72.

I am right glad to understand that your Lordship hath soe well recovered your health, for soe I gather by the letter and pacquett, dated at *Hampton Courte* and signed by your Lordship, which I receaved on the xxjth of this instant. The contents whereof (God willing) I will

* Scored in the margin.

endevoure to performe effectually, as the weight of the matter moste justelie requireth.

Immediatelie uppon the takeinge of *Walpole* the Jesuit, and them that came with him, I did take order, all alonnge the coaste from *Humber* to *Tweede* for care to be had of the persons that should come in or desire to passe furthe of the realme. But nowe appon thes letters and instruccions receaved from my Lords, I shall give better direccions.

Upon Mondaie next the Jesuit *Walpole* and his brother shalbe sent towardes *London*, and before they goe I will examin them bothe againe, which I shall send with all thexaminacions and papers that be here remayninge. But I think Mr. Topcliff had all with him, or the true coppies, whoe I hope is come to the Court longe before nowe, and then your Lordship dothe understand what Thos. Wallpole hathe done, whoe in my opinion will hide nothing that he canne tell, and he hath by his lettres, which I have licensed him to send unto his brother the Jesuit moste earnestlie sollicited him to doe the like. But *Lingen* is of another stampe, he will answere to nothing directlie but continueth in like obstinacie, as he was at m^r^ Topcliffe his beinge here. I doe meane to trie him once again, before the Jesuit be sent awaie, because I will see what he will confesse especially of the Seminarie, that was taken at Norham, a man full freighted (as I coniecture) with manie shrewde practises ageinste her Maiestie by them that sent him into *Scotland*, whether it seemeth he was directed, and nowe at the laste he is come this farre that he confesseth himself to be an *Englishman*, soe the name of Oglebie is loste and the name of Bourne allsoe. whereof I certified your Lordship, for he had tooe other names in the Englishe Colledg at *Rome*, the one Johannes Messinghamus the other Johannes Ingrahamus, and I thinke your L. in perusall of that Kalendar, which you have (I doubte not) of all gents in this lande, will fynde his right name to be Ingram, if in the counties of Worcester or Hereford, there be anie suche name of note; But whatsoever he be for his birth in gentrie, he is Englishe and not Scottishe borne, this I maie affirme, for soe he confesseth, and I thinke he will not saie muche more that is fitt her Maiestie should knowe by him untill he see or feele the racke. Yeat I will trie him still everie waie that I canne, and keape him, as I doe, in safetie here, for to the Castell I dare not send him. Thus takeinge my leave I commit your Lordship to the mercifull proteccion of the allmightie. From Yorke this xxiij^th^ of Februarie 1593

Your Lordships moste assured

H. Huntyngdon.

Addressed.—To the right honorable my verie good lord the lord Treasurer of England.

LXXXI.

THE EARL OF HUNTINGDON TO SIR JOHN PUCKERING

8 March, 1594

British Museum, Harleian MSS., 6996, *n.* 40, f. 78.

These are to advertise your Lordship, that synce the receipte of your Lordships lettres I have travailed with the Seminarie called

Oglebie, bothe by streight examinacion and gentle persuacion, sometimes myself alone, and sometimes assisted with some of this counsaill, with whom I could not prevaile in anie matter to anie purpose, suche was his obstinacie and wilfullnes, until by that good happe (which God giveth unto all service for hir Maiestie) I had some light given to me by them, of whom touchinge him I never did ask anie question, that they could satisfie me in. For of Oglebie which he allwaies confidentlie saied to be his name, or of Bourne which I certified was his name, according to the informacion given me, I could not learne anie thinge nether of Wallpole the Jhesuit, nor of his brother Thomas Wallpole, nor of Lingen, nether coulde the tooe Seminaries Hardestie and Maior tell me anie thinge of him, which were bothe then here in this house. But callinge one daie for Thomas Wallpole to take some examinacion of him, it was his happe to meete this Seminarie, goeinge from me, and when he came before me, he tolde me of himself that he had seene this man bothe in Bruxells and in Antwerpe, or one verie like to him. I did streightwaie send for the Seminarie ageine, and made Walpole to stande where he might viewe him well: which done I badde him in writinge to sett downe all his knowledge of him, which he did; and I have nowe sent it to my Lords with the Seminarie his owne confession, and another of Lingen's, whom I take to be a man as badlie affected to hir Maiestie and this state, as the worste of his companie. I hope it shall not be disliked, that I have at this tyme sente this Seminarie before I had anie direccion for it. But in parte that which your Lordship did write in your laste lettre hathe emboldened me to doe soe, and partlie because I thinke nowe he is discovered to be an Englisheman, the feare of torture with suche other good courses, as maie there be taken with him, will gett more from him then here I should obteyne. And to this gaoll I durste not send him, for that I did heare verie confidentlie of some liberall offers made for his enlargement, before he came from Barwick, which moved me to thinke him more fytte for the Towre, where he might be in more safetie, and better syfted then here he could be. Thus ceasing anie further to trouble your Lordship, I commit the same to the mercifull proteccion of the Allmightie. From York this viijth of Marche 1593.

Your L^{ps} assured poore frend
H. Huntyngdon.

LXXXII.

EVIDENCE AGAINST INGRAM

14 March, 1594

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccxlviii, *n.* 24, a lawyer's notes from papers now lost.

A further clue to Ingram's doings in Scotland, of which so little is known, may be found in the examination of Robert Barrowes *alias* Walgrave, 21 March, 1594 (*ibid.*, *n.* 41).

"Ffather Gordon and ffather Creighton, Scottishe Jesuites, would have persuaded him to goe with them to Scotland, and that Creighton would write to a nobleman to entertayne this examinate, and that he should goe to the Abbatt of Dumffrese, where Ingram the priest is already (as they said), but this examinate would not be ruled by them."

Somewhat later than this, on the 12th of August, Edmund Yorke stated that he had met Ingram at Abbeville, had gone with him into Flanders, and had there been reconciled by Father Holt (*ibid.*, ccxlix, *n.* 63). No date is given, but it would seem that the time must have been before Ingram went to Scotland.

Confessyd by Thomas Walpoole and by John Ingram (viua voce)

That Ingram ys a priest made priest by the vecegerent of ye Pope at Roome about iij yers synce; and was of thengleshe colledg in Roome. And he hath sayd masse in the secret chappell of ye Jesuyts in Bruxels. And hathe bene in seculer apparell in Antwerpe, and hathe also sayd masse in the Carthusyans in Antwerpe.

Confessyd by Thomas Walpole

That he hard Mr Bruce a scott gent resydent most at Bruxels talking of him with with father Holt, talking of hym, namyng him by name of Ingram, saying y^t^ he had wrytten ynto Scotland concernyng him, & gyven him dyrection where to kepe.

Confessyd by Lingen examination

Y^t^ Ingram ys his mother's brother. Y^t^ he thinks him to be a preest. Y^t^ he hathe seen hym in the Jesuyts house in Brussels ij yers ago. He hathe seen hym also in Antwerp. Y^t^ Ingram was borne in herefordshyer or warwickshyer (Ingram sayeth in herefordshyer).

Ingrams owne confession

Y^t^ he was borne at Stoke in herefordshyer. His name ys not Oglebye (as formerlye he stode vpon), nor Maxfeld *alias* Messengamus. He was brought vp in thenglishe seminarye at Roome. Was made preest at Roome. He ther contynued whilest Alphonsus was rector, and after him father Holt, & of other for vj yeres & somewhat more.

That he came from beyond sea fyrst into Scotland, but will not confesse ye port or place where he landed; but y^t^ yt was betwene Lethe & Dunbarre. He was in Scotland a yere & a halfe.

That he was sent by his superior into Scotland, had fiftee crownes for his viaticum. He will not tell his superior's name. He was sent after thordinarye manner to do ye offyce of a priest. He refusethe to submyt him selfe according to ye statute.

Being asked if he will take her ma^tys^ parte against ye pope, he sayethe it ys a future contingent, & knowethe not what he shold do, & hathe answeryd this question in his former examination, but y^t^ was as he sayeth with sylence.

He will not tell with whom, in whose houses, or in what place of Scotland he hathe bene.

Being told y^t^ he ought to tell the truthe (being asked) to his neeyghbour, much more to his prynce. And for these in Scotland he may safely tell, for if he haue bene with ye Q.'s frends yt ys no harme; he may safelye tell yt. If with her enemyes he ought to tell yt. He answereth, truthe ys not to be told at all tymes, and yt ys a poynt of honestye not to disclose any, where harme may come to them, & yet will not tell of any harme any person can receaue by this.

Endorsed.—14 Martij 1593. Touching Ingram ye preest y^t^ came out of Scotland.

LXXXIII.

RICHARD YOUNG TO SIR ROBERT CECIL

15 March, 1594

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccxlviii, *n.* 29.

Righte Honourable myne humble commendacions remembred, yt may please your honoure to bee advertised, that although I wrote generally concerninge John Davis, not knowinge any particuler cause wherein he was touched, yet in that matter of Allfield, I doe knowe especially that his diligence, travaile and fidelitie, was very greate, and by his industrie and paynes hee was taken, & the intelligence geven by him, I have therefore, accordinge to your honours direccion, taken bondes of him, with suerties for his apparance within xx dayes after warninge geven at Blackhalters house in Dartmouthe. He allso tooke Allfield's bookes in the west countrey, which were very seditious and evill and sente them up unto mee. And so I humbly take my leave, beseechinge allmightie God to blesse you with healthe and muche encrease of honour. London this xvth of Marche 1593.

Your honours ready to bee commaunded

Ryc young.

Addressed.—To the Right honourable S^{ir} Robert Cecill Knighte one of her Maiesties moste honourable Prevy Counsell.

Endorsed.—15 Marche 1593. Justice Young to my M^{r} concerning Davies.

LXXXIV.

PAYMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE CHAMBER

17 March, 1594

Record Office, Pipe Office, Declared Accounts, 542, roll 195.

To George Bigge and Richard Kinsley two of the ordinary yeomen of her Majestys chamber upon the council's warrant dated at Hampton court xvij^{mo} die Martii 1593 for their travail and expences in conveying the person of John Boast prisoner from Windsor castle to the Tower of London with post horses & guides xl s.

To Richard Pollard gent. servant to the Lord President of the North upon the Councils Warrant dated at Hampton Court xvij^{mo} Martii 1593 for his charges and iiij^{or} more of his lordships servants in bringing up the persons of John Ingram a Seminary Priest and Thomas Walpole gent. from York to London, and for the hire of vij post horses and their charges back again xxiij^{li}.

LXXXV.

TEN EXAMINATIONS OF HENRY WALPOLE

27 April to 17 June, 1594

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccxlviii, *nn.* 78, 91, 112; ccxlix, *nn.* 4, 12, 13, 14, 16, 44, 45. Nos. v, vi, ix, x, are in Walpole's own hand; Nos. i, iv, vii, viii, x, are endorsed "Walpole," in Sir Edward Coke's hand.

The confessions of Father Walpole are more ample than those of any other of our Martyrs, and though they begin admirably, they end

sadly. Though they are upon the whole extremely clear, their conclusion is somewhat mysterious, both as to the extent of the future Martyr's waverings, and also as to the reason for his instability.

Walpole, as has appeared from the letters already printed, was not one of those silent dogged characters, who were by nature best adapted (so far as human nature can adapt itself to such unnatural conflicts) to withstand the ordeal of torture. He was affectionate, effusive, facile of speech, weak in constitution, and came to the combat depressed by the cowardice of his brother. That he suffered torture in the Tower is certain for many reasons. Three will suffice. In the first place he was sent there for that very purpose. In the second we have Father Holtby's letter, reporting the evidence of a prisoner who had heard from the Martyr's own lips, "that he was diverse tymes (my frende thinks 6 or 7) upon a torture (I thinke by his description somewhat like that of F. Southwells) by which means bothe his thums were lamed, so that he had not the use of them. He was not uppon the racke . . . Beside his praiers much parte of the night he spent in making verses wherof I send you a copie so far as he went untill his deathe. My frend, whoe telleth me this, hath his owne copie in Yorkshire, which is so ill writt (by defect of his thums) that he had verie much adoe to reade it, though I thinke acquainted with his hand" (Jessopp, *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, 1878, p. 253. The torture "like that of Father Southwell's," will have been that of the gauntlets, of which Father Gerard has left us so vivid a description, *Life*, pp. 235–249).

Thirdly, Gerard's evidence may also be quoted here. "He was frequently tortured, to the number, as I have heard of fourteen times . . . and I can well believe it . . . for he lost through it the proper use of his fingers. This I can vouch for from the following circumstances . . . He had a discussion with some ministers which he wrote out with his own hand. A part of this writing was given to me, together with some meditations on the Passion of Christ, which he had written in prison before his own passion. These writings, however, I could scarcely read at all, not because they were written hastily, but because the hand of the writer could not form the letters. It seemed more like the first attempts of a child, than the handwriting of a scholar and a gentleman such as he was" (J. Morris, *Life of Father John Gerard*, 1881, p. 233).

The question, therefore, is whether the unworthy concessions found in Walpole's answers were due to bodily torture, and there is this reason for doubting it, that the handwriting is by no means so deformed as it is reported to have become after the conclusion of the torture.

But though it is quite plain that these examinations were written before the handwriting was utterly deformed, it may be that a certain change in the handwriting indicates the commencement of the torture. When I first inspected the manuscripts I was of opinion that it did, though now I should be inclined to leave it as an open question. What makes me cautious is the remarkable uniformity of the signatures all through. So uniform are they (with but few exceptions), though the body of the paper be written with a thick or a thin pen, whether hurriedly or carefully, that it might seem that he had perhaps signed several of them at one time, and that a later time. It *may* also be that the change in the handwriting, the curtailment of the free and graceful curves in which his pen used to delight in times of liberty, is due to haste, bad light, defective writing accommodation, or even to mere depression, grief, or fear.

Judging from the handwriting, therefore, we cannot with certainty affirm that his answers were drawn from him by the pressure of bodily torture. That he had already suffered somewhat is most likely, but the chief cause for his change of face was probably moral pressure—dread of future torments, weakness, depression, helplessness, confusion.

Next we ask ourselves what is the precise significance of the points on which he yielded. At first blush the matters seem very considerable. He says he will "never again return to Popery" (p. 258), he "does not refuse to go to church," and there will even preach and publicly allow the Queen "as much jurisdiction in temporal and spirituall persons and causes, as I can perceyve the learned of both the Universityes do agree vppon" (p. 266). To say the least of it, propositions like these are decidedly *male sonantes*, and involve principles fatal to Catholicism.

But then there are also other assertions which, in the eyes of his examiners, would quite outweigh his concessions. Having said that he will never return to "Popery," he seems elsewhere to explain that he means "the *ambition* of the Popes, and their *unjust usurpation* over princes." Finally he declares that his *intention* has ever been "without prejudice of the Catholike faith, which I ever profess" (pp. 257, 266, 268), and "Her majesty," he says, is "peerless, *religion excepted*." At p. 267 he says, "If I had talked with my Superiors, I could have affirmed more undoubtedly." So he is reserving the last word for religious obedience. Phrases of this sort do not of course excuse the ill-sounding propositions, but they give us clearly to understand that his unfortunate concessions are, at least, not to be taken as final statements of his mind.

It is noteworthy that while Topcliffe has carefully noted in the margin the matters which seemed to him important for further inquiry, Walpole's promises of conformity and the like are hardly noticed. Less so than appears from the printed page, for I have not been able to note all the scratches and scores in the margin against the matters which did interest Topcliffe. Nor was it needful to do so, as he also expressed his mind more clearly in marginal notes. There are no notes on the vacillations, only two of them are underlined. What the prosecution presumably desired when they saw him wavering, was absolutely to upset him, and to make him say what they liked about the sham plots of Lopez, or Cahil, or Annias, or to make him betray Catholics of position. On these points he was firm, even firmer, it would seem, than appears at first sight. For, as Dr. Jessopp assures us, the apparent frankness in confessing names is not at all so serious as it might appear, most of those whom he named being already well known to the government. In fact he had been so short a while in England, that he could hardly have betrayed many even if the temptation to do so had been overwhelming.

After the last of these examinations the fate of our Martyr is lost in absolute darkness, until he was brought to York for his trial, so crippled by torture, as we have heard, that his writing was altogether deformed. He then disputed, in the opinion of his Catholic auditors victoriously, in favour of the Primacy of the Pope, and on the scaffold almost his last word was a denial of Elizabeth's ecclesiastical supremacy. The final confession of faith, therefore, leaves no room for doubt either as to its sincerity or as to its significance.

(i)

(f. 224) At the Tower. The Examination of henry Walpole
f Jesuite taken the xxvijth daye of
g* Aprill 1594.

A. He sayth that he landed, at his last cominge from beyonde sea, at flamboroughe in the countie of Yorke, about a fortnight before

* These refer to the sections marked F. G. below, and shows that these two are taken as the most serious.

chriſsmas last and came thenc from Dunkirke, and the same night he went to Killam in the same countie, and that night was apprehended and stayed there, and after was sent for to the Earle of Huntston.

Item, he confesseth that he became a Jesuite in Roome about x yeres past, and about fives yeares after was made Priest at Paris.

B. He confesseth that in december was twelve moneth, he lyeng then in Callis, first Father Archer a Jesuite came thither and shortly after Hughe Cahill an Irishmanne came thither also in the same moneth, and that they three laye there in one Inne at the place blanche; and had conference and talke together; and were together about a fortenight the said cahill then being sickelye.

C. He confesseth that when he departed from Callice he went for Spaine and eschaunged a fustian dublet with Skydmore the Priest for a dublet of stripte canvas. And sayth that at his cominge to Spaine he found Father Persons at Civill and had divers conferencs with him, and amongst other things talked with him about the erection of a Seminarie of englishmen in Civill and was with father Persons at Civill about twoo monethes (which Seminary at Civill was erected, accordingly) and from thence this examinate went in the company of father Persons to Madrill* and there this examinate left father Persons.

D. (f. 224*b*) And from thence this Examinate wente to Valedolide to the Seminarie there, and was minister of that Seminarie and was there by the space of vj or vij monethes. And confesseth that he, during the tyme of his aboade in Spaine, had conference with the Duches of Ferria at Madrill in her owne house, and with Sir frauncis Englefield there also, and with Mr Standen there also, and with one owyn Eaton at Madrill, whome he taketh to be a Welshe manne. And confesseth also that he had conference with Mr Copley, my lady Copley's sonne at Madrill. And with one bosgrave, and White a yong manne about twoo and twentye yeare ould, who then served the Duke of Mazara. And sayth that he spake with one Layton in Civill. And with diuers Englishe priests there, that is to say, doctor Stillington at St Lucres, Ambler a Priest there also. And sayth that there are at Civill, in the seminarie there, about 40 yonge englishe Schollers, and at lucres about three, and at valedolide, in the Seminarie there, about 40, and refuseth to tell the names of the englishe Schollers in the said Seminaries.

E. And confesseth that he went from Valedolide to escuriall, to the monastery of St. laurenze; and that he was admitted to the king's presence, then lyeng at the escuriall by the meanes of Ruys de Vilasco a manne nere about the king's person, and delivered letters to Don John Idiaques the king's secretary, from father persons, and other letters from him to Christofero de Moro, and other letters from him to Ruys de Vilasco, and sayth that he gave the king thanks for the almes he gave to the Englishe Schollers and for the colledge at S^t^ omers. And the king sayd unto him "God send you a good journey." And sayth that no manne heard the conference, as he thinketh between the king and him, and sayth that the kinge doth speake very softlye.

* Madrid is throughout written Madrill.

F. (f. 225) And sayth that he came out of spayne about August last and came to callice, and so to saynt Omers in flaunders, and Brought lettres thither from the kinge, Xpofero de Moro, don John de Idiaques and Ruys de Vilasco directed to counte fuentes, counte Mansfeld, and secretarie Ibarra, and delivered the letters to there owne hands at Bruxels, and taried there about a fortenight and sayth that he delivered these lettres in October last about the beginning of that moneth. And sayth also that father holt went with this examinate to secretarie Ibarra, and Zelande one of the societie went with him to Counte Mansfield and count fuentes and sayth that secretarie Ibarra by him selfe or the Pagadore gave this Examinate betwene 40 or 50 crownes; and this he had by the procurement of the said Zelande. And confesseth that he conferred at Bruxels with father holt, Hugh Owyn, the Earle of Westmerland, Charles paget, Thomas Throckmorton, George Throckmorton, Will[m] Tresham, monnpesson and his wife, and Jaques francisco and conferred with him twice or thrice at Bruxels and Antwerpe. And with dennys and herbert at Bruxels and with Skydmor the priest and with Darbyshire a Carthusian. And also with father Braye at S[t] omers and with Doctor Barret at Doway and with Reynolds at Antwerpe.

holt
owyn
Westmerland
paget
T. Throcmorton
G. Throcmorton
Tresham
Monnpesson
and his wife
Jaques
Dennys
herbert
Skydmor
Darbishire
Braye
Berret
Raighnolds

G. And confesseth that he fearing that he should be apprehended, being by contrary wynde driven on shoare where he would not, did after his cominge to lande teare a note in writinge conteyninge certen directions, because it conteyned the names of divers catholiques, one in Norff and the other in Suff and Essex, to whome he was directed. And sayth that he and the rest of his Society hath in England a Superior called father Garnett.

H. And confesseth that [he did understand that his coming to England was cause of death and yet, *cancelled*] he came over to England to wynne her Ma[ties] subiects to the Romishe relligion, which he tearmeth the Catholique faithe. And was desirous to have landed for London, to have conferred with his superior there.

I. And confesseth that a day before his landing he caste into the sea divers letters, some sealed and some unsealed and brought to the shoare about 5 letters and that he cast into the sea about 4 or 5 letters, and remembreth not (as he sayth) to whome the same were directed. And these letters, which he brought to land, he delivered to Thomas Walpoole his Brother being in nomber 4 or 5.

K. And confesseth that he had received vj labels in parchment in S[t] Omers, and three at dunkirke, and the firste sixe he received of an englishe manne and refuseth to tell his name, and received the other three at Dunkirke by the procurement of Salinus. And sayth that having any of these, if he had bene apprehended by any of the King of Spaines partie, he should have taken no harme.

Examined before vs Henry Walpole.
Edw: Drewe, m.
Edw: Coke Ryc: Topcliffe

(ii)

(f. 255) at the tower. The Examinacion of henry Walpoole gent. Taken the third of may 1594.

The said Henry Walpoole being Examined what the letters were which he threwe into the sea at his late arrivall in Yorkshyre, he sayth they were in nomber fower or fyve, whereof as he Remembrethe iij were sealed and the rest unsealed, he knoweth not what were the contents of anie of the same letters, nor to whom they were directed he Remembreth not, he sayeth he cast them into the Sea because they were not of anie moment. And he doth not Remember that he at any tyme redd the contents of anie of the same letters. he confesseth that he Receyved a note at Valyodolite for Irelande and being required to tell of whom he Receyved the same, he aunswereth of one henry Bolt a Scholler there, but no prieste, which note he Received to the intent that if he shold land in Ireland he might have the saffer arrivall and passage there. He also sayeth that the same noate was none of the papers which he threwe into the sea, but he thinketh he delyvered the same unto his brother Thomas Walpole. This Bolt he sayeth was sometyme dwellinge in Norwich, and that this direction was gyven to this Examynate, to the ende he might get som acquaintance in Irelande the better therby to convey him selfe over into Englande, and the harborough of Dradagh in Ireland was sett downe in that note as a fitt place for him to land at. He doth not Remember that any other place or port off Irelande was named in the said directione. He Remembreth the names of ij severall persons being gentlemen dwellinge in Irelande which were sett downe in that directione, the places

[*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

(f. 255*b*.) of there dwelling he knoweth not, but the names of the said ij gentlemen he well remembreth but refuseth to disclose, for that he hath hard they are Catholickes. One of the ij gentlemen before mencioned lodged in a gentlewoman's house in Irelande, whose name he knoweth, but refuseth to disclose yt, nether will he declare whether she be a lady or not. But being told that yt was conteyned in the said note of dyrectione that he shold saye when he shold arryve in Irelande that he came from Balthasar de la hide, when he had anie cause, he sayeth that he doth nowe Remember that a man of that name was expressed in that direction for Irelande, and he doth think that Balthazar de la Hide did dwell in Irelande, and that the same Balthazar was a yonge man that repayred to this Examynat with the said Bolt at valiodolyde. / This Examynate sayth that there were ij menne and ij women named in the said dyrectione and the name of a poore manne dwelling in Dradaghe in Ireland, and that the same poore manne would helpe and assist him wheresoever this Examynate would goo. / Beinge further Examyned what other particuler derections he had for Englande, and what particuler matter was conteyned in the same dyrections, he sayeth that he had one derection for Englande, and had also a note conteyninge som busines to be done in Englande for his kinsmann Edward Walpoole the priest, who then was at Tourney in Arthois. This Examynate was also directed therebye to a house in Lincolns Inne fielde, but he utterly denieth to disclose the name of the owner of the

said house or of the gent. to whom he was directed that lodged in the same house, and yet he knoweth the sayd house and the name of the said gent, but refuseth for consynes sake (as he sayeth) to reveale the same. Being [*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

(f. 256) further Examined whether yt were the house of one Frank, a whit house in Lyncolns inne fielde, he awnswereth he will nether deny yt nor affyrm yt. Being asked againe of the gentelman that lodged in the said house in Lyncolns Inne fields to whom he was dyrected, which gentleman was of acquayntance, aswell with this Examynate as with the said Edward Walpole; he refuseth to disclose his name, and yet he confesseth he knoweth the gent and doth well Remember his name. He sayth that the name of one Spiller was not sett downe in anie of the said dyrections gyven to this Examynate. And being told that a house called Braddox in Essex was sett downe in one of his directions, he sayethe he will nether affyrme nor denye the same. / Being told that the name of Mrs White was conteyned in his dyrection for Ingland he utterly denieth yt. Henry Walpole.

Examined before us the day
and year above written
Edw. Drewe, m.
Ryc. Topclyffe

(iii)

(f. 301) At The Tower. The third Examynacione of henry Walpole gent taken the xviij^th^ of May 1594.

The said Henry Walpole beinge againe Examyned what those ij menne were to whom he was directed to use there ayde in Irelande, he refuseth to utter there names. / And he further sayeth that that paper of direction which he had for Irelande he delyvered to his Brother Thomas Walpole, as he thinketh, but whether any names of anie persones were written therein, he doth not Remember. And this he affirmeth to be true as he is a priest. / Yet he confesseth he Remembreth the names of ij severall persones dwellinge in Irelande to whom he was by worde directed, but he refuseth to tell their names. And thys dyrection which he had for Irelande, he sayeth was of the handwrytinge of one Henry Bolte. / He sayethe he had a note in wrytinge for his better dyrection for his iourney, if he shold land in Essex, norfolk or Suffolk, and therein were sett downe the names of certeyne Catholickes unto whose houses he might repayre, but he will not disclose there names, for that he sayeth it is against God and his consciens. / and the nomber of those Catholikes were iij or iiij, where of one was in Norfolk a gent dwellinge there, another of those was a gent dwelling in Essex, and a third a gent dwelling in Suffolk or Essex and more he Remembreth not. / and this writing or dyrection was gyven him in flaunders at Dowaye or St. Omers, by one Hughe, whose other name he knoweth not, and that he was either an essex or a Suffolk manne. / and being demanded what is become of this last writing, he answered that he thinketh he did teare yt, and did not delyver it to his Brother.

[*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

An other

(f. 301*b*) dyrection which he had for Ingland, was written by his cosyn Edward Walpoole, and delyvered by him to this Examynate, the same con-

teyned certen busines to be done here in England for the said Edward Walpole, and a paper of dyrections being nowe shewed him, he sayeth it is the same which was delyvered by bolt to him for Irland, and was of the handwriting of the said Bolte. / Being demanded whether Raffe Downes were any of the twoe that he Remembreth, he sayeth he is not. But he confesseth that Wm. Genisone was one of them, and he lyveth in Ireland, but he will not / name the place where, and Walter Foster was thother of the ij which he Remembreth, who also is abyding in Ireland, but refuseth to declare the place of his dwelling or abiding there. / This Genisone he sayeth he knewe at Grayes Inne. / Mr Vdall he Remembreth not to be named in that direction nether doth he Remember that George de la hides name was conteyned in that direction. / The Rest of the names conteyned in the dyrection, he did not Remember that they were sett downe in that dyrection, save only the name of More which he thinketh was the poore manne in Dradaghe to whom he was directed. He Remembreth that one Balthazar de la hide came to this Examynate at valyodolide with Bolte. / Being also againe requyred to utter the names of those persons to whom he was directed in Englande he againe refuseth to disclose the same. / And further this Examynat havinge shewed unto him another paper of directions for England he denieth that he knoeth the same, or that the same pap was at any tyme delyvered unto him. / This paper doth begin with theis words "Inquyre for Mr Collington," &c. /

This Examynat sayeth that in July last he was with the King of Spayne, at the Escuriall, and there [*Signed*] Henry Walpole.
(f. 302) received iij severall letters which were sent from the King of Spayne, the one of them to count Mansfielde the other to count Fuentes, and the thirde to Ibarra the Secretarye, thes letters were delyvered to this Examinate by Don John de Diacques clark to be by this Examinat conveyed over accordinge to there dyrections. / which letters this Examinate afterward in or about the x of october then followinge did delyver to the said Mansfield, Ibarra, and ffuentyes accordingly at Bruxells. he had also letters sent from Don John Diacques, Chrystophero de moro, Ruys de Vilasco, and Garciez de loyaza, unto the persons before named, which this Examynat also delyvered. He sayeth thes letters were sent touching the kepinge of some schollers at S^t^ omers. he had of Ibarra fowerty crownes or somewhat above, for to furnishe him self in his iourney towards Englande. / he sayeth that one Zelander pcured him this moneye, and he sayeth that Ibarra did knowe of this Examynates cõing into Englande. / But he sayeth that he had not any dyrections from any of them for any matter to be done in England by him: /

Examined before us [*Signed*] Henry Walpole
Edw: Drewe priest of the Societye
Ryc: Topclyffe of Jesus.

(ccxlix, f. 7) (iv)

The Examinacion of henry Walpole Jesuit and priest taken the iiij^th^ of June 1594 at the Tower.

He confesseth that he had direction In Spaine to come into England in July last after his conferrence with father persons, and before his

beinge and speaking with the King of Spaine, and he received his direction at Valedolide immediately from father persons and the Rcto^{r} of the seminary there, which they had from Claudius de Aqua Viva the generall of the whole societie, and had no tyme certeine prescribed him to come into England but so soone as he could conveniently / and confesseth that he was directed to his superior here in England father henrie Garnett a Jesuite. And confesseth that he entended to have arriued at london and came into England in december last.

Examined by Vs Henry Walpole.

Edw. Drewe, M. H. Kyllygrew
Edw. Coke Robrt Beale
Mic. Blount Ryc: Topclyffe
Ryc: young

(v)

The date at the head of this paper, also the marginal notes both in this and in the next, are in Topcliffe's hand. He has also scored several paragraphs in the margin.

In the following examination the first leaf is out of place and should come second. Thus the paper should begin fol. 25, "Being in Brugis," then fol. 25*b*, then fol. 24, "I remember." The alteration of the order was, however, made from the first by Walpole's examiners, as appears by their headings and signatures.

The xiijth of June 1594

✠

Wherfore he did not reveale this before to bee a warninge to her ma^{tye} of Jaicques speech.

(f. 24) I remember Jacomo francischi* about four yeares agoe did aske me whether it would be well done to seeke the death of her ma^{tye} to whom I aunswered that for all the good in the world I would not counsell any such attempt: and he sayd he had hard there were learned men of an other mind. I told him I made no accompt of their learning in that point.

Peace betwext ye Erle of Westm' and Charles Padgett.

Now at my being last with him all o^{r} talke was in effect about the making peace betwixt the Earle of Westmerland and m^{r} Paget which finally with helpe of others we did. Touching her ma^{ty} I hard him say y^{t} now

*Jacomo Francisci, the son of a Venetian but born in Antwerp, and commonly known as Captain Jaques, is truly described by Dr. Jessopp as "a dangerous and violent man," who was "the occasion of much persecution and ill-feeling against the Jesuit Fathers and the Seminarists." His Catholicism did not prevent his taking service under Sir Christopher Hatton, but he fell under suspicion and was imprisoned. Then he escaped, apparently by feigned offers of service to Walsingham, who eventually let him go with a passport. Jaques then went over to the Duke of Parma, and was taken by him into favour. Being a good soldier and a cosmopolitan he won promotion, and was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the English regiment. But his want of principle and desire to be revenged on Elizabeth and her courtiers, made him a very unfit ally for the English Catholics. Such questions as he here proposed to Walpole, he proposed to other men of a lower class, and many were the spies who came to England to give informations against him. Though the matters of suspicion were perhaps not really more serious than those mentioned by Walpole, they aroused suspicions against all who had had dealings with him. Cahill, Annias, and others, whose pretended revelations were even then creating such difficulties for Walpole, all professed to have been instigated by Captain Jaques. The allegations were so numerous that one cannot doubt they had some foundation in fact.

it was reported her ma^{ty} should say y^{t} she thoughte Papists would ꝑve her trusty frendes, which is all I remember of moment. With m^{r} Paget I had no talk of moment but of the difference betwixt the Earle and him. He told me seinge I loved peace he would tell me of a peace which he laboured to make for the good of all our nacion. I told him I was ioyfull of that and would do any thing y^{t} he would signifye unto me I might to further it., and thereof we purposed to talk but I departed out of y^{t} town the same night and never heard from him since.

Skidmore toulde him that he was accused to practise against her ma^{tyes} person and lyffe

In Spaigne laitly Fa. Parsons did tell him that it was reuealed in England that they had purposed to kyll the Q.

Mr Skidmore, returning (at my last being at Antwerp) out of England, told me y^{t} the companion which f. Archer gave him (Cale) assoone as he came in England did falsly accuse him that he would have sought her ma^{tyes} death. f. Parsons I remember told me and others who were with him at Valiodolid that he had receyved word out of flanders y^{t} some in England did confesse theyr purpose to have killed the Q^{s} maiestye, and I did aske him apart what he thought of such attempts; and he sayd y^{t} catholiks, and chiefly we religious men, ought to suffer violence but offer none chiefly to princes. and he added that our meanes were by ꝑsuasion and prayer and y^{t} though it were not presently, yet no doubt the Seminaryes would at lengthe reduce England to the faith. And touching her ma^{tye} and other princes lives to be sought, I know it to be condemned by the learned of o^{r} societye, and I verely think if o^{r} generall knew any man to deale in such a horrible entreprise, y^{t} he would cast him out of the societye. and for myne own part I ꝑtest before god, as I have often, y^{t} I abhorre to think thereof, and never did, nor would not move any man therunto for all the good in the world, Jesus is my witnes. I do beare a most reverent, dutifull and loving mind unto her ma^{tye}, and for her would do all to my uttermost, not being something disagreable to the divine ma^{tye}, to whom we owe all. All which I protest to be true as I hope for salvation. [*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

The Seaminaryes would at length reduce England.

Anto: Maier did avowe ye contrarye.

✠

(f. 25) Being at Brugis the yeare of grace 92 I receyved order from my Provinciall Oliverius Manaræus, by order from the generall Claudius Aquaviva by f. Parsons ꝑcurement as I think, to go to him into Spayne, and so accordingly soon after I went to my Provinciall at Valencens, who gave me my letters patens, and from thence went to Calais, where and at St. Omers I remayned 2 or 3 moneths expecting wind, not having any letter or message, and so departing thence I arrived in the latter end of December, as I remember, at Sevil, where I found f. Parsons labouring to erect a Seminary there, and stayeng 2 moneths there, I went with him to Madrid, where he spake with divers noblemen, and with the king himselfe and from thence he sent me to the Rector of Valiodolid, with whom I was Minister, till f. Parsons, coming to Valiodolid about June anno 93, did find me not so apt

he did speake with dyvers noblemen and with the k. of Spain.

as he sayd for y^t^ office, and told me he was in doubt whether to send me to heare confessions in Sivil, or to lisbonne, where is a residence begunne, and suddenly he told me he was resolved I should go into England, if I did not refuse; having order thereto from the Generall and Provinciall; and so he and the Rector did determine, and being then one Thorn a prist at the court to sue for the kings second letters, for the almes to the Seminarye of St. Omers, wherein the officers in flanders made delay, and the sayd Thorne, having written that he could not gett a good looke of don Juan and the rest, f. Parsons sayd that I being to go into England should be more gratefull unto them and therfore sent me with letters to Don Juan, Crestoval de Mora, and the rest named before, to all whom I gave my letters, and with none of them had any speech, but about my letters and answer thereto, saving that I told Ruis de Velascho and don Juan that I was to go into England, and don Juan did once talke familiarly a while with me, asking me of f. Parsons, the Seminarye and how I would gett into England, and he sayd he hard say there was a new religion in England of such as refused to go to church, demaunding whether they were like the Catholiks, and what hope there was of Conversion of England, and of Sr Wm Stanley whose memoriall he sayd he had receyved but could not geve him any answer thereunto; and he sayd he would write to f. Parsons now, but hereafter more largely, and that he would write into Flanders, and finally y^t^ the k. had not only confirmed his former letters, but written new, and therefore it were not amisse I should thank him for this and all his former liberalityes. All this he spake to me at severall tymes, but most at once, not being other whiles at leysure. [*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

Thorne a preest a solycitor for ye Colledge of St. Omers: a Sem^ry^ had lettres from ye king of matters touching ye Seam^ry^ at St. Omers.

he tould ye k. of his ☞ Cuminge into Englande.

(f. 25*b*) This done by Ruis de Velaschoes meanes I had audience of the k., as dayly many have, and told him y^t^ being sent into England by my superiors to labore to convert some soules there and having receyved his ma^ties^ new letters for St. Omers, I did humbly thank his ma^tye^ therfore and for all his other liberalityes to the poor students of our nacion, who all therfore would pray to God for him and I hoped many others hereafter whom they should converte to the Catholike faith, beseching to continue his almes and liberalitye towardes them. This was the effect of the speech I did speake unto him, and he very low being weake so as I could scarcely heare him saye only these words that I could understand *Dios os encamina.*

Then I took my letters of all the forenamed not having any message by word of mouth but only their letters to the Count Mansfelt, Count fuentes and Stephano de Ibara; and none of them but don Juan wrote to f. Parsons that I remember, nor to any other man by me. This done I returned to Valiadolid and from thence to Bilbao having the forsayd letters saving of the kinges I had only the copy, and the originals were sent by the poast and geven me in Flanders by f. holt and no other letters from the court; but

father holt ye Jhezewit.

☞ f. parsons did write to divers of our societye, and Englishmen in Flanders which I sent or caused to be delivered unto them. My direction from f. Parsons into England was only to have recourse to my Superior as soone as I might conveniently, and by him to be apointed and directed in all things, and in the meane tyme, if I should not find him so soone, to do what good I could according to the institution of our societye which is by administering the Sacraments and winning men to the catholik faith and he willed me to direct such youths unto the Seminaryes as I should find meete for ech of them having seene them all, any other message or direction he gave me not for England. but he willed me to lett him heare of my aboade by the first opportunity and then he would send unto me or at leastwise to f. Garnett by whom I should understand of him, willing me to be in all things subordinate to him.

he was directed to his superior Garnett Quære whether or whither he must see him.

Quære of y^t^ opportunitie:

Henry Walpole.

This examynacõn written with Henry Wallpoles owne hand and by him delyvered unto us as his voluntary confession.
Edw: drewe; Myles Sandys; Ryc. Topclyffe;
Fr. Bacon; Ryc. Young.

(f. 26) Craving humbly pardon of all my actions contrary to the proceedings of her most excellent ma^tye^ in this her realme, and casting my selfe down at y^r^ W[orships] feete [who represent her person, *cancelled*] I do entend to declare all things which do come to my mind that might be preiudiciall to the estate of the realme, wherof I wish now I had taken more intelligence, from which I withdrew myselfe for fear of entangling my selfe being subiect unto straungers with their courses.

Concerning the Spanyardes, I could not, by any thing I ever heard or noted, coniecture that they had any entention for this good while to infest our country being busyed in fraunce, and the king having had a revolt from him in one of their Indias. The king as I have heard taking much money to interest (some millions) and of his subiects exactions, whereof you have I doubt not notice, yet did I hear y^t^ the Adelantado of Castilla desired one day to be employed against England, but I could not learne there was any preparation or readines at all.

ye Adelantado desyred to enterprise against England. ☞

In July 1593 last ☞ Sir Willyam Stanley did send a memoriall to father Parsons to be presented to Don Juan D' Iddiaques, wherein he craved pay of his arrerages with some summe of money besydes, and then he would therewith enterpryse something against England. but don Juan did geve no ear to his request and I caryed memoriall. Also Sr Willyam St. did write unto me now at my coming over to deale with some priest y^t^ might gett accesse to the Lord Strange now the* Earle of Darby to induce

Sr Wm Stanley desired him ☞ to get a priest to at-

* now, the. Walpole wrote 'now'; 'the' written over it in another hand.

tempt him to be a Cathol. he said that Mr John Gerrard ☞ ye priest should be ye fittest man.

him to the Catholike religion as he termed it. I spake not with Sr Willyam these four or five yeares nor had any direction thereunto but his desyre, but he added that Mr John Gerard he thought wer a fitt man thereunto.

Mr Pagett having bene at difference with the Earle of Westmerland and being made frends by some others and my selfe, did tell me yt seing I loved peace he would imparte a peace unto me which he was labouring to make for the good of all our nation, which I gladly heard, but departing that night from ye town I heard not of him since.

☞ I heard Sr Frauncis Englefield say yt the Catholikes in England were much to be blamed for yt though they desired the restoring of their religion, yet they would not allow of the meanes

[*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

(f. 26*b*) which were most or only probable, by admitting the Spanyards when they came, or when they should come if ever they did againe. Which speech I then much disliked, though professing then theire religion, for that I ever thought their insolency and vice, to be most odious to God, and that their coming hether by force would not only be the wofull ruine of the commonwelth and my dearest country, but also their example, especially of soldiers, make such as arre of their religion to stagger, because for peace, morall vertue, and good government of the commonwelth, I in my pore iudgement do not know any comparable unto England, not considering of religion at all. That part of Spayne which lieth towards Africa called Andalusia sheweth much desire of peace and traffique with England because they have bene beaten much at sea and stand yearly in hazard of their Indian fleete, insomuch as I have heard it assuredly reported that the duke de Medina Sidonia, who was generall of the armada against this realme where he was allmost cast away uppon Godwin sandes, what by his experience then here and at home since hath not spared to say that in his port town of St. Lucar (the best in Spaine) he could be content to breake traffique with all nations, so he might have it with England only.

☞ Mr Oen knowing of my coming into Englland did ask me if I would not enquire whether one of the townes in flanders would be geven up for a summe of mony. I told him I would not meddle in any matter preiudiciall to the temporall estate of the realme; then he sayd this were beneficiall, for they might have a great summe of mony, where now they spend mony uppon these townes. Of f. Parsons I could never gather any particular matter he went about, but the seminaryes and residences in Spayne and after he sayd he would procure others in Italye, in which matter I know he taketh great paynes writing infinite letters weekly to as many as he dependeth uppon for their maintenaunce. But he willed me to take all my direction ☞ of f. Garnett here in England, but it may be he had matter he would not impart unto me being unexperienced, for he hath great favour with the king and all the court, and through out Spayne, as also in Italy and Flaunders. [*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

✠

(f. 27) Of any present practise or daunger towardes the realme I do not know or think any to be other then I have declared in this paper and my former examinations: for speeches or driftes which I have heard of touching this realme or any other or pretenses of titles (which speeches, though in a peaceable realme as this, they be unlawfull and pernicious, yet beyond seas hardly to be avoyded in conversation at one tyme or other) of these I say I suppose I do not know any thing which her ma^ties honorable counsell have not often heard, yet if it please them or your worships in their behalf to demaund me of any thing I have heard whatsoever, I will declare it, otherwise I were loth needlessly to utter offensive talkes of other men.

Thus I have noted all that occurreth unto me importing the good and safety of my country, which (howsoever my conversation and being with divers men, wherein I was apointed by those which were my superiours then may seeme to shew the contrary) I ever sought and tended to the uttermost of my power, from the bottom of my heart; if ought occurreth els unto your w[orships] which I may seeme to know, I will gladly declare it, being demanded. And so humbly craving pardon of her most excellent Matie and her most honorable counsell of all my offences committed against her Maties godly lawes and the proceedings of this realme, I cast myselfe downe at her Maties sacred feete to be disposed of as it shall please God to inspire unto her ma^tye, desirous all the dayes of my life to serve her Matie with all my possible meanes and to conforme my selfe in all to her Maties godly lawes practised in the realme and never more be subiect to the ambition of the Pope or any of his adherents, but live or dye in mine own native dearest countrye in such sorte as it shall please God by her most clement Matie to apoint to his greatest honour, her Maties and my countryes behoofe and service. Henry Walpole.

In the margin.—All this was confessed and written voluntaryly by henry Walpole himself and shewed vnto vs by himself.

Edw. drewe; F. Bacon; Myles Sandys; Ryc. Topcliffe.

Endorsed by Topcliffe.—henry Wallpoole confession the Jhezewit the xiij^th of June 1594 in ye tower. Sett downe before ye cumminge before Mr Serieant Drewe, Serieant Danyell, Serieant fleming, Mr Michell Bloont Leautenante, Mr Sands, Mr Bacon, M^r [*blank*] myself, and M^r yoinge.

(vi)

The next examination is now reckoned as part of the former, though it is apparently different. The first statement answers a question about Father Garnet asked by Topcliffe in a marginal note on the former paper.

(f. 30) I crave humble pardon of all my actions contrary to the proceedings of this realme, never meaning to take that course againe of life, if it please her ma^tye to geve me leave to be her humble subiect conformable in all things to her lawes. Touching Garnett I have heard of Hasnett that he kept at M^ris Vaux her house in London. I never knew where he was. At Mr Wisemans also I have heard he hath bene at Braddox

Garnet alias Roberts alias Walley.

I desire leave, if you please, to write unto the most honorable her ma^ties councell, and that this act be concealed till it shall please them to dispose of me howsoever to their H.H. shall seeme most to the good of the realme and service of her ma^tye, whom I do besech uppon my knees to take pitye uppon a miserable prisoner and offender, yet now resolved to employ all *my forces to her ma^tyes service and to conforme my selfe even as it shall please her ma^tye to appoint me.*

I shall not need to write for I will declare unto you all that ever I can remember or yt you ask of any thing *and will never again returne to Popery* if her most excellent ma^tye my gracious soveraigne will vouchsafe her accustomed clemency uppon me, to whom (notwithstanding all my other folyes) I have ever borne a most dutifull, reverent and loving affection, and now more then ever.

[*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

(f. 30*b*) I have heard that Mr Oen and f. Holt do labore for to advaunce the cause of the Prince of Parma, whensoever it should please God to call her maiesty, whom I besech God long to continue to his honour, pretending him to have title to the crown of this realme [S^r frauncis Englefield, *cancelled*].

I have heard one Bruis a scottishman say that if England would lett them alone in Scottland y^t the Catholiks there could have the king at their commaundment, whether he would or no; and this about 2 or 3 yeares since.

Mr Oen told me y^t there had bene an Irishman on Segrave with the governor of Vlissing (which was Mr Sidney, I take it) to deale with him about the towne, but I besech you lett this and all that followeth be only to my lord Treasuror, or her ma^ties councell; for he is, for ought I know, a loyall honorable gentleman, and it were a great iniury to bring him in suspicion uppon such a speech only, which is the cause I have spared it.

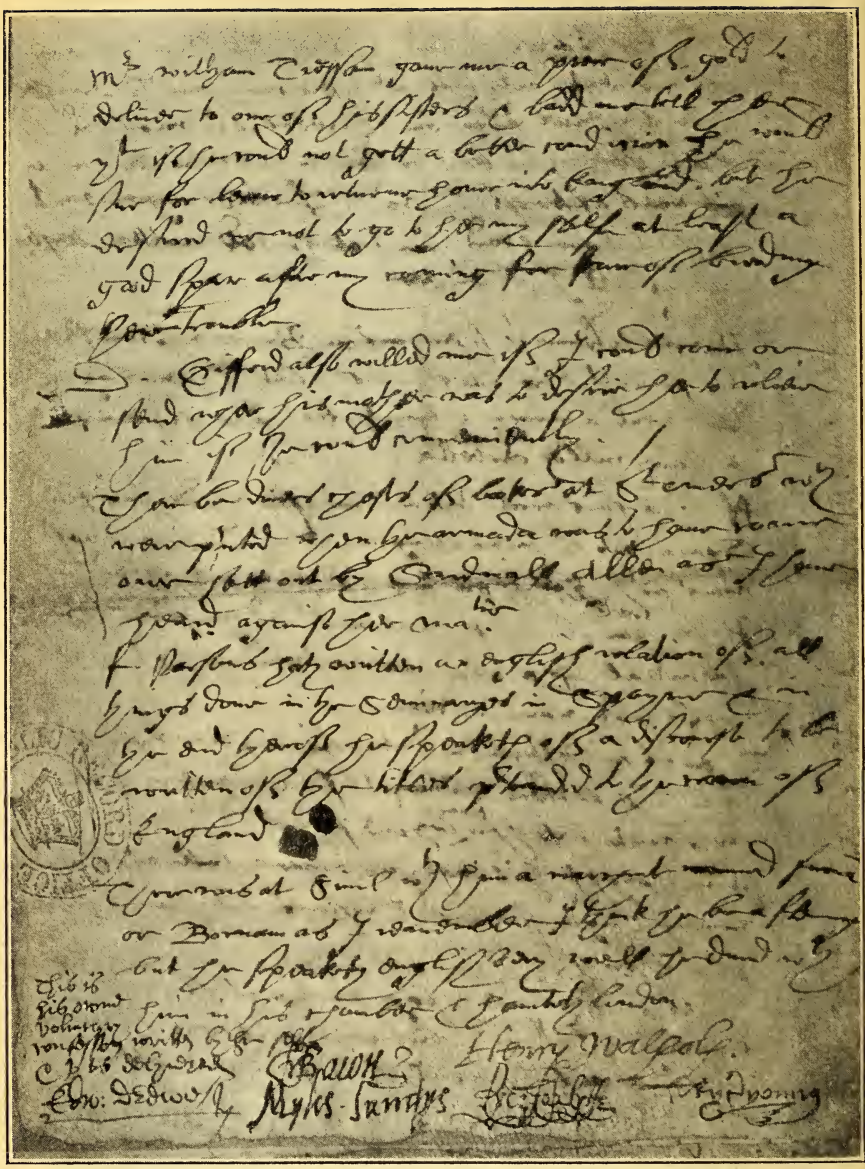
Also I heard 4 or 5 yeares ago y^t Coronell Morgan had bene delt withall by Mr Oen, but these be but vulgar reports and y^t the lord Borowes had receyved messages about rendering Brill from on Seakeley his man. I hard say there was one Smith as I remember alias Carye in Spayne at the court 2 or 3 yeares agoe.

[*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

(f. 31) Of the Earle of Arun[dell] I do not remember any thing of moment. only this that there came over to Brussels 3 or 4 yeares agoe one Greenfield who sayd he had bene his keeper or bene in his chamber, who was after of Sr Wm Stanleyes regiment. also I have heard say that he had written verses, which is all I remember.†

* to * These passages have been underlined.

† These may be the verses afterwards printed with the earl's translations from the works of the Carthusian, Johann Justus of Landsberg (commonly called Lanspergius), which appeared under the title, *The Epistle of Christ to the Faithful Soul*, Antwerp, 1595. These verses are now more widely known through *The Arundel Hymns*. Walpole's allusion may also be to *The fourfold Meditation on the four last things*, which is ascribed to him by the best manuscript, in the Bodleian (Rawlinson MSS.). See H. Thurston, *The Month*, October, 1894 (lxxxii, 231); the *Isham Reprints* (Ed. Ch. Edmunds), 1895; Pollen, *Writings of the Ven. English Martyrs*, in *Dublin Review*, September, 1903, pp. 350, 351.



To face p. 259]

FR. HENRY WALPOLE.

Examination written in the Tower. To be compared with p. 190.

It was told me that there was on Barnes,* who came from the councell here into Flaunders about 4 yeares agoe, did treate a mariage betwixt the prince of Parma and a lady called Arbella.

F. Parsons wrote unto me once after my departure from Spayne unto St. Omers, telling me y^t^ Mr Cicill† a priest was with him there, who had bene in England. I did hearesay y^t^ f. Southwell did once geve the spirituall exercises (as they terme them) to one of that name in Rome.

There is one Vestegan in Antwerpe, who conveyeth all the letters betwixt f. Garnet and those who write unto him from beyond seas.

It is thought this Verstegan wrote a letter which doth inveigh against my l. Treasuror, but I am not sure thereof.

There is one Garnet a page sometymes of one of the earle of Arundells brethren who is nowe student at St. Omers.§ he is alyed to f. Garnett. [*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

(f. 31*b*) Mr Willyam Tressam gave me a piece of gold to deliver to one of his sisters and badd me tell her y^t^ if he could not gett a better condicion he would sue for leave to returne home into England but he desired me not to go to her my selfe at least a good space after my coming for feare of breeding her trouble.

D. Gifford also willd me, if I could come or send where his mother was, to desire her to relieve him, if she could conveniently.

There be divers chests of bookes at St. Omers, which were printed when the armada was to have come over, sett out by Cardinall Allen, as I have heard against her Matie.¶

f. Parsons hath written an English relation of all things done in the Seminaryes in Spayne‖ and in the end thereof he speaketh of a discourse to be written of the titles pretended to the crown of England.

There was at Sivil with him a marchant named fernam or Bornam, as I remember, I think he be a fleming, but he speaketh english very well. he dined with him in his chamber and haunteth london.

Henry Walpole.

In the margin.—This is his owne voluntary confession written by him selfe and to us delivered.

Edw. Drewe; Fr. Bacon; Myles Sandys; Ryc: Topclyffe; Ryc: young

* This was the Thomas Barnes, or Barnaby, who played his part as a spy in the Babington Plot. From 1591 onwards he was employed as a spy on Charles Paget in Flanders. See the *Domestic Calendars*.

† On John Cecil see p. 198; on Verstegan see p. 263.

§ The venerable Thomas Garnet, S.J., martyred in 1608.

¶ This was the *Admonition to the Nobility and People of England*, reprinted (by J. Mendham) in 1842, and there was also the *Declaration of the Sentence and Deposition of Elizabeth*, reprinted by Tierney, *Dodd's Church History*, iii, Appendix, p. xliv.

‖ This paper in English on the Seminaries does not seem to have been printed, or even to have survived; the "Discourse of the Titles pretended to the Crown of England" will be Doleman's *Conference about the next Succession to the Throne*, which was probably written by Verstegan, though Father Persons also had his share in it. See *The Month*, May, 1903, and examination ix, § 11.

(vii)

xiiij Junij 1594

(f. 32) At the Tower. Thexamynacion of henry Walpole Jesuyte taken the day and yeare above written.

Valiodolide. There ar in Spayne ij semynaries the one in Valiodolyd . the other in Syvile . in the seminary at Valiodolide . Richard Gibbons englyshe Jesuyt . Symon Swinborne Jesuyt . Georg hethersaile priest, Rich : Thorn priest . John Blackfen priest . Greneway priest, maxfielde priest . / Rbert Drury a student there . / one Benet a welshman Thompsone, Kempe, henry Maye, Twoo of the martynes there Schollers. /

Syvill. The Jesuyts and schollers in Syvill—one Worthington a Scholler, Creswell a Jesuyte, Tankerd a Jesuit, Berington a scholler, ij pryces sch : one Rychard Garth scholler / Balle / Chamberlayne a Scholler / hughes a scholler . / Garoler . ormestone . /

There was dispatched for England before this Examynat cam from thens . one Tho : More, henry ffloid, and on Rayner prieste, There was also this examynates brother Richard Walpole priest appointed to come with the rest into England, but what sythens became of the first three he knoeth not.

There was also a Jesuyt on John Currye a Devonshyr man sent over into England about 7 or 8 yeares past.

Beinge demanded wherfore he this Examynat was sent over into England, he sayeth he was ymedyately sent from father persons, to wyn menn here in England to the popysh religion, and to send over vnto them som apt menne for that purpose to be in theyr semynaryes.

(f. 32*b*) He sayeth that Jacques francisco did aske of this examynat about 3 or iiij yeares past whether yt were not well donne for a man to kill the Queenes Ma^{ty}, to whom this Examynat answered that he would not for all the good in the world be of that mynde.

And he farther sayeth that he was dyrected unto father Garnett here in England to thentent that he should followe the dyrection of father Garnet in whatsoever thing he shold employ or comand him, for so he sayeth by the Rules of theyre Religion he was bound, the said Garnett being his superior here in England of all the Jesuyts [and Semynaries, *cancelled*] That shold arryve into England. And he was the rather sent into England for that yt was understoode beyond the seas that Southwell which before was sent into England was taken and imprisoned. / Henry Walpole.

Examined before vs
Edw. Drewe
Fr. Bacon
Myles Sandys
Ryc. Topclyffe
Ryc. young

(viii)

(f. 36) The examination of Henry Walpole / the xvijth of June 1594.

He sayth that he received diuers letters beyonde sea by the hands of [hughe, *erased*] John hassenet to be delivered in England without

any expres direction conteyned within or vppon these lettres, some of which lettres he confesseth he putt awaye, and sayth that he knewe the same to be of no moment, and yet never redd the same, and being demaunded to whome he would have deliv'ed these lettres (if he had arrived at london where he wished) aunswered that when he had arrived there, he would have singled out such as he knewe to whome they were directed and would have deliv'ed the same and the rest he woulde have caste aside, and being demaunded why he received the same having neyther expres direction or writing nor other secret advertisment, cannot yeld any reason thereof, nor whye he cast those lettres into the sea, but only for that those lettres were of no moment, and yet he confesseth he never redd the same. Edw. Coke.

Not signed by Walpole.

(ix)

(f. 107) I desire humbly this may be to yor worships for her Maties counsell only.

1° I have conversed with the Earle of Westmorland, Sr Willyam Stanley, Mr. Pagett, Mr. Oen, mr. Tressam, the two Throckmortens, Captaine Jacques, Mr. Denis, Mr. Verstegan, mr. Hopkins, mr. Covert, mr. Morgan, all which I had some inkling to have meddled in matters of estate: also with mr. fincham, mr. Moody, mr. Barnes, Captaine Barny, mr. Tippin, who be reputed likewise. Of p^{r}ists I have conuersed with f. Holt, D. Worthington, Cæsar Clement, the prio^{r} of the Carthusians, D. Barret, D. Gifford, and with the other of the laitye and p^{r}ists in flaunders at one tyme or other allmost all, of whose names to make a Catalogue were long and asketh memory and study, but if you please I will.

The Earle of West. liveth without employment in Antwerpe, Stanley with his regyment, he desiring other employment but having none. Mr Pagett I heard laboured a peace. I do not know at whose apointment any of them, sauing that Sr Willyam Stanley doth professe the K. of Spayne, and I thinke did desire to advaunce the Earle of Darby. Mr. Oen I would think is for Parma. Mr. Tressam no particular, but his frendes and his country and cheefly reputation. The Throckmortens be with mr. Pagett: Jacques with Sr Willyam Stanley and them all. Mr. Denis serues m^{r} Oen and f. Holt. Verstegan sendes vp and down letters and intelligences and bookes betwixt the Cardinall, Parsons, Holt, Oen and England. The rest I shall note in the articles beneath.

The Priests: Holt is to be directed by his Supior: I think he most affecteth Parma. Worthington followeth Stanley and the Cardinall; D. Gifford and Clement Pagett; the Prio^{r} the Cardinall.

2° Garnett or Southwell or both have sent ouer to Reames and to f. Holt: but of whom they haue it I know not, sauing that one Edward Walpole left ane hundreth poundes

[*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

(f. 107*b*) with Southwell, which hath bene all sent I suppose. Also one m^{r} henry Drury, who died lately at Antwerpe had some good summes of mony of his owne or others which were to be made ouer when I

came from Brussels. Besides the Wisemans sisters, and one M^ris^ Rookwood, and M^ris^ Mary Greene did expect from their frendes. The Seminary of Doway did hope Hassnet, if he had come over with Walpole, should have holpen them much, also they haue hope in Anthony Rouse, lately made p^r^ist. At St Omers there is one Stapleton called Baxter who hath maintenaunce from his brother: there be also 3 or 4 Rookwoods brethren and 4 Malletts alias Ilsleyes, which were lately come ouer, who I suppose expect maintenaunce from their frendes. The Seminaryes of Spayne and Rome receyve little but liue of themselves. D. Yonger expected somewhat from on Mr. Colinton and m^r^ Mann alias Chambers from on D. Bauand, of this matter I remember no more.

3° Allen, Parsons, Holt receyve all their intelligences that I know of by Verstegan, vnles Covert geve the Cardinall some now and then; also Hopkins and I think Middleton do geve Oen his, besydes Verstegan; and Tippin I take it geueth f. Holt intelligences, and he and mr. Oen I heard, since my departure from Brussels to St Omers, were with Ibara, as with Cosmo before, to whom they gave all. At my being there I could not heare or perceyue he used any Inglishman much, but rather f. Creyton and Vincent Zelander, but my stay was very short. Now whence all these fetch their intelligences in England, I know not: Verstegan taketh from Garnett for Parsons and Holt and as I remember he told me from Spillor. Something they have by comers and goers, as Hassenet and such like, which is all y^t^ I remember.

4° Before my coming into England and examinations I do not remember I euer heard of any other then that f. Parsons

[*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

(f. 108) in Spayne told me and others that he had newes that some in England had confessed they had a purpose to kill her Matie, whom God blesse and pserve long to his hono^r^ and o^r^ good. Mr. Skidmore told me at his returne out of England to Antwerpe, that Cael had accused him; and as I remember f. Holt, told me Cael who came to f. Archer at Cales was examined about killing the Q. Matie. Of P[ole]wheele, Lopes, or Anias I never heard mencion before my being within the realme. Cullin I saw at Calais but never heard anything of him touching such a wicked attempt.

5° For the present of none. S^r^ Wm. Stanley was desirous y^t^ some p^r^ist and pticularly John Gerard should gett accesse to the Earle of Darby to make him catholike. Mr. Pagett told me that the Earle of Westm^r^land had sent certaine letters of defiaunce written betwixt Westm^r^land and himselfe to the Earle of Huntingdon. I heard m^r^ Oen say that on Sedgrave an Irishman had delt in something concerning the selling the towne of flushing with m^r^ Sidney as I remember he sayd then governo^r^ of ye same: 3 or 4 yeares agoe I heard that on Creakes man was sent to the l. Borowes.

6° I have not heard any thing of any inuasion present or in any readines to my remembraunce. but I heard f. Parsons once say that the Adelantado of Castilla desired to be employed for to invade this realme, and f. Holt told me that he had heard the p^r^ince of Parma was desirous to employ his meanes for to advaunce his title when

God should call her Matie. About three or fower yeares agoe it was sayd but I know not by whom that Jaques did send over to burn the Q. shipps, and one Stoker told me there was a boy that offered it to divers, as I remember also to one Thwing.

7° Those which desire it any violent way do wish I think the Spanyards, but their coming is not soone looked for, nor likely, that ever I heard any man of iudgement affirme, but commonly they expect

[*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

(f. 108*b*) when it should please God to call her Matie (whom I besech him to preserve many yeares to his hono^r) at what tyme they think there wilbe division, and eyther catholike religion or pmission thereof. And therefore I have heard of Parsons y^t he would wish such as should be in England then should will the catholikes they were acquainted with to kepe themselves quiet and take no part till one were declared and then to offer their service to him with request of vse of their religion.

8° I heard one Bruis* say 2 or 3 yeares ago (a principall man for Scottish matters) y^t if England would lett them alone they (meaning the catholiks) could have the K. at their commaundment. I have heard f. Creyton proposed something to the King in Spayne, but was not heard, and y^t now he hath accesse often to Ibara in flaunders but no pticulers.

9. Of none.

10. Of none.

11. I have heard of and seene a booke called Pernius, written some think by f. Cresswell. Didimus by D. Stapleton. Philopater by Parsons and an English pamphlett by Verstegan.† This I have heard, but I know Parsons to have written a relacion of the Seminaryes and residences erected in Spayne, and therin to promise a discourse of the divers y^t pretend title to this realme and the opinion of men therein. The first was in finishing at my departure from Spayne and I believe be printed by this, and the second in hand.

12° Of Mr Cecill§ I heard some doubt made 2 or 3 yeares since but now he is in Spayne with Parsons and credit with them. m^r

* Robert Bruce of Binnie, the spy, *Dictionary of National Biography*, *sup.* i, 326; *The Month*, September, 1907

† The books here referred to are:—*Exemplar literarum missarum e Germania ad D. Gul. Cecilium*, per Joh. Pernium, (Rome) 1592; really by Father Joseph Creswell. *Apologia pro Rege Catholico*, authore Didymo veridico Henfildano, by Stapleton. Persons' book was *Elizabethae Angliae Reginae edictum . . . cum responsione*, per D. Andream Philopatrum (several editions). Verstegan's must have been *A declaration of the true causes of the great troubles intended against the realm.* Of this pamphlet, two copies survive in the Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccxx, 17, and *Harl.* 6807, and one printed, B.M. *Grenville* 6093. It was answered by Bacon, *Works*, Ed. Spedding, 1862, viii, 162. See *The Month*, May, 1903.

§ Of the spies here mentioned, John Cecil has been mentioned before, p. 198; see also *Dictionary of National Biography*, *sup.* i, 403.

Scudamore, or Skidmore, son of Sir John Skidamore, does not seem to have been a spy, though he was suspected on both sides. There were designs against Allen's life by one Baynes in 1583 (*Letters of Cardinal Allen*, p. 410, &c.), but none are mentioned at this period.

Michael Moody was a rascal, who, with William Stafford, accused the Secretary of the French Ambassador of attempting to murder Elizabeth. This was done just at

Skidmore is not with some in much credit, as I remember. Verstegan told me he was advised out of England. Yet I take it they think rather he is rather talkative then employed. The p^rio^r of the Carthusians told me he had heard [*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

(f. 109) that there was one in the Cardinals house employed to kill him, but he knew not which it was. Jaques 3 or 4 yeares ago was holden doubtfull, but now he is in credite there. Also m^r fincham hath bene suspected, and of some m^r Moody, and Thomas Morgan of many. but they be many of them and mostly all in some ielousy one of another in one respect or other. but to be expressly employed I have not heard spoken of others then the named in flaunders. In Spayne some doubt hath bene made of one Burley.

13. I know Garnett, Currye, Holtbye Jesuits, also Oldcorne, Stanney, More, Rayner, Dudley, Birkett, Potter, Warford, Dakins, Bennet, Rouse whom I never heard to be apprehended. their resorte I know not. If I be not deceyved I mett Dakins riding out of London, when I came in. Holtbye lieth about Yorke, but I never heard of any place. Curry as I remember was told me to resort to one m^r Caryes in Kent or Sussex: Garnett at Mrs. Vaux or m^r Willyam Wisemans. I would think Rouse doth repayre to his mothers whom I have heard to be catholike. These be all I do remember. Of them which be in prison as I have heard, I know some, as Southwell, Bagshaw and others I suppose. Of some I have heard the names whom I never knew, as of Bauand, Colinton, Dolman, and others I think as Blunt, of all which I did not ever heare any resort but of Dolman who is sometymes I have heard at one m^ris Greenes in Suffolk or Essex. John Gerard I have heard to have been at m^r Wisemans, and at one of the Woodhouses in Norfolk.

14. I think all be known which I knew or heard of to be Catholikes 14 yeares agoe. Now I have heard to be catholike the forenamed to whom the p^rists be sayd by me to resorte; besydes them Metcalfe in Lincolns Inn Fieldes; Mr. Hubberd, one m^r Walgrave in Suffolk or Essex; one of the Woodhouses in Norfolke. I heard also of Mr Rigby in Dunkirk, y^t one m^r Anne of Frickly and as I remember on more were catholik in yorkshire. I suppose they which have p^rists resort to them heare Masse, but I do not remember I have heard yt namely of any. I think Stapleton his brother that studieth in S^t omers is catholike and they whose children come over, but I know it not.

[*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

(f. 109*b*) 15. I mett with lingen first at S^t omers even when I came out of Spayne, who having known me before accompanyed me to

the moment when the French were about to intervene to save the life of Mary Stuart. After she was executed, Elizabeth apologised for the sharp practice of the two "cocquins," and the affair dropped. *Month*, July, 1902.

Thomas Morgan's gross mismanagement of Mary's interests during the Babington Plot gave rise to many suspicions, but, so far as we can now see, he was not unfaithful to his mistress.

Richard Burley, a captain in the service of the Spaniards, was executed by them on suspicion in 1598 (*Domestic Calendars*, and Jessopp, *Letters of H. Walpole*, pp. 34, 35). If he did correspond with the English Government, it will have been indirectly, or under some *alias*. The same is presumably to be said of Fincham.

Brussels, and I going to Antwerpe he returned to S^t^ omers againe: having heard his brother would come to Cales to see him, he went thether where I returning from Brussels desirous there to gett passage into England found him: his brother could not persuade him to returne with him and I would not go in an English shipp, for being apprehended, and from Calais no frenche shipp went by reason of the sicknes in London. so we returned to St Omers: where I receyving word from f. Holt, y^t^ if I might spare Hassenet (who should have come over with me) he would gladly he should stay wherevppon I told lingen of my going into England / for before I made him believe I went into Spayne / and so he resolved to come with me / to accompany me and all under one [*sic*] to see his friendes; and one Broy a Jesuite having occasion to go to Dunkirk and Newport and knowing of my going into England and lingen's with me did obteyne vj parchments for to safeconduit [*sic*] him that should have one of them betwixt England and those portes there for Dunkirk ech a ship, for Newport I know not whether all did serve for one or no. Broyes meaning and mine was to have holpen the Seminary with some things made over in those shipps that would take this safeconduit, or for Students or what benefite I could have made of them, and to gratify Lingen I did ask him if such an one would not be gratefull to him and he said he would gladly have on. Afterwarde going my selfe to Dunkirke to seeke passage that way, I got three of another officer for more securitye and in the absence of the former. Of which vj, 4 I gave my brother (who came to me at Dunkirk unlooked for) and two to Lingen. Of the 3 of Newport I made no reckoning, yet I think I divided them betwixt them. and [? here] also by Salinas meanes, who knew me in Brussels, I obteyned a shipp, which was to go to sea to take p^r^istes [? pirates], to sett me on land in Norfolk, suffolk or Essex.

[*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

✠

(f. 110) they being shippes to take p^r^stes [? pirates], do go in view one of another to be more strong, which made our man that brought lingen, my brother and me, that he could not touch the land when he would, and the wind they sayd was not good, so y^t^ for very wearines of the sea, I desired them to sett me on land anywhere, or els carry me back, and so they put me on land even where they had fought with a shipp, where I was the same night 9 miles of taken. So y^t^ before my apprehension I could not meete with any catholike. in prison there were 3 or 4 which I saw in the house who be ther for their refusall to go to church. two I confessed in prison.

[My employment was from f. Parsons, *cancelled.*]

In the 11 article I had forgotten naming Philopaters booke to meancion y^t^ it was begunne to be translated and augmented by Sr Francis Englefield who being with Fr. Parsons gave me the residue to prosecute, which I did following too much his humor and stile, for he having spoken unreverently of her Matie and more of some of her councell deceased and the now l. Treasurer, I also called her Matie Bes and suche like as he willed me, though ever retayning my inward affection and dutifull mind, as I protest before God, ever from my

infancy having a speciall loue in respect (besides many other her Maties most eminent and royall vertues wherein I think her, religion excepted, pereles) y^t I was borne even about the tyme of her Maties coronation, ordeyned of God specially to do her Matie service, as to me it seemeth. for which my vndutye I humbly crave pardon, ready as before and more then ever to serve her Matie with such conformitye to her lawes as I have spoken of before; and if her Matie think me unworthy of life, I am content to dy, trusting verily by the merites of my Saviour Jesus in the vnitye and communion of his church to depart in peace, and caryeng the same affection towards her Highnes before the Divine face and presence of God, pray to his æternall Ma^ty for hers in heaven, which I besech you may be signifyed, if I obteyne not leave to write and declare my dutye and service more at large hereafter.

Also I remember that one Mr Creakes man told me being on his deathbed y^t m^r Oen did give or offer him mony to do violence to her Maties person royall, but because he was in a consumption when the offer was made as he sayd and dyed the next day after, I did not think meete to slander m^r Oen with y^t which I assure my selfe and it appeared he meant not. [*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

✠

(f. 110*b*) 16. I was employed by f. Parsons to winne as many as I coud to the catholike faith. My direction was in all thinges to be subordinate to him y^t should be Superior here of our Societye, which was then, and I think is f. Garnett. The substaunce of all he ever sayd vnto me concerning this my coming or being in England I have sett down in the former articles, as farr as I can remember, layeng all I know open before the eyes of this commonwealth and my dearest countrye, y^t God by them may dispose to his greatest glory, thinking it meete for me so to do, for I never allowed of the ambition of the Popes or any of their uniust usurpation over princes and their kingdomes, and do think hostilitye or invasion of the Spanyard would preiudice both the commonwelth and the catholike religion; and therfore as a true Englishman and subiect of her Matie, and denizen of this realme I would in desire and all endeavour and prayer concurr in the defence and conseruation of my countrye, conforming my selfe to the lawes of the realme, whether I live or dy, God willing, not doubting but my sincere entention will appeare and redound to the honor of God the service of my prince and country, without preiudice of the catholike faith, which I ever professe, so not refusing to go to the church, and if I were worthy as others be (I being very meane in learning) there preach only such doctrine as my conscience doth tell me and the spirite of God to be manifestly deduced out of the word of God. attributing to her Matie asmuch hono^r power and iurisdiction in temporall and spirituall persons and causes as I can perceyve the learned of both the Universitye do agree vppon, and I would hope to reduce many to this conformitye by private conference. And having conferred with divers learned Protestants of the clergye at York, I did find much lesse difference then I thought, and am persuaded that, if there were a free assembly and consultation of learned men of all sortes of opinions in religion within

the realme, they might concurre in some generall conformitye and vnitye to the great comfort of them all and render therby her Maties royall person and the state of the realme seruice against all foreine daungers and attemptes. In all which points, if I had talkd with my superiors I could have affirmed more undoubtedly, but I hope I have talked with God to whose honor the service of her Matie and good of my countrye I do dedicate my selfe hoping salvation in Jesus Amen.

[*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

(x)

This is on smaller sized paper, and is doubtless a draft of some of the sections above.

(f. 111) ✠

The Priests and Schollers in Valiodolid.			In Sivil.	
Richard Gibbons	Priests of the Societye	Bolt	Ellis	Priests
Simon Swinburne		May	Garth	
George Hethersall	Priests	[Stephenson, *cancelled*]	Ball	
John Blackfen		Smithson	John Worthington	
Maxfield		Johnson	Chamberlaine	
Thorne		Peter Martin	Urmeston	
Greeneway		Martin	Stukley	
Bentley		Thirkill	Stukley	
Smith		Pallisar	Price	
Robert Drurye		Parsons	Price	
John Bennet		Parsons	Berington	
Thompson		Samuel		
Kempe				
Danbyes				

[*No signature to this page.*]

(f. 111*b*) In the 11th article I named Philopater, / written in latten by f. Parsons as I have heard, and did not then remember, which now occureth unto my memory, that it was begunne to be translated by S^r francis Englefield, who inserted some discourses of his own and the lives of some of the privy councell deceased, and of my l. Treasurer living, conteyning matter of infamy and unreverent speeches, and I by him was desired to translate forward in the same booke, which I did, in which my translation is conteyned irreverent speech of her Matie following the stile before, though ever with inward affection and desire of her Maties bliss and good in this world and the next, which I now most earnestly do wish vnto her Matie, / humbly crauing pardon for my vndutye therein, ready in all y^t repugneth not to God to serve her Matie and my countrye to the vttermost of my endevo^r, in such conformitye as I have promised before, and if for my proceedings contrarious to those of the realme, it shalbe thought fitt y^t I dye, I trust verely by the merits of my Saviour Jesus in the vnitye of his church to departe in peace, and caryeng the same affection before the face of God, pray to his æternall divine maiestye for her ma^tie in heaven, which I desire may be signifyed, if I obteyne not leave to write and declare my dutye and seruice more at large hereafter.

this booke at my departure was not halfe done.

Also I remember y^t^ one Creakes' man told me / at my being at Brussels / vpon his deathbed y^t^ m^r^ Oen did geve or offer him mony to do violence to her Maties person, but because he was rather like to dy when y^t^ offer was made then to kill and indeed dyed next day, I did not think it meete to slander m^r^ Oen with that which it appeareth he ment not, for I do not think he carieth so bloudy a mind cheefly to his prince. God forbid that he or any catholike should.

[*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

(f. 112) 16. I was employed by f. Parsons to winne as many as I could to the catholik faith, my direction was in all things to be subordinate to him y^t^ should be Superior here of o^r^ society, which then was Garnett and I think is. The substance of all he euer sayd vnto me concerning this my coming or being in England I have touched in the former articles as farr as I can remember, layeng all down before the eyes of this commonwelth, y^t^ God by them may dispose to his greatest glorye. For I neuer allowed of the ambition of the popes &c. his vniust vsurpation ouer princes and their kingdomes, and I do think the inuasion of the Spanyard would preiudice both the commonwelth and the Catholike religion too, against which as a true Englishman and denizen of this realme, I would what lay in me or my meanes euer effectually concurre conforming my selfe to the lawes of the realme as by deedes I mean godwilling to declare not doubting but that my sincere entention will appeare and redound to the hono^r^ of God, the service of my prince and countrye, without preiudice of the Catholike faith, which I euer professe, not refusing to go to the church. [*Signed*] Henry Walpole.

LXXXVI.

NOTES FROM THE EXAMINATIONS OF WALPOLE, BOSTE, AND OTHERS

1594

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, ccxxxv, *n.* 19. Calendared by error under 1590.

It is interesting to see what points the persecutors considered worthy of note, and what a very small place they take in Walpole's examinations. The cynicism with which the treachery of John Cecil, Michael Moody (see *The Month*, July, 1902), and Burley, are spoken of, is also remarkable; so, too, is the reference to the attempt on the life of the Cardinal Archduke Albert of Austria, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands.

Certen Notes of remembrance owt of ye Examinacions of H. Walpoole, Jhon Boast, and others.

It appeareth amongst diverse seditious libells, which are now in the forge abroad, thear is in hand a treatise compiled by Father Persons of all the Competitors to ye Crowne of England, and their Titles and pretenses, of which booke especiall caveat would be gyven that no such be dispersed hear, as that which is most apt to breed seditious whisperings and expectations.

It seemeth the fugitives and Traytors English in ye Low cowntries amongest other practises doe ayme at ye gayning in by treason of ye Brill and Flushing, and would be gladd to sett a foote that traffique,

and therefor ye more particular care would be had of those peeces, ye rather bycause ye honorable persons that are gouvernors are absent and now upon [? hurnestoes] gouvernment, all practises are like to be quickened.

It seameth that Cecill ye priest, & Moody and Mr. Burly are discouvered abroad to be spies imploied from hence, and therefore if any counsellor hear imploy them, it were well they had knowledge of it, that they be not ab[used], nor [loose] their charge.

It should seame there is some ey abroad and some project of contryving a match between ye Erl of Northumberland & ye Lady Arbella. Not that there appeareth any practise thereof on this side, but if they abroad conceyve it to be apt for ye purpose, at one tyme or other they will sett the traffique a foote, & therefore more ey would be had upon it.

It seameth there is some conceit abroad that F. Dakers is greatly beloved in ye North parts, and that he hath strength of allyance in Scotland, and that yf he ioyntly with the Erl of Westmerland should make an enterprise in those parts, it were like to putt ye Realme in tumult, and gyve fier to furder troubles, and therefore the more ey would be had upon ye near frendes of ye same F. Dakers, and the safty & strength of those cowntryes more looked unto.

It seameth they have taken some light abroad that there should be some imployed hence to kill ye Cardinall, in which attempt yf there be any ground, it seameth it hath been yll handled, and not closely caryed, and so purchaseth slander without frute.

Endorsed.—Walpole & Bost ex. by Mr. Bacon.

LXXXVII.

JOHN CORNELIUS TO FATHER HENRY GARNET

[Before June, 1594]

Archives S J. Autograph.

This letter is not altogether unknown, as H. Foley has printed a slightly abbreviated translation of the somewhat shortened text found in the ample panegyric, of which he gives a free version (*Records S.J.*, iii, 464).

Jesus Maria.

Accepi R. P. literas auro charitatis onustas, pietate, consolatione plenas. Gratias, quas referre non possum, habeo maximas. Quod vobis et numero et merito non sum, doleo; quod autem desiderio et voluntate sum, gaudeo; et spero Patrem Ignatium beatissimæ memoriæ, si hinc evolavero ruptis huius vitæ repagulis, me in suos numerabit, quod consolatur maxime. Interim Dei voluntatem in spe et silentio summo expectabo, hic cum fratre meo charissimo Loo annum probationis agens; ad cuius finem cum fune vt me deducat Dominus humillime peto: Sed "Domine non sum dignus" et "Si populo tuo adhuc sum necessarius, non recuso laborem."

Certiores obsecro facias, mi pater, concaptivos, si placeant literæ ad Cookum missæ. Si isti modi producendi vitam aut potius impediendi alios ab homicidio non sint liciti; si quemquam offendant, revocabo. Faciam quod in me est vt nemini causam præbeam scandali. Sed quia

Dei voluntas, quæ sit, non innotescit, cum Christo clamo: "Pater, si possibile est, transeat a me calix iste; sed non mea sed tua fiat voluntas."

Ne opprimar subito, raptim abrumpo orationis filum, mutuam et crebram orationum vicissitudinem submisse rogans, omnibus meis charissimis Catholicis me commendans; quorum expectationi, per Dei gratiam, satisfaciam. Nos, vt nos, nihil sumus; sed "Omnia possum in eo, qui me confortat." Iam nihil scire aut cogitare oportet "nisi Jesum Christum, Eumque crucifixum: in nullo gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi"; et ab Apostolo, vt a Christo precibus impetret, vt cum eo dicamus: "Viuo ego, iam non ego; sed vivit in me Christus."

Valeat sua reverentia millies et meam causam agat apud patres vt in hoc ergastulo, si fieri possit, de repente Jesuita evadam et in cœlum conscendam.

Oratio fratris mei Currei ad resistendum hæreticis vsque ad sanguinem: nisi raperem nescio quid mali vereretur: cavete, si communis sit, vt memoriæ non chartis mandetur.*

Suæ Reverentiæ observantissimus
Johannes in vinculis.

LXXXVIII.

JOHN INGRAM'S EPIGRAMS

March to July, 1594

Stonyhurst, *Ang.*, vii, *n.* 8, the author's autograph. The last page, with the Epigrams xix, xx, is unfortunately missing, but the verses are supplied from a contemporary copy by Father Holtby (*ibid.*, ii, *n.* 12). Father Grene has copied the first eighteen in his *Collectanea N*, ii, 41-46. The inscriptions carved by the martyr on the walls of the Tower of London have, it would seem, all disappeared.

We have already seen proofs of Ingram's skill in using Latin (p. 165), and it was only natural that he should invoke again the Classic Muse to help him in the terrible struggle with "Expectation of death," that "other death which grins at me, her grey hairs steeped in gore." To avoid her gruesome glances, he busies his mind chiefly with a happy past. His first thought is of his "dearest Mother" (i). The "second from the eleventh year has passed, since her voice was drunk in by his ears," and he knows not whether she is still alive, but in heaven they will meet again. According to Challoner, Ingram's parents were Protestants, but to judge from the tone of these verses, the mother must by then have been converted.

Then there are recollections of Warwick, Hereford, and Worcester (iii), where his parents had lived before his birth, where he was actually born, and where he spent his childhood. But there is no reference to Oxford, though he has been identified with the John Ingrame who is No. 65

* The last lines are very hurriedly written and obscure. There is no punctuation in the original. The Currie alluded to is probably Father John Currie, S.J., who had worked some time at Chideock and other places, where he would have met Cornelius, and probably had lately died. The exact date of his death is not known, but it took place about this time. The words in italics being supplied, the meaning seems to be, "The prayers of such a friend as Currie, *who is now in heaven, will win me the grace* to resist, &c. Unless I am *suddenly* carried off, I know not what evil *should be feared.* If *your answer about my admission* is an ordinary one ('communis,' that is not requiring any special formula), pray do not send it by writing, but by word of mouth."

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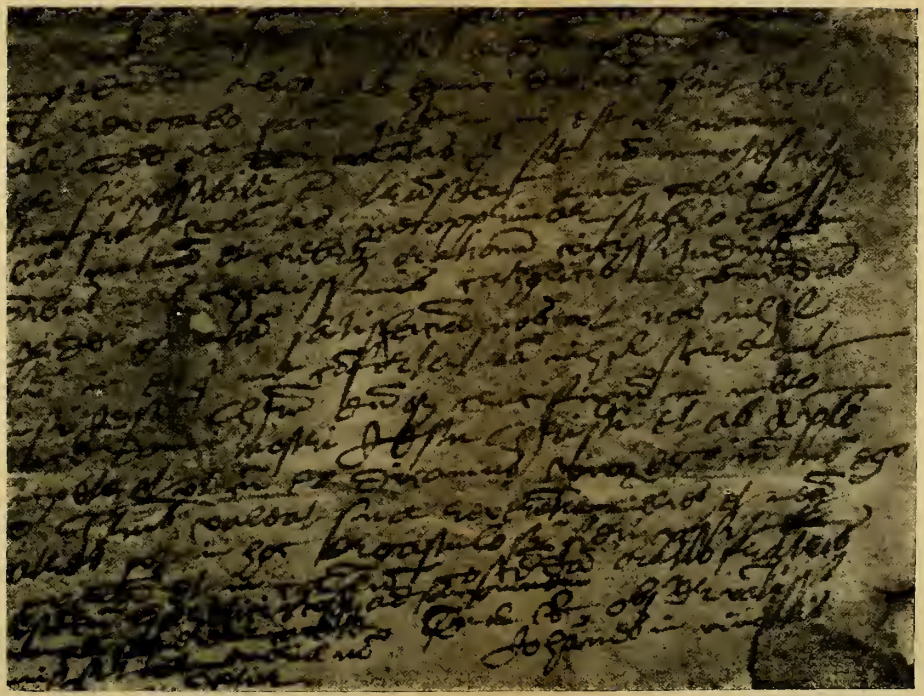


To face p. 270]

The VEN. JOHN CORNELIUS, S.J.

in the list of New College, published in the *Oxford Register*, II, ii, 22. But this must be an error, for the list belongs to the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, whereas our Ingram was not born until about 1565.*

Then his mind wanders back to Flanders, "Thou that didst teach me the sweet words of the Roman tongue" (*n.*19). He was certainly at Douay, where he studied under John Columb, a Devonshire man, and a Jesuit, (*Troubles*, iii, 108). He left Douay for Rheims in September, 1582, but was seized with three companions, thrown into prison, and held to ransom. He managed, however, to escape, and got eventually to Rheims (26 Oct.), "in most miserable plight, dressed in rags and tatters" (*Douay Diaries*, pp. 191–2; *Cardinal Allen's Letters*, p. 164; and here xx). Next April he was sent to the Jesuits at Pont-à-Musson, to study logic, *dialecticis praeceptis imbuendus*, say the *Douay Diaries*, p. 195, but in his verses he dwells entirely on the literary side of his training at this period (xix). Evidently the classics had been entirely to his taste.

On the 7th of September, 1584, he arrived at the Hospice of the English College, Rome, and was admitted at the age of nineteen, "aptus ad logicam," to the College on the 20th of October, and he took the usual oath on the 10th of June, 1585 (Foley, vi, 166, 167, 555). Here, "at the fount of faith," he learnt "wisdom and Christ in the sacred text, and to raise anointed hands unto heaven." That is, he was ordained priest by "a saintly bishop," to wit, by Thomas Goldwell, of St. Asaph. He received minor orders, after a dispensation from any irregularity contracted either through schism or heresy, in July, 1585; the subdiaconate and diaconate on the 25th and 30th of November, and the priesthood on the 3rd of December, 1589. These are the dates from Foley's edition of the College *Annales*, or *Diary*, supplemented by Grene's *Collectanea N*, ii, 17, and we shall have to return to them again. Father Grene (*ibid.*) quotes an old account book of the College (*Libro di depositi;* anno 1588, ad 16), "He had a paid copyist [*i.e.* to take down the theological dictates] probably on account of ill health. It is also recorded in the same place that Sir Francis Englefield sent him money from Spain, that is, 11:80, and at another time 20:21 [scudi]."

In the beginning of 1586 there was trouble between some of the scholars and their Jesuit teachers, which led to a declaration of loyalty to the governing body being drawn up by the majority, and Ingram's name appears among the fifty (?49) signatories, and he subscribes (if Foley, p. 508, is right) as "subdeacon."

But this does not agree with the *Annales* of the College, which, without definitely stating the year of the subdiaconate, appears to ascribe it to the same year as his priesthood, that is to 1589 (Foley, vi, 167). It is clear, however, that the entries in the *Annales* were not made immediately after the ordinations took place, but were filled in later. The *Declaration* would therefore, on this point, be the earlier document, and by consequence the more authoritative. On the other hand, the martyr's memory in after years, as to the day of his receiving the priesthood, must be regarded as less reliable than these said *Annales*. He alludes to his ordination as having taken place on St. Catherine's day, *i.e.* November 25 (xviii), whereas the *Annales* explicitly give December 3, 1589 (Foley). It seems clear that the martyr has here confused the day of his subdiaconate, November 26, with that of his priesthood.

* The Oxonian may in fact have been the father of our martyr. He was fellow of New College (see Wood, *Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*, i, 283), and ejected about 1560. *Concertatio*, p. 416*b*, mentions one "Joannes Ingram nobilis, obiit exul.," who *might* conceivably be the same man. There was a Christopher Ingram priest, of the diocese of Worcester, at Rheims about six years before John.

As has been seen from the notes in *n.* lxxxii, Ingram, after leaving Rome, 4 December, 1591 (p. 203 *supra*), made his way through Abbeville to Flanders, and thence to Scotland, where he says that he arrived a year and a half before his arrest, which would be in the spring of 1592. Dr. Jessopp, *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, p. 174, writes of Ingram having come from Flanders with Father Walpole at the close of 1593; but the documents summarised in the *Calendars*, which seem to countenance this view, do not support it when read entire.

In Scotland Ingram lived with Sir Walter Lindsay, of Balgavies, son of the ninth Earl of Crawford (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, xxxiii, 314). In a Spanish report drawn up or presented by that laird, it is stated that he "withstood the ministers for a long time, with the help of an English priest, named Ingram (afterwards martyred in England), who lived in his house as chaplain, said mass and preached sermons, which the said laird invited heretics and others to attend, not without signal benefit, for many became converted to the holy faith" (W. Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, p. 355). Ingram was therefore in Scotland during the critical period known as that of the Spanish Blanks, and during the acute persecution which followed. Amongst other measures Balgavies Castle was then demolished by King James, and this was very probably the cause of Ingram's return to England in November, 1593. He is reported to have said at his trial that "he was pursued in Scotland, and constrained to avoid the same for fear of his life. He came into England and stayed but ten hours, and returning to Scotland was taken upon the water of Tweed" (*Troubles*, iii, 201).

In Epigrams iv, v, ix, and xx, we have a retrospect over this stirring period. Like a true Anglo-Scot he was full of admiration for the courageous people from whom he was descended, with whom he now identified himself, and amongst whom he had found "a second mother, and a second father" (ix and xv, with Holtby's note). From Epigram xx we learn he had suffered imprisonment in Scotland, a matter not recorded elsewhere.

His arrest took place, he tells us (xviii), on St. Catherine's day, November 25. But he seems to have kept up his disguise as a Scotsman for a long while. At all events the Earl of Huntingdon does not seem to have begun to take those special precautions in his regard, which were deemed necessary when dealing with priests, until the following February. Epigram xv, on his betrayer, therefore probably refers to the treachery committed shortly after his arrest, which led to the suspicion that he was an English priest, not a Scotsman.

We have indeed heard the Earl of Huntingdon declare, *n.* lxxxi, that, "by that good hap, which God giveth unto all service for her Majesty," he, the Lord President, could make no progress with Ingram's case until Thomas Walpole turned traitor. Not even Hardesty and Major, fallen priests who had been with Ingram at Rome (Foley, vi, 117, 507, 551, 563), could "tell me anything of him." Yet this is probably mere stupidity on Lord Huntingdon's part. He knew before, on the 24th of February, almost all that was afterwards gleaned about his prisoner (*n.* lxxx compared with *n.* lxxxii), and he learned it from Hardesty (*Troubles*, iii, p. 202). The evidence given by Thomas Walpole appears to have been of no practical value, and was not referred to during the trial. It is certainly not Walpole who is here alluded to by Ingram.

There are, of course, many references to the circumstances of his imprisonment and examinations, to Berwick, York, and London (xx); to the horse that carried him to the Tower (xiii), to his excuses under examination (ix), to his poor, cold, open cell (xi, xii), to his straw bed, and the mice that sheltered in it (xx), to the blunt knife that was given him,

The Ven. JOHN INGRAM, M.

according to custom, during the period of torture, lest he should commit suicide (x). This precaution is also described in Father Gerard's autobiography (p. 248), and in his account of the Powder Plot (Morris, *Condition of Catholics under James I*, p. 189). Walpole also lets us know that he had an opportunity while in London of publicly confessing his devotion to the Blessed Virgin, Mother of God (xx).

Almost every epigram ends with a little touch of humour, or piety, confidence in God, or cheerful patience.

Ἐπιγράμματα *parietibus Turris Londinensis rudi cultro insculpta cum indies mortem expectaret.*

I. Ad Charissimam Genitricem

Aetherea, dulcis genitrix, si vesceris aura,
Te gratum lachrymis oro locare modum.
Scinditur ecce tuo corpus quod corpore sumpsi
Aurea sed gaudens spiritus astra petit.
Alter ab undecimo, ni fallor, transiit annus
Quo tua vox nostris auribus hausta fuit.
Fas Caelo mutuas audire et reddere voces
Quo propero iuvenis, tuque sequêris anus.
Relligionis amor, summi cultusque Tonantis,
Sola ferae, crimen non, mea causa necis.

II. Ἐπίγραμμα Iocosum in Tumulum

Pro tumulo lapides fodiuntur, viscera terrae,
Ut vivos dives possit habere suo.
Ast ego non quaero tumbam: sed vivida tumba
Pro nostro exangui corpore corvus erit.

III. Aliud

Terra ligans ursam gignit, me parturit hasta
Parmaque, terra potens fructibus illa fovet.

[*In margin, original hand.*] Warwici genitus, Herefordiae natus, Vigorniae educatus.

IV. Aliud. Ad Scotiae Proceres

Clara cohors vivat, genuit quam terra Tyranni
Nullius externum docta movere iugum.
In cultu veterum vixi, rapiorque, secundum
Morte datum exemplum vos facitote meum.

V. Aliud

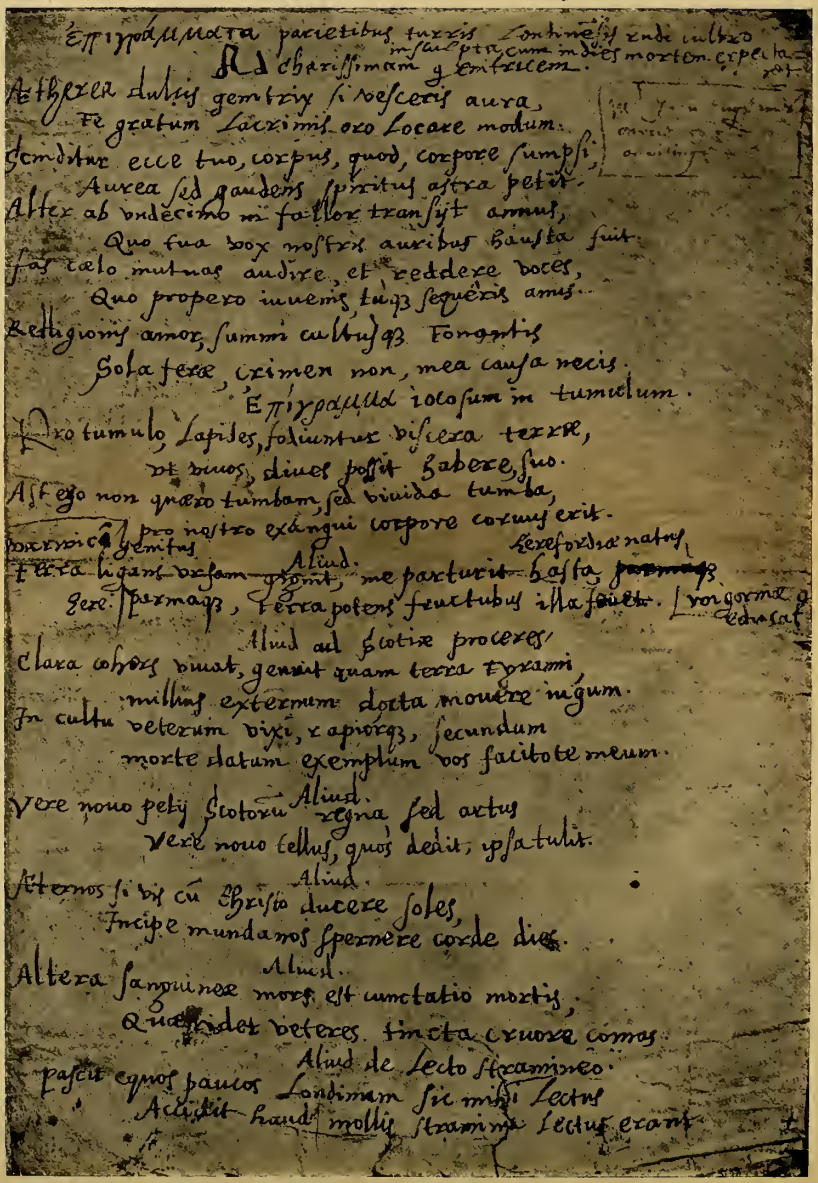
Vere novo petii Scotorum regna, sed artus
Vere novo tellus, quos dedit, ipsa tulit.

VI. Aliud

Aeternos si vis cum Christo ducere soles
Incipe mundanos spernere corde dies.

VII. Aliud

Altera sanguineæ mors est cunctatio mortis,
Quae ridet veteres tincta cruore comas.



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Ad charissimam genitricem.

Aetherea dulcis genitrix si vesceris aura,
Fe gratum Lacrimis oro Locare modum.
Scinditur ecce tuo, corpus, quod, corpore sumpsi,
Aurea sed gaudens spiritus astra petit.
Alter ab undecimo ni fallor transijt annus,
Quo tua vox nostris auribus hausta fuit.
Fas cælo mutuas audire, et reddere voces,
Quo propero iuuenis, tuq; sequeris amis.
Religionis amor, summi cultusq; Fonantis
Sola feræ, crimen non, mea causa necis.

Ἐπίγραμμα iocosum in tumulum.

Pro tumulo, Lapides, foliuntur viscera terræ,
Ut viuos, diues possit habere, suo.
Ast ego non quæro tumbam, sed viuida tumba,
Pro nostro exangui corpore coruus erit.

Aliud.

Terra ligans ursam gignit, me parturit hasta, ~~parmaq;~~ Herefordiæ natus,
Here: parmaq;, terra potens fructubus illa fouet. [voi gormæ q educat

Aliud ad Scotiæ proceres.

Clara cohors viuat, genuit quam terra Tyrami,
millius externum docta mouere iugum.
In cultu veterum vixi, rapiorq;, secundum
morte datum exemplum vos facito te meum.

Aliud.

Vere nouo petij Scotorum regna sed artus
Vere nouo tellus, quos dedit, ipsa tulit.

Aliud.

Æternos si vis cum Christo ducere soles,
Incipe mundanos spernere corde dies.

Aliud.

Altera sanguineæ mors est cunctatio mortis,
Quæ videt veteres tincta cruore comas.

Aliud de Lecto stramineo.

Pascit equos paucos Londinum sic mihi Lectus
Accidit haud mollis stramina lectus erant.

To face p. 273]

The Ven. JOHN INGRAM, M.

according to custom, during the period of torture, lest he should commit suicide (x). This precaution is also described in Father Gerard's autobiography (p. 248), and in his account of the Powder Plot (Morris, *Condition of Catholics under James I*, p. 189). Walpole also lets us know that he had an opportunity while in London of publicly confessing his devotion to the Blessed Virgin, Mother of God (xx).

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VII. Aliud

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Quae ridet veteres tincta cruore comas.

VIII. Aliud. De lecto stramineo

Pascit equos paucos Londinum, sic mihi lectus
Accidit haud mollis. Stramina lectus erant.

IX. 'Επίγραμμα in Zoilum

Anglia sacrato fama super astra cruore
Nato nota parens extitit alma tibi.
Cur fractam talis coepit dementia mentem,
Beruici captus dicere 'Scotus ego?'
Summa tibi rerum tangens fastigia dicam
Nil ficti verbis delituisse meis.
Assumptum nomen Scotorum gentis habebam
Et Sonipes, servus, Scotica vestis erat.
Illius in primo capiebar limine regni
Altera quo genetrix, quo pater alter erat.
Scotia dilexit, nutrivit Scotia egenum,
Causa triplex superest corde silenda meo.
Esse suam dixit Saram Patriarcha sororem
Abimelech Abram: nonne timore necis?
Patris ad exemplum tanti natusque "Rebecca
Est mihi," non puduit dicere, "pulchra soror."
Aequivocare licet sanctis; imitator eorum
Ausus eram, factus, dicere, 'Scotus ego'
Dum modo festucam fratris conaris ocello
Tollere, trabs proprio lumine magna iacet.

X. Aliud. De cultro quem in Turri habuit

Cur mihi cultellum varia rubigine nigrum
Absque dedit Fanner cuspide clave potens?
Horrida sanguinei sectatus proelia Martis
Hibernus voluit se violare manu.
Tu quoque cinctus eras rutilanti Palladis ense;
Eius et in vita castra secutus eras.
Neu velles tristem ferro dirumpere vitam,
Non datus idcirco culter acutus erat.
Arte pares igitur forma tractavit eadem
Neu tua custodi Parca nociva foret.
Ecce novem fateor Musis me semper amicum,
Discrepat ast sapiens Marte Minerva fero.
Omnibus opto fidem coram signare cruore
Fiat ut his vitae mors mea causa piae.

XI. Aliud

Queis aura cœli, mihi bina foramina, vesci
Vix potui, vincto forte fuere mihi,
Noctes atque dies, sed cur patuere? Cubili
Frigus ut arceret, nulla fenestra fuit.
Par mihi passuro meditari vulnera loethi
Gaudia quae sanctos martires alta manent.
Exuperat reliquas sed inenarrabile lumen

Laetitias, sanctis quo deus ipse micat.
Hoc fuit in causa Phoebo Phoebique sorori
Cum minima minimam visere luce casam.

XII. Aliud. De rerum penuria quam in Turri sustinuit

Dives Alexander toto celebratur in orbe
Qui pressit duro plurima regna iugo.
Puluinar, librum, ciathos, ex stramine lectum
Computo, cum tanto divite, dives ego.
Esse sua nondum, morienti diceret author
Cum stabilis, gentes sub ditione novas,
Non color unus erat simulati corde doloris,
Et lachrimae testes fontis ad instar erant
Ast ego contentus paucisque meisque quieta
Mente satur pauper, sum quoque dives ego.

XIII. Aliud

Bucephalus, dorso, sonipes, bene nomine magno,
Magnus Alexandro substitit ipse suo;
Londinum sed equus qui me portaverat usque,
A Borea vinctum, parvus et albus erat.
Albior ille prior macula sine vexerat omni
Per dominum foedae turpia strata viae
Ast minor hic album mutavit saepe colorem,
Meque nigrum luto reddidit esse suo.

XIV. Aliud. De solitaria vita

Hic qui solus agit nunquid μισάνθρωπος ἐστί?
Nulla placet menti femina masve suae?
Cuncta pius sacro complevit numine Christus,
Orbe locus vasto quo sine nullus adest.
Vivimus in Domino motique movemur ab ipso
Immobili nutu cuncta movente Deo.
Falleris en dicens tu me μισάνθρωπον εἶναι
Est Dominus mecum, non ego solus ago.

XV. In Proditorem ἘΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ

Proditus a Juda superi Regnator Olympi,
Prodor et a Juda dissimilique modo.
Vendidit ille Deum caecus Plutonis amore
Ast me pro Baccho vendidit iste suo.
Visceribus primo ruptis laqueisque necato
Triginta nummi nil valuere viro.
Spe liquidi vana potus lususque secundus
Praemia sacrilegi nulla laboris habet.*

* *Father Grene in the margin.*—Additur hic in margine a P. Ric. Holtby:—Erat quidam nefarius in cuius domo hospitabatur, qui eum Praesidi prodidit, alioquin Scotus haberetur, nam et quidam nobilis Scotus illum pro filio agnovit ac redimere conatus est.

XVI. Aliud. Ad labores tolerandos excitans

Divinos Genitor Nato concessit honores
Quod cruce sit passus vulnera foeda necis.
Regia difficili largitur dona labori,
Sed tormenta manent otia sæua Stygis.

XVII. Aliud. De die quo turri primum est clausus

Ambobus miles Longinus captus ocellis,
Ob causas illum colloco mente duas.
Hunc furiis Christi dicunt agitatus iniquis,*
Hastilis niveum vi penetrasse latus.
Sparsus utrumque sacro Christi cum sanguine lumen
De summa festum conspicit arce diem.
Ille dies quo me turris mala claustra videre
Fecit inexhaustus relligionis amor.

XVIII. Aliud

Ut caperer fuerit casus, quae causa vel error
Diva tibi sacro, quis, Catharina die?
Compulit eloquio victrix sophiaque rebelles
Sub Christi laeto subdere colla jugo.
Nonne ministrorum bis senam tuque phalangem
Stans contra vera pro fide victor eras?
Summi plena dei crudelis virgo tyranni
Sub saevo castum perdidit ense caput,
Stans captus medios inter tot tela, tot hostes,
Te dabis immenso per pia frusta Deo.
Illius in festo te sanctus episcopus aede
In sacra sacras unxit habere manus.
Esse sacerdotem cecidit volventibus annis
Tempore te fassum quo bene factus eras.

XIX. Carmen grati animi demonstrativum ad loca illa in quibus bonas artes imbiberat

Urbibus exopto grates persolvere dignas
artes me quondam quae docuere suas.
Flandria quae bello gliscis, quaeque ubere glebae
Europa socias nescis habere duas,
Dulcia Romanam docuisti verba loquelam,
fecisti et recte nectere cuncta rotae.
Gallia, quae quondam nulli pietate secunda
saepe sinu doctos docta fovere viros,
Scire facis Marcum latio sermone parentem,
scire facis laetae metra sonare lyrae.
Roma tui quondam structoris sanguine sparsa,
Roma modo fidei fons pietatis apex.
Te sophiamque sacro textu Christumque magistra
atque unctas didici tollere ad astra manus.
Flandria, Francorum regnum, Latiumque valete,
vester in Ingrami pectore crescit honos.

* *Father Grene notes.*—Melius:—Dicitur hic Christi furiis agitatus iniquis.

XX. De variis carceribus, quibus ob orthodoxam fidem fuit diversis temporibus mancipatus, carmen sapphicum

Ob dolum nullum varius Joannem
Carcer Ingramum tenuit ligatum
Ob fidem ferri placuit Quirinam
ferre catenam.

Laeta Gallorum miseri nephando
terra Calvini vitiata stupro
me diu cæco tenerum puellum
carcere clausit.

Scotiae regnum simili dehiscens
peste laetatum est veluti latronem
nullius victum posuisse in arctum
criminis antrum.

Haeresis dira novitate squallens
filium multas patier cavernas
ob sácram gaudes veterum parentum
relligionem.

Marte Barvicum resonans secundo
vidit in primis comitante turba
me sacerdotem Domino sacratum
compede vinctum.

Sed diem nostrum quoniam sitivit
ultimum *monstrum Boreae cruentum
militum magna rapior caterva
deinde Eboracum.

Subtrahor falso capitalis inde
usque Londinum moriturus insons
proditor tanquam patriae malignus
tegmine culpae.

Urbe cum primo domini sonoro
ore confessus niveam Tonantis
virginem sponsamque caputque ponor
illius arce.

Sanctus ut Baptista Dei Joannes
matris ex alvo socios eremo
hinnulos, turri comites tenebam
sic ego mures.

Straminis nostra petulans caterva
ausa lectica sibimet superbum
cum viro foedus cupiens inire
condere nidum.

Cum nec tempus rerum poeticarum aptum, nec liber ullus tali negotio necessarius sese obtulerit, non mirum erit si aliqua irrepserint, a candido lectore vitia [aut] aeque boneque concedenda, vel, quod mallem, emendanda.

* *Father Holtby notes in the margin.*—"Praeses."

[*Translation*]

Epigrams cut with a blunt knife on the walls of the Tower of London while he daily awaited death.

I. To dearest Mother

Dear mother, if you still breathe the breath of life,
I pray you put a happy end to your tears.
Behold this body which I have taken from your body is to be torn asunder,
Yet does my soul seek with gladness the golden stars.
The second from the eleventh year, unless I am deceived, has passed
Since your voice was drunk in by my ears.
In heaven it will be permitted to exchange words again,
Whither I hasten yet a youth, whither you will follow in old age.
'Tis love of the faith, and the worship of the Lord of Heaven,
This alone, and no crime, is the cause of my dread doom.

II. A Merry Epigram on his Tomb

Rocks are quarried, the entrails of the earth,
That Dives may have living rock for his tomb.
No tomb seek I; and yet shall there be a living tomb
For my lifeless body—the carrion-crow.

III. Another

The land that binds the bear is my father, my mother
The spear and shield, my nurse the land rich in fruits.

[An allusion to the arms of the counties of Warwick, where he was begotten; Hereford, where he was born; Worcester, where he was brought up.]

IV. Another, to the Lords of Scotland

Hail to thee glorious band, born of a soil
That scorns to bear the yoke of any foreign tyrant!
I have lived in the religion of my sires, for it I am a prisoner;
Do you according to the example given you in my death.

V. Another

In early spring I sought the realm of the Scots, but these limbs
Which that land had given me, she took from me in early spring.

VI. Another

If thou wouldst with Christ spend eternal days,
Begin to scorn in heart the days of earth.

VII. Another

This expectation of a bloody death is another death,
Which grins at me, her grey hairs steeped in gore.

VIII. Another, on his Bed of Straw

London has few horses to feed, hence there fell to me
A couch though not a soft one: for my couch was straw.

IX. Epigram to Zoilus

"England, known to fame beyond the stars for the blood of her saints,
Has proved a kindly mother to thee her son.
Why did such folly seize thy shattered brain
As to make thee cry 'I am a Scot,' when seized at Berwick?"
"I will but touch upon the chief points of the tale, and say

That no falsehood lay hidden in my words.
My assumed name was that of a Scottish clan,
My horse, my servant; my dress was Scottish.
Right on the threshold of that kingdom was I taken,
Whence came both my second mother and my second father.
Scotland loved me, Scotland succoured me in my need.
There is a further threefold reason, which shall remain shut up in my heart.
The Patriarch Abram declared to Abimelech that Sara was his sister:
Did he not do so from fear of death?
After the example of a father so great the son too
Was not ashamed to say: "Rebecca the beautiful is my sister."
It is allowed to saints to equivocate; in imitation of them
I had dared to say, having become one, 'I am a Scot.'
While thou dost endeavour to take a mote from thy brother's eye,
A great beam rests in thy own."

X. Another, on the Knife he had in the Tower

Why has Fanner, the keeper of the keys, given me a knife blackened with all manner of rust, and without a point?
An Irishman, who had followed the dread career of bloody Mars,
Wished to lay violent hands upon himself.
Thou also hadst once been girt with Pallas' gleaming sword;
And in thy life hast followed her banner.
Yet thou wouldst never be willing to destroy thy wretched life with the steel,
On that account was the sharp knife refused thee.
Men of kindred professions he has treated us in the same way,
Lest thy fate should harm thy keeper.
Lo, I confess that I have ever been a friend of the nine muses,
But Minerva the wise differs far from Mars the ferocious.
In presence of all I desire to seal my faith with my blood,
That my death may be to them a cause of a holy life.

XI. Another

In my prison there chanced to be two apertures
Through which I could with difficulty feed upon the air of heaven.
But why were they open night and day?
There was no shutter to keep the cold from my chamber.
It was right that I, destined to endure the stroke of death,
Should meditate upon the joys which await the holy martyrs above.
But all other joys are surpassed by that light unspeakable,
By which God Himself shines upon the saints.
This was the reason why Phœbus and Phœbus' sister
Visited my tiny cell with a tiny ray.

XII. Another, on the Destitution he endured in the Tower

Alexander the rich is extolled the whole world over,
Who brought many a kingdom beneath his hard yoke.
A pillow, a book, cups, and a bed of straw
Are mine; rich as he was, I too am rich.
When one who knew told him on his death-bed
That there were still mighty nations not yet brought beneath his sway,
All the signs he gave were those of unfeigned grief of heart,
And the tell-tale tears poured down as from a fountain.
But I content with little, and satisfied with what is mine,
Poor as I am, at ease in mind, am rich enough.

XIII. Another

The steed Bucephalus the Great bore upon his back
Alexander, also well styled the Great;
But the beast that carried me as far as London
A prisoner from the north, was both small and white.
The first was whiter still and had borne without a stain
His lord through foul and filthy ways;
But my lesser jade often changed his whiteness
And made me black too with the mud of his own splashing.

XIV. Another, on his solitary Life

Is he who lives here alone a misanthrope?
Does no man or woman give pleasure to his soul?
Christ the Holy One has filled all things with His presence,
Without Him is no spot in the whole world.
We live in the Lord; when moved we are moved by Him.
God immovable moving all things by His nod.
Lo! you are deceived who say I hate company;
The Lord is with me; I do not live alone.

XV. Epigram on his Betrayer

The Ruler of highest heaven was betrayed by Judas;
I, too, am betrayed by a Judas in another way.
He sold his God blinded by the love of Pluto,
But this Judas sold me for the sake of Bacchus.
When the first had burst asunder and had perished by the halter,
His thirty coins were of no avail to him.
The second fooled by the hope of drink and sport
Has now no reward for his deed of sacrilege.

[*Marginal note of Fr. Grene.*—Here is added in the margin by Fr. Ric. Holtby: This was a certain rascal in whose house he lodged, and who betrayed him to the Judge. Otherwise he would have been taken for a Scot, for a certain Scottish nobleman owned him as his son, and endeavoured to ransom him.]

XVI. Another, stirring him to the endurance of Labour

The Father bestowed divine honours upon the Son,
Because on the Cross He endured the foul wounds of death.
He lavishes royal gifts on hard labour,
But the cruel torments of Hell await idleness.

XVII. On the Day when he was first shut up in the Tower

The soldier Longinus was blind in both eyes;
For two reasons I recall him to mind.
It is said that he, stirred by the lawless enemies of Christ,
Pierced His immaculate side with a thrust of his lance.
With both eyes sprinkled with Christ's sacred blood,
He sees the gladsome daylight descend from the heights of heaven.
That was the day, on which the unquenched love of the Faith
Made me behold the grim prison of the Tower.

XVIII. Another

What chance was it, what cause, or what mistake that I should have been taken
On the day dedicated to thee, holy Catherine?
By her eloquence and her wisdom she triumphantly drove the foe
To submit their necks to the happy yoke of Christ.

Didst thou not also face and overcome for the true faith
A phalanx of twelve ministers?
The maiden filled with the most high God forfeited
Her chaste life beneath the savage sword of a heartless tyrant.
Thou standing bound in the midst of so many armed foes,
Wilt give thyself piece by piece a sacrifice to the Immense God.
Upon her feast a saintly bishop anointed thee
That thou mightest have hands consecrated for the sacred rite.
After the lapse of years it has fallen out that thou shouldst confess
thyself a priest
On the day on which thou wast happily made one.

XIX. Ode showing the Gratitude of his Soul to those Places in which he had learned gentle Arts

I long to pay due thanks to those cities
Which once on a time taught me their arts.
Flanders, thou that flashest with war, and which for the fruit of the soil,
Ownest no two equals in all Europe,
Thou didst teach me the sweet words of the Roman tongue,
And didst make me bind all well unto the wheel.*
France, thou of old second to none in holiness,
And skilled often to nourish learned men within thy bosom,
Thou dost make me know Cicero the father of Latin oratory,
Thou dost make me know how to sound the measures of the
gladsome lyre.
Rome, thou of old sprinkled with the blood of thy founder,
Rome, now the fount of faith, the pinnacle of holiness,
Under thy tuition I learnt wisdom and Christ in the sacred text,
And to raise anointed hands unto heaven.
Flanders, Realm of France, and Latium, hail;
Your honour grows in the heart of Ingram.

XX. Sapphic Ode, on the various Prisons to which he had at various times been committed for the true Faith

On account of no deceit has many a prison held John Ingram bound; it was his lot to bear a chain of iron for the Roman faith.

The happy land of France, fouled by the horrid crime of wretched Calvin, long shut me up when a tender child in a gloomy cell.

The kingdom of Scotland, cloven by a like plague, rejoiced to clap me as if I were any robber in a narrow dungeon, yet convicted of no crime.

Foul heresy, with thy merciless novelty, thou dost make merry that a son should endure many a gaol but for the sacred faith of his fathers.

Berwick, with its echoes of success in arms, beheld me a priest consecrated to the Lord bound with fetters in the front of the line while the mob followed.

But since the bloody monster [the President] of the North, thirsted for my day of doom, I am carried thence amid a great band of soldiers to York.

Thence I am removed under the false cover of a capital charge to London there, though innocent, to perish as a vile traitor to my country.

* I am unable to ascertain the meaning of this line.

In the city as soon as I had proclaimed with clear voice the Immaculate Virgin to be the Spouse and the Mother of the Lord God I am committed to its Tower.

As the holy man of God John the Baptist from his mother's womb had the beasts in the desert for his comrades, so in the Tower my comrades were mice.

That arrogant tribe desired to enter into a proud treaty with man, and dared to build its nest in my bed of straw.

Seeing that the time was one ill-suited for writing poetry, and that there was a total dearth of books needful for such a task, it will not be strange that some faults should have crept in which a generous reader will either courteously condone, or, what is better, correct.

LXXXIX.

TWO LETTERS OF INGRAM TO HIS FELLOW PRISONERS

July, 1594

Stonyhurst, *Anglia*, ii, *n.* 79; Westminster Archives, ix, 203; Oscott, Challoner's MSS., p. 427; a partial copy, *Collectanea M*, 43.

The first of these is headed by Father Persons, "The b. Martyr f. Inghiam. autographum." But the handwriting is certainly not that of the martyr. The Westminster transcript, though later in date, often gives some better readings. Challoner has printed about one-third of each letter.

His letter to the prisoners

Most Dearly Beloved,

Although I am in this province and to all of you a mere stranger, and consequently destitute of ordinary motives for mutuall love and affection, yet seeing[1] God hath through the operation of the Holy Ghost inflamed you not only to believe in him and in his pure Spouse most true documents, but also to suffer for profession of them, I have emboldened myself, not so laconically as heartily, to greet you all in the bowels of Christ Jesu, wishing my wish the most grateful to[2] good perseverance. *Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit: Qui mittit manum suam*[3] *ad aratrum et respicit retro, non est me dignus.* And although[4] you have[5] to mine infinite grief and corssie* a pair most ugly to behold of Iscariotts or Nicolaites,† yet are you bound in conscience to stand to your own tacklings, not only after their eclipse, in number few, in learning simple, in arrogancy and presumption without comparison, but yet after the fall, I will not say of millions, but of[6] the whole Clergy and laity in the whole world seeing that the matter is of such moment, as in it is necess[ly] involved God his honour & your own perpetual security and beatitude. Therefore I adhort[7] you to remember S[t] Paul his words giving a most secure and wholesome potion preservative from these infectious blasts. *Si Angelus de coelo evangelizet vobis aliud praeter id quod accepistis, anathema sit.* And in the Apostles' time there were found *qui exierunt a nobis sed non erant ex nobis: necesse est ut veniant scandala.* Yea if you had not sometime

* "Corssie" is an abbreviation for corrosie, or "corrosive." W. reads "corasive."
† Perhaps Hardesty and Major, priests who had recently apostatised.

examples of frailties, it would be miraculous and unto you less meritorious: ye may, and have occasion to imitate Job, *qui erat justus inter nationes pravas:* and likewise Lott: I say now to myself and you, *Qui stat, videat ne cadat: Tene quod habes, ne alius accipiat coronam tuam.*

Pray therefore I beseech[8] you in the name of my sweet Saviour Jesus for my constancy, courage and zeal in my holy enterprize. *Spiritus promptus est, caro autem infirma.* Desire Almighty God to overpoise the multitude of my sins with His precious blood, *Cujus una stilla salvum facere totum mundum posset omni scelere.* I am not as yet condemned, nor to my knowledge my blessed brother, of whose security temporal I have no hope. As for my own part I am altogether in the same state I was in before my departure from York, having ever used discretion (according as God commandeth), serpentine[9] and columbine simplicity, in matter, fit time, place, and person. I take God to record that I neither named house, man, wife,[10] or child in time of or before my torments. Therefore if any report the contrary they Machevillianly belie me, for my bloody Saul Topcliffe said I was a monster amongst all other for my strange taciturnity. I look for my trial upon Thursday* and consequently for my death to God's honour: pray for me earnestly.

My dear Concaptives

If the vessel of election glorious S[t] Paul vouchsafed not only by way of paper to comfort eftsoones the Christians of the primitive Church but also to give to his temporal benefactors a sweet surrender of thanks, I will fit me to imitate him in like matter and manner; first to ascertain you that in my chained body my spirit is not chained nor in any distress, or durance, for S[t] Paul testifieth that the passions of this time are not condigne for the future glory which shall be revealed in us. And for my part I have long since (I confide in God) imprinted in my heart constant and immutable not to fear "those that kill the body but the soul they cannot destroy": but rather worthy of remembrance in this world[11] the golden sentences which issued out of the mouth of all verity, "He that hateth his life in this world keepeth it for life everlasting," and "He that confesseth me before men I will confess him before my father which is in heaven." And albeit in my native country I have taken[12] great pains (preoccupated by my Iscariottical apprehension) in God's vineyard, not wanting will nor destitute altogether of necessary furniture, for to mow or reap in harvest season, yet I doubt not (if God will comfort me through you in this militant church and my Patrons in the triumphant Church's obsecrations) I shall purchase for our Babylonical soil more[13] by my death than by my earthly industry's furtherance. For "Unless the seed of corn die, it alone remaineth; but if it die it will bring forth much fruit." S[t] Augustine saith, "*Sanguis martyrum*, the blood of martyrs, is the seed of the Church," and the blood of Abel made an outcry against Cain, and in the Apocalypse the souls of the murdered for the word and testimony of Jesus expostulate for revenge.

I, knowing that the children of darkness are wiser in their generation than the children of light, am enforced to desire you to prevent a certain

* He was, in fact, tried on Wednesday, July 24 (*C.R.S.*, i, 86).

one in Scotland, which fethered with the cloak (as he useth to say) of verity but in sooth of Machiavel, will not stick to avouch, most impiously and of set purpose, that I have detected somewhat prejudicial to Scottish-men, by which guile and engine he may procure hatred to my person in special and to my Coat in general. Therefore in these lines I affirm and protest upon my faith, which I owe to God, and priesthood, that I have neither named person nor disclosed anything as house or harbour, to any man, woman, or child his damage in any climate whatsoever.

To those which out of Scotland made that humane[14] offer of a thousand crowns[15] (as my L. Chamberlain in my presence imparted) I return with the evangelical leper to yield a thousand thanks in sign of gratitude, meaning (if God will give me a miscreant & wretched sinner constancy, propitiation for my sins, and grace so far forth extended as to die for his glory and Spouse's consolation) to make a propitiation of my bloody sacrifice for their oblation. If my servant be found to be as honest as ever I esteemed, I desire some of my familiar acquaintance to bestow an angel upon him, if I be cut[16] happily off. Further, I give my horse and all whatsoever I left, if they can be gotten, to those which have casually been a little annoyed through my loss of life or liberty. Finally, most heartily to all my special[17] children under what cope of heaven soever they are now sorrowing, I send greeting with humble request to God for their constancy in the true way of salvation. My carnal friends I salute and wish, as to mine own soul, conversion from impiety and irreligiosity, to virtue and Peter's sheepfold; I love them most entirely, but my Creator (being his creature) in a far higher degree, for "He that loveth Father or Mother more than me is not worthy of me," saith Christ: *Ergo per calcatum pergam patrem, per calcatam pergam matrem ad vexillum crucis*

I end this my last in haste written for I fear I shall have no means hereafter, therefore I beseech Almighty God to protect you all, and[18] establish you which suffer persecution for justice cause. And to every one of you under the roof[19] next opposite, I send ten grains apiece. Choose yourself the matter, they are of Gregory. Further, one grain to all of the Japonian pardon, which hath plenary only in Advent & Lent, which being lost may be repaired twice. It is to be put or applied to any convenient or fit subject in an oratory or chapel or upon an altar, either Rosary, seven psalms, or Litanies, or[20] to be said for accustomed intentions.*

If I shall obtain the crown of the which I am unworthy I resign to my cousin F. S. 3000 of the former and 40 of the latter, with a thousand thanks for all courtesies and hearty commendations, desiring him to become to our mutual friends a father in common and to impart my

* The pious objects which the martyr sends "to every one of you under the roof next opposite" (*i.e.* to his Catholic fellow-prisoners), seem to be in the first place beads or grains, medals or crosses bearing the indulgences granted by Pope Gregory XIII, probably the same as those recited in *Douay Diaries*, pp. 366, 367. The meaning of the last sentence is obscure, but probably refers to §§7 and 15 of the indulgences just mentioned. In the Westminster Archives there is a special list of indulgences granted to Thomas Stukely, vol. ii, p. 15, 13 June, 1575; those granted to Mary Queen of Scots are in the Ambrosian Library, Milan.

loving mind unto them. I find great taste by your devotions, continue them, therefore, I pray you, as the congregation did for Peter in John surnamed Marcus' house. This in post haste. Adewe *in visceribus Christi.* Adewe.

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[1] Westminster *inserts* that. [2] W. *inserts* all. [3] W. *omits.* [4] W., albeit. [5] W. *inserts* had. [6] W. *inserts* all. [7] exhort. [8] W., obtest. [9] from . . . serpentine, W. *omits.* [10] W., woman. [11] In this world, W. *omits.* [12] Stonyhurst *inserts* no. [13] W. *inserts* favour. [14] W. *inserts* and bountiful. [15] W. *inserts* for my life. [16] W., not. [17] W., spiritual. [18] W. *inserts* bless and. [19] W. *inserts* and prison. [20] W., are.

XC.

THE MARTYRDOM OF BOSTE

[After 24 July, 1594]

Stonyhurst MSS., *Collectanea M*, f. 160.

It has already been explained that Cecil's statements are not to be received without caution (see p. 198).

Relacion de algunas particularidades que passaron en la muerte del P. Juan Boste Sacerdote y martyre, embiado por el P. Juan Cecilio al P. Personio.

Aunque V.P. esta bastantemente informado de lo que passo quando estauan sentenciados a muerte los servos de Dios Juan Ingram y Juan Boste Sacerdote, que auia sido ministro de los hereges, y como conuertieron a un ministro en el mismo tribunal, adonde recibiron su sentencia di muerte, con todo esto ay algunas particularidades que no puedo dexar de escriuerles para vuestra edificacion y consuelo; y son que quando lleuaron al buen Padre al lugar del su martirio, saliron a le seguir mas de 300 damas y mugeres principales (*all with black hoods, which with us is a signe of gentlewomen*). Desto spettacolo [*blank*] los hereges preguntaronles adonde yuan. Respondieron, "A acompañar aquel cauallero aquel sieruo de Dios a su muerte, como las Marias a Christo." Huuo un ministro que dio al sieruo de Dios pesadumbre por el camino, y vino un cauallero y le di al ministro un rimpason, y le dixo, "Andad [*blank*] vellaco, porque el S^re^ Boste se ha muestrado un buen cavallero y buen hombre."

Llegado a la hurca beso la escalera y subiendo al primero grado dixo *Angelus Domini nuntiauit Mariæ, &c.*, al segundo *Et verbum caro factum est, &c.*, al tercero *Ecce Ancilla Domini, &c.* Boluendosi al pueblo commençava a predicar, y los hereges le dixeron que vino alla no a predicar sino a morir. "A lo menos, respondio el, daranmi licencia de dar gracias a estos Señores y Señoras que mi an hecha esta honra y merced de accompañar mi este dia. Y aunque mi quitan aghora esta libertad, con todo esto esta mi sangre y muerte y innocencia ha de predicare en los coraçones de los que Dios quiere llamar y recogir a su sancta yglesia catholica; y esta mi cabeça y mis quartos an de predicar cada dia en vuestras portas y paredes la verdad de la fè catholica." Y aun si puso por un rato en oracion: y casi despertandosi pido licencia para rezar un psalmo que es el 114 (*Dilexi quoniam*), y llegando a quel verso *Conuertere anima mea in requiem tuam, quia Dominus benefecit tibi, &c.*, daua gracias a Dios por todos sus beneficios

en general, y en particular de hauerle echa esta tan señalada merced de morir por su sancta fè. Y llegando aquel verso *quoniam eripuisti animam meam a morte, oculos a lachrymis, pedes a lapsu*, alabaua a Dios por la constancia, patiencia y perseuerancia que le hauia dado, que hauiendo sido ministro herege y tenido tantas commodidades del mundo, con todo esto Dios le avia dado esta gracia de dexar todo, y por satisfacion de sus faltas de morir con Christo in Christo y por Christo y por su s^ta^ esposa la yglesia cat^ca^ Romana, "fuera de la quale, creed mi hermanos, porque esto no es tiempo ni de dissimular ni hazer mentiras, *impossibile est intrare in regnum coelorum.*" Y dicho esto, horcaronle y le hizieron pedaços.

[*Translation*]

Relation of certain particulars which occurred at the death of Father John Boste, Priest and Martyr. Sent by Father John Cecil to Father Persons.

Although your Reverence is sufficiently informed of that which occurred when sentence was passed on those servants of God, John Ingram and John Boste (who had been an heretical minister), and how they converted a minister while at the bar where they received judgment of death. Besides this I have a few details which I cannot omit to send you for your edification and consolation. When they took off the good Father to the place of execution, more than 300 ladies and women of good position (*all with black hoods, which with us is a sign of gentlewomen*) set out to follow him. Of this spectacle [*blank*] the heretics asked them whither they were going. They answered, "To accompany that gentleman, that servant of God to his death, as the Maries did Christ." A minister offered to dispute with him by the way, and a horseman came and pushed him away, and said, "Begone . . . knave, Mr. Boste has shown himself a true gentleman, and a true man."

Having come to the scaffold he kissed the ladder, and mounting the first step said, "The angel of the Lord declared unto Mary," &c. On the second, "The word was made flesh," &c. At the third, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord," &c. Turning to the people he began to preach, and the heretics told him he was come not to preach but to die. "At least," he said, "you will allow me to thank these ladies and gentlemen, who have done me the honour and kindness to accompany me to-day. Although I am now to be deprived of liberty [?life], my blood withal and death and innocence, shall preach in the hearts of those whom God will call and gather to His holy Catholic Church. My head and quarters will preach every day on your gates and walls the truth of the Catholic faith." Then he placed himself in prayer for a short while, and, as it were, awakening, he asked leave to recite the 114th psalm, *Dilexi quoniam*, and having arrived at that verse, "Turn, O my soul, into thy rest, for the Lord hath been bountiful unto thee," he returned thanks to God for all His benefits both in general and in particular for having chosen him for this signal mercy of suffering for His holy faith. Having reached that verse, "For Thou hast saved my soul from death, mine eyes from weeping, and my feet from falling," he praised God for the constancy, patience, and perseverance which He had given to one like him, who had been an heretical minister with so many worldly advantages. God, withal, had given him the grace to leave all, and in satisfaction for his sins to die with Christ, in Christ, and for Christ, and for His holy spouse the Catholic Roman church, "outside of which, believe me, brethren (for this is not the time to dissemble, nor to lie), *it is impossible to enter into the kingdom of heaven.*"

This said, they hung him and cut him into pieces.

XCI.

JAMES ATKINSON

27 July, 1594

Record Office, Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, No. 542, rot. 196.

We know but little about the Martyr, James Atkinson, who is not yet declared Venerable because of this dearth of information. He was tortured to death by Topcliffe, in Bridewell, early in 1595. So Garnet's Letter of 23 October, 1595, in Creswell, *Martyrio de cinco Sacerdotes en Inglaterra*, 1596, p. 83 (a copy of this very rare book at St. Joseph's, Gateshead); and from him, Yepes, 696.

This was all that Challoner knew (ed. 1874, p. 189), but two important pieces of evidence have been found or recognised of late. In the first place Mr. Barnes, of Mapledurham, in his extant defence against Topcliffe, openly accused Topcliffe of having done this, in order to make Atkinson accuse him, Barnes, of harbouring priests, in which case his property would have been forfeit (Tierney-Dodd, iii, App., pp. 200–204). The inference from Barnes' account is that Atkinson at first yielded, but eventually stood firm.

But still clearer evidence on this point may be found in the life of Father William Baldwin. He was captured by English pirates at sea on the 25th of January (Creswell, p. 88), the same day that Atkinson was committed to Bridewell, and soon found himself prisoner in the same place. The Jesuit, when taken, had passed himself as an Italian, Ottavio Fuscinelli, who knew no English, and he steadily maintained his incognito though suspected and carefully watched. In the same prison with him he found a Catholic youth half despairing between remorse for certain false accusations against others, which had been wrung from him by torture, and fear that he might be racked to death if he retracted. The Jesuit could not speak to him, or show that he understood him without gravely endangering his incognito, his only chance of safety. But the call of charity prevailed, and he managed to confess and comfort the poor sufferer by night, while the Protestant fellow-prisoners were asleep. Not long after the tortures were renewed, and the poor victim collapsed and died without again failing in fortitude (H. More, *Historia Provinciae Anglicanae*, 1660, p. 375).

Though the name of Atkinson does not appear in this account, yet all the other circumstances, time, place, cause, sequence, &c. &c., correspond quite accurately. As then there is none other but Atkinson of whom a story of this sort is told, there can, therefore, be no question that Father Baldwin's story refers to him. The full story of Father Baldwin's adventures contains many other incidents of interest, some of which I have worked out in the *Stonyhurst Magazine*, May, June, 1889; *cf.* Dom Bede Camm, *The Month*, 1898, ii, 164. Yepes (besides the passages quoted above), pp. 820–830. Baldwin's autograph account is in Archives, S.J., *Scotia Historica*, f. 68, and is signed "Orlaninus, *alias* G.B." He says that he was freed from prison on the day Father Southwell was tried, *i.e.* February 20 or 22, 1595.

The document here printed belongs to the year before Atkinson's death. No details are preserved concerning these earlier sufferings.

Payment by the Treasurer of Chamber

To Thomas Burnham servant to the Lord Norris at Windsor Castle upon the Council's warrant dated at Greenwich xxvij^{mo} Julii 1594 for the diet lodging and other necessaries of James Atkinson prisoner committed to his charge the space of viij weeks, liij^{s} iiij^{d}.

XCII.

JOHN BOSTE AND JOHN INGRAM

28 July, 1594

Record Office, Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, No. 542, rot. 196.

PAYMENTS BY THE TREASURER OF THE CHAMBER

To WILLIAM PERYMAN and Henry Morton yeomen of her Majesty's chamber upon the councils warrant dated at Greenwich xxviij^{vo} Julii 1594 for the charges and expences of themselves disbursed for horsecheer and other necessaries in conduction of two Seminary Priests John Boast and Ingram to the city of York and for their return back, xv^{li}.

XCIII.

CATALOGUE OF MARTYRS, 1587–1594

n. d. 1594

Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, vii, *n.* 26.

The writer of this catalogue began by copying down in his neatest hand a list of Martyrs from 1587 to 1594, leaving considerable spaces between the lines. This script is here printed in italic character. Afterwards he proceeded to insert biographical notes in the blanks he had left, writing in his smallest hand. These notes are here printed in Roman type.

The diversity of handwriting gives the paper at first sight the appearance of having been written by two persons, but a more careful study leads to the conclusion that all is in one hand, which may be identified with that of Father John Gerard, S.J., upon comparison with his signed letters, in which, however, being of a later date, the hand has again changed to some extent. Besides this we may notice that the period covered by this catalogue corresponds with the dates of Gerard's coming to England in 1588, and of his imprisonment in 1594. On the other hand, the month of April conjecturally assigned by Father Morris for his arrest (p. 176), will not suit, as the last entries of this catalogue refer to events which took place on the 26th of July. Another indication of Gerard's authorship is the description of Sutton's relics, of which he was part-possessor (*Life of Gerard*, p. 125).

CATALOGUE OF MARTYRS FROM 1588–1594

1587

Mary Queene of Scotts beheaded in Forthringam Castell in Northamptonsheir *Feb.* 8

Thomas Pilchard Preist, quartered at Dorchester at Lent Assice.

Most cruelly mangled, for beinge cut downe alive and layd on his backe the executioner beinge a cooke and unskilfull or careles first cut him over thwart the belly, withowt he offering to rise the executioner cut him all over the hand. Then the people cryinge owt uppon him, he began to slit him up the belly and to pull owt his bowels. The Priest reised himself and putting owt his hands cast forward his owne bowells cryinge owt *Miserere mei* [*MS. blank*].

The officers retorninge home, many of them died presently crying out they were poisoned with the smell of his bowells. The chiefe

keeper of the prison where he was kept, goinge into his gardaine somewhat late, saw one comminge towards him like Mr. Pilchard, and being astonied asked him what he did there. "[I] goe in to Mr. Jesoppe (a gentleman Catholicke prisoner), and presently I will retorne to you." The keeper went in and sickned, Mr. Jesop died, and the keeper alsoe, who refused the preachers when they offered to come to him. An old prest there in prison in his sleepe was sodenly wakened, and sawe his chamber full of light and a thinge like a fishe bigger then a man from which the light proceeded. There was a gentleman prisoner there then (who tould me all this) whose wife, alsoe prisoner for the cause, was greate with child & neere her tyme, she wakened one night suddeinly in greate fright, and beinge demanded of her husband what she ailed, she affirmed she had seene Mr. Pilchard whoe tould her she must come to him. She fell that night into her labour and died in childbirthe.

A laye man was executed there some 4 years after (I take it Peeke an. 92) whoe beinge asked at his deathe, [what] had moved him to that resolution, etc., he saide, "Nothinge but the smell of a pilcharde."

This priest was noted in his life tyme heare in laboringe for souls to be verie laboriouse. It is thought he had stopped his ears with wull at his deathe, for he never answered word to any thinge they said, but attended [to God] only.

Another priest [? John Hambley] about that tyme in Somerset, removed from Salisburie, who first had yealded of freiltie and afterwards muche repented him (and was comforted in prison by Mr. Pilchard, then alsoe prisoner) and stoud to it manfully, inveighinge muche against his former fault.

1588

William Deane, a yorkshireman, *preest, and Henry Webley a laie man* (borne in Glocester), *hanged at Mile end* *Aug.* 28

Mr. Deane for exhorting the people as he sat in the cart was sore hurt by an officer with a bill uppon the heade: his mouth was alsoe stoppet and mufled with a handkercher.

William Gunter preest, borne in Wales, [*quar.*, erased] *hanged by ye Theator, and —— Williams a preest in Q. Mary time*, borne in Wales, *quartered* [*sic*]* *at Hallowell* *Aug.* 28

William Gunter beinge arayned would not have any iurie to passe uppon him, but freelie confessed he had reconciled and would doe soe againe yf he could. Being brought to ye place of execution he was tould he should not be quartered, he answered "It is fitt it should be soe; for I am not wurthy to suffer so much as my brethren."

Thomas Holforde alias Acton preest, Chesheshire man, *hanged only at Clarkenwell; Robert Moorton preest*, a Yorkshierman, *and Hugh More* (a lincolneshire man) *a laieman, hanged in Lincolnes Inn Feilds; James Clarckson* (a Yorkshier man) *preest, and Thomas Felton a laie man* (borne in London), *hanged at Brainford* *Aug.* 30

Mr. Felton was of the order of St Francis of Paula and sent over by his Superiors to dispose of his things, and make provision for his

* Both Dean, Gunter, and Williams were originally marked as "quartered," but this has been cancelled, and a marginal note added, "These 3 were only hanged."

profession. Beinge taken heere he was verie ill used first in Bridewell & allmost lamed, afterwards ioyfully suffered deathe.

Richard Leigh (a Cambrigeshier man) *preest*, [*quar.*, cancelled] *hanged; Richard Martine* (Shropeshire man); *Edward Shellye* (of Wormingehurst in Sussex); *Richard Lloyd gent.* (borne in Wales); *Margaret Ward Gentelwoman* (of Chesheshier), & *John Roche*, an Irisheman, *both hanged for healping Mr. Watson a preest out of Bridewell; hanged at Tiborne* *Aug.* 30

Richard Martine a layeman executed only for being in the companye of Mr. Robert Morton Pt. and paying vj^{d} for his supper.

Edwarde Campion, a Warrickshier man; *Robt. Wilcockes*, a chesshier man, *preest of Rheins; Christopher Buckston*, darbishier man, *preest of the Roman Seminary; Robert Widmerpoole*, a Notinghamshier man, *a laie man; hanged and quartered at Caterbury in Kent* *Oct.* 1

William Waie, a Devonshier man, *preest of Rheins*, *quartered at Kingston. Rafe Croket*, a chesshier man, *col*[*legian*] *of Cambridge; Edward James*, Darbishire man, *preest; quartered at Chichester in Sussex* *Oct.* 1

Wil. Waye preest was verie much given to abstinence and austeritie. He had suche desire of martirdome yt others beinge sent for to the Sessions, and not he, he did weepe and crie, and was so muche greeved that fearinge he had offended God he went presently to Confession; but when he himself was sent for he had so much ioye that he seemed past himself.

Mr. James a verie mild and virteuouse man much given to meditation, and had in the same so greate consolation that sometymes he could not refraine but express the same by outward signs.

∵ *John Robinson*, a Yorkshireman, *preest of Rheims*, *quartered at Ipswiche in Suffolke.* *Oct.* 5

∴ Jn. Robinson an humble and virteuouse old man, whoe being left one of the last, suspectinge that he should not be sent for, he did weepe verie bitterly; but shortly after wurd beinge brought that he was sent for, he gave the mesenger his best gowne, and tooke his leave most ioyfully. And some difficultie beinge made to get him a horse, the iorney being at least 60 mile, he said "I need noe horse; I will goe on foote with as good will as you ride." And comminge to his arreignment he answered so resolutely, yt the Judge sayd "I thinke this fellowe intendeth to be hanged." He answered, "For what els did I come hither?"

John Weldon preest, *quartered at Mile End; William Hartley*, a Notinghamshire man, *coll. S. John in oxford*, *preest*, *hanged at Halliwell; Robert Sutton*, borne at Kegworth in Lecestershire, *a laie man*, *hanged at Clarckenwell; & Adams*, a dorsetshier man, *a laye man*, *hanged at Tiborne* *Oct.* 5

John Weldon only hanged it is thought, but either by the malice or negligence of the executioner indured a longe and painful deathe: in so muche that the bludde burst owt at his mouth, nose, eares and eyes: he in the meane tyme offeringe to knocke his brest and to make the signe of the holie crosse.

Robert Sutton a layman executed only for that he had beene shriven of one Mr. Blithe an old Preest in Newgate.

Nicolas Garlike, a darbishier man, *preest of Rheins; Simson*, a Yorkshierman, *preest of Rheins; Ludlam*, a Darbishierman; *Preests quartered at Darbie. Cleyton*, a Yokshireman, *preest of Rheins, condemned and died ther in prison* [blank in MS.]

Robert Sutton, borne in Burton upon Trent in Stafford, *preest of Dowaye, first a Master of Art in Christ Church in oxford, quartered at Stafford* [blank in MS.]

Of this man it is constantly reported that he was seene by his keepers to praie in the midst of a light, within the prison the night before he suffered. And when 3 of his quarters were taken downe after they had hanged a twelmoneth in the ayer, all beinge consumed to the bones, the Index and the thome consecrated for the touche of Christ his bodie, were found whole and are so conserved.

This man, beinge minister at Literwurth in Lecstershire, before his goinge over he first tould all his parishe owt of the Pulpit that he had taught them falce doctrine, and willed them to embrace the Catholicke Faith, which then himself ment to followe, and presently tooke his iorney.

1589

Joane Lowe, condemned for receauinge and releuinge of preests, died in prison in ye White Lion April 7

1590

Christopher Bales preest, a Yorkshierman, *of Rheins, quartered in Fleet street; Nicholas Horner a laie man*, a Yorkshireman, *hanged in Smithfield; Saunder Blake hanged for harboringe of preests, in Greys Inne Lane March* 4

Nicholas Horner. It is sayd that he had a verie comfortable vision of a greate and cleere light in Newgate the night before he suffered.

Fraunces Dikinson, a Yorkeshierman, *and Miles Gerard*, a Lankishier man, *preests, bothe of Rheins, quartered at Rochester April* 30

William Hues preest, tortered in Bredwell by ye privie p'ts and after quartered in Fleetstreet against ye howse where he was taken, and Middelton preest, a Yorkshire man, *quartered at Clarkenwell Maii* 6

[*Note on Hues*] The like is said of one Mr. Jones, whether all one man, I knowe not. [*Further note*] All is one, he was borne in london.

[1591]*

Georg Beesley, a Lankeshier man, *of Rheins, and Monford Scott*, a Suffolk man, *preests, quartered in Fleet Street Julij* 2

This last was of a verie austere life and passing zealous. At his execution his knees were seene to be so hardened that the people were muche edified, and many sayd they should not see the like in any Minister.

* The year number, 1591, is omitted, and there is evidently some confusion about the following dates. There is a line at this point in the left margin.

George Nicolls, borne in Oxford, *he was usher of poules, and Richard Yaxley*, a Lincolneshier man, *of Rheins, preests, quartered; & Thomas Belson, gent.* an Oxfordshier man, *and Humfrey* *hanged at oxford* *Julij* 5 [1589]

1590. Edmund Duke a Kentisheman of good riche parents, priest of the Roman Seminary and 3 other priests taken and executed at Durrham. I understand their three names were Holidaye Hogge Hill, but whether these last were there true names I knowe not, and that it was an° dñi [15]90.

1592 [should be 1591]

Roger Dikinson, a Lincolneshier man, *preest, quartered, and Raphe Miller*, a Hampshier man, *a laie man, hanged at Winchester in Hamsheire* *Julij* 7

Peeke a laye man quartered at Dorchester, Justice Manwoode his judge. He was cut downe alive and receaued his perfect memorie, the executioner cumminge to cut him up, he offered to rise. The officers standinge by stretched owt his hands, and with their Halberts thrust them thorowe and fastned them to the ground.

Edmund Iremonger, a Staffordshier man, *preest of Rheins, quartered; Swythen Welles*, a Hamshiere man, *gentleman, hanged in Greys Inne feilds, against ye howse where they were taken.* He beinge much urged by Topcliffe at his death praied ernestly for him, desiringe that God would make him of a Saul a Paul. *Dec.* 10

Eustace White, a Lincolneshiere man, *grevously tortered in Bredwell; Pollidore Plasden*, borne in London, *preest of the Roman Seminary, quartered; John Mason*, a Kendall man, *Sydney Hodgson*, a Norfolk man, *and Bryan Lacy*, a Yorkshire man (This man was pitifully tortured in Bridewell as himself declared at the tyme of his execution), *layemen, hanged at Tiburne* *Dec.* 10

[1592]

William Patteson preest, a Yorkshire man, *quartered at Tyburne* *Jan.* 22

The gentleman and his wife in whose house this good man was taken,* were forced awhile to make verie hard shift in Ingland beinge spoiled of all their goods. In the end gettinge over withowt provision, live nowe in banishment. Mr. Patteson beinge of greate zeale converted 6 or 7 of the felons in Newgate, which professed their faith at their death, and it is sayd one of them might have beene pardoned yf he would have denied againe his faithe.

Thomas Pormort, borne in Hull, *first of Cambridge, preest of the Roman Seminary, quartered in Paules Churchyard, for havinge reconsiled a townsman dwellinge there* *Feb.* 21

He throughe extremitie of torture got a rupture, for which an ancient prisoner in house with him, got him a trusse made, whoe sent me wurd of it.

James Byrd, a Hamshiere man, *a laie man, hanged and quartered at Winchester in Hampsheire* *March* 25

* Laurence Mompesson (see *Acts of English Martyrs*, p. 116).

Roger Ashton, a Lankishire man, *gent.*, *hanged and quartered at Tyburne* *June* 23

Lamton preest, quartered at Newcastle.

1593

Anthony Page, a Midelsex man, *preest, quartered at York* *April* 30

Richard Daye preest, quartered at Beaumarice in Anglice in Wales *in September*

At the tyme of his execution, amonge many other devout speeches, he sayd he nowe found by experience the words of our Saviour true, where he saith y^t^ his yoke is sweete and his burden light. His execution was differred for 3 weeks or a moneth, for that none could be gotten that would execute him, untill at last a butcher of Chester for 40^s^ did it, whoe soone after was himself put to death for felonie, at what time he muche lamented that ever he had done so wicked a deede, for which fact he sayd he beleeved that God did nowe iustly punishe him. This and muche is extant in writinge of this good man as I understand.

There were 2 Priestes executed at New Castle, whose names I can not learne.*

1594

William Harrington, a yorkshier man, *preest, quartered at Tibyrne* *Feb.*18

He converted 5 or 6 felons in the short tyme he was in Newgate, whereof 2 or 3 might have beene reprieved from the gallows, if they would have denied what they had professed there.

John Mohun alias Cornelius, first of Exciter Colledg in oxford, then of the Romane Seminarie, preest, quartered; and Thomas Bosgrave gent., Patrick Samon, and John Carie, laie men, hanged at Dorchester in Dorsettsheire *Julij* 3

John Mohun. At the bar, amongst other things, he appealed to the lawe of God, and Judg Anderson answeared, "We come not hither to doe the lawe of God but the lawe of the Queene." When he was quartered they durst he [*sentence unfinished in MS.*].

Jhon Bost, a Westmerland man, *preest, quartered at Durham, and Jhon Ingram preest of the Roman Seminary, quartered at Newcastell; ——, a minister, hanged in his owne parish for professing ye catholic faith* [No date in MS.]

Endorsed.—A catalouge of Martyrs from 88.

XCIV.

THE LETTERS OF FATHER ROBERT SOUTHWELL

Father Henry More refers more than once to a large collection of a hundred and fifty *Epistolae Familiares* by our Martyr; unfortunately he quotes but few, and his collection has now, alas! entirely disappeared. The letters here given were either collected by Father Christopher Grene at the English College, Rome (whereas Father More wrote at St. Omers,

* These were Joseph Lampton, 27 July, 1593, whose name has been afterwards inserted above, and Edward Waterson, 7 January, 1594.

in Flanders), or else intercepted by the enemy, and are now accessible at the Record Office and elsewhere. Other fragments of correspondence may be found in the *Lives of Philip, Earl of Arundel, and of Anne Dacres, his wife*. It is probable that Father More's collection was largely made up from letters addressed to them. A feature in Southwell's letters is the great prevalence of Scripture allusions. In one or two letters an endeavour has been made to give the references, but, as it was impossible to do so fully, the attempt was not continued.

(i)

To Father John Deckers

October, 1580

Southwell's Autograph Draft. Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, vii, *n.* 1; a copy *Collectanea P*, ii, 501.

Father John Deckers, S.J. (1560–1619), to whom the following letter is addressed, was born at Hazebrouck, then part of Flanders, and was educated at Douay. It was here that he was introduced to Southwell, as we are informed below, through the intermediation of "Magister Leonardus," who may, without doubt, be identified with Leonard Lessius (Leys), afterwards a celebrated professor of Theology, and who was then (1574–1581) professor of philosophy at Douay. He is called *Magister* not *Pater*, because he was not then a priest, and his ordination in 1580 is alluded to at the end of the letter. Southwell we know from the *Douay Diaries*, had lived at the English College there from 10 June, 1576, until the incipient revolution of November, 1576, caused so many of the students to leave. He was back again in June, 1577, but whether as a resident or visitor is not clear (*Douay Diaries*, pp. 105, 106, 113, 124. At p. 148 his Christian name is wrongly indicated by "Jo:" for "Ro:" *i.e.* Robert).

The intercourse between Deckers and Southwell, described below, may thus have lasted during a good part of the years 1577 and 1578, but both were sent to Italy in the latter year in order to enter the Society. Deckers went to Naples, Southwell to Rome accompanied by Matthew Marshal, and these two were admitted at Sant' Andrea on the 17th of October (N. Southwell, *Catalogus Primorum Patrum S.J. ex Anglia*, p. 17, Stonyhurst MSS.). Marshal unfortunately died a few months after this letter was written, on the 13th of February, 1581 (*Ibid.*).

From the Novice-house at Naples, Deckers wrote to Southwell a letter which is still extant, dated "5 calendas Octobris, 1580" (Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, i, 10), which treats of the merits of life in a religious order, the occasion presumably arising from the proximate conclusion of their two years of probation. Southwell's answer is known to us only through his rough draft, which is, of course, undated and unsigned, but it will not have been much later than the date of Deckers' note.

Deckers became in later life a writer of some note in his native land (Sommervogel, *Bib. de la C. de Jésus*, ii, 1870). Whether the youthful friends ever met again we do not know, but after Southwell's death Deckers composed a full account of his martyrdom in Latin. Father General Aquaviva wrote to acknowledge with thanks the copy sent to him on the 28th of October, 1595. This account is presumably the basis of the ample *Elogium*, of which a translation may be found in Foley's *Records*, vol. i, pp. 301–387, from the transcript at Stonyhurst made by Father Cardwell from the St. Omers MS.

In the margin of this draft Southwell has characteristically allowed his youthful pen to sketch a couple of men's heads, and at the end, written cross-wise, is a rhythmical prayer to our Lady. Probably he meant the words to suit some chant or hymn tune:—

O uirgo clemens et pia / O genetrix altissimi / Succurre mihi Maria / Uæ Uæ Uæ / Misero mihi uæ / nisi Succurras Maria / væ æ mihi nisi uæ / Quia priuabo gloria /

Tu mater es dolentium / Tu ciuitas refugij / Exaudi preces flentium.

Dei hostis me persequitur / Nisi succurras Maria / Mens fracta cito uincitur / Dum mundus uana porrigit / Nisi succurras Maria / Miles infirmus corruit.

Pax Christi &c. Jhs ✠ Maria

Dum nuper cum quodam fratre nostro Flandro deambulans ei cum magna tum mea tum ipsius consolatione pristinæ nostræ amicitiæ frequentisque conversationis rationes explicarem, (carissime Joannes) non parum admiratus sum, quinam fieri posset, ut tam iustæ sanctæque vnionis uelut obliti, sine illius mentione tamdiu conticuerimus. Si enim illa etiam apud Ethnicos fuit amicitiæ uis, ut semel inchoata, nulla se pateretur obliuione deleri, quanto maiorem in animis Christianorum obtinere deberet efficaciam, ijs præsertim, qui nec delectationis quod plerumque euenit appetitu, nec commoditatis spe, sed sincerissimo virtutis amore et studio copulati sunt. *Cum igitur Christus Jesus (de quo vtique minime ambigo) nostri fuerit congressus exordium, cum vnanime illius [*sic*] seruiendi desiderium nostri fuerit progressus vinculum, cur et conformis desiderij effectus nostræ non esset amicitiæ complementum. Charitas quippe, quæ Spiritus S^ti^ sigillo in ipso Societatis ingressu cordibus nostris est impressa, longe ad augendam eam et confirmandam [efficacissima]* est. Tantoque magis crevit admiratio, quanto altius rem examinans scribendi occasiones vtrinque efficacissimas, quæ autem retardare poterant obstacula nulla penitus inuenirem. Proposueram igitur somnolentum istud silentium interrumpere, et amicitiæ nostræ facem iamdiu sub modio delitescentem super candelabrum ponere, quatenus illius splendore excitati, quantum illa mediante Deus Op: Maximus præstiterit beneficium integremus. Dum autem ista mentem cogitatio occuparet, inciperemque quod animo conceperam opere complere, ecce literæ a te mihi traduntur, quibus perlectis te in eandem sententiam scripsisse reperi. Dei ergo singulari prouidentia hoc evenisse ratus, qui quod ipse inter nos pepegit dissolvi fœdus non sustinens, mutuis illud literis vult renouari foueri stabilirique; ne ejus dispositioni resistam, illa pariter tecum repetam, quorum memoria ad ardentius illi seruiendi desiderium inflammari possimus. Vt autem inde incipiam unde Deus O.M., nos in unum animos conglutinandi ansam arripuit, quid me tibi primo mentem propositumque aperire compulerit breviter exponam. Dum ego adhuc de uocatione ambiguus uarijs animi incitationibus hinc inde impellerer, et inter Bruni Ignatiique carinam fluctuans, dum neutram apprehenderem, tentationum impetu propemodum suffocarer, consilium in melius dirigens, animæ medicum frequenter consului, qui cum semper ut priori vocationi, quæ ad Societatem fuit, firmis passibus inhærerem, uarijs argumentis hortaretur, præsentes quidem impulsus, tumultusque ad tempus sedauit, non tamen ita compescuit quin, cum ab illo recesseram, non minori quam prius

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To face p. 295] The VEN. ROBERT SOUTHWELL, S.J.

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rabie noua aliqua tempestas mentem exagitaret. Hunc ego in modum quotidianis insultubus petitus, et quis mihi portus quærendus esset nescius, continua cœpi lucta defatigari. Nunc mihi Societatis placeret institutum, paulo post novis Diabolus machinis sententiam commutavit. Si sub Bruni cogitarem vexillo militare, conscientiæ subito stimulis urgebar. Atque ita miser vacillans, summaque cum anxietate perpetuo mecum contendens nullam per tres menses animi quietem poteram capessere. Tandem vero, ita pio illo Patre et Domino Jesu Christo, qui neminem supra id quod potest tentari permittit, instigante, supremum quasi adhibiturus conatum Confessorem adeo, illud denique unicum mihi remedium futurum asserens, si quem eiusdem desiderij participem procuraret, quocum possem libere sermones conserere occurrentes in dies difficultates mutuis colloquiis subleuare. Hoc ipso tempore quo ego hac de re agerem, ita Diuina bonitas disposuerat, ut tu cum M. Leonardo ibidem deambulares, quippe quem amantissimus Jesus infirmo debilique athletæ suo in subsidium ab æterno prouiderat. Te itaque mihi Pater demonstrans, "Ecce," inquit, "qui jam per annum eoque amplius simili Deo seruiendi ardore incensus, nullum vt tu animi inconstantiæ hactenus præbuit indicium." Quibus ego auditis subitanea quadam lætitia iubilans ita ab omni dubietate (mirabile dictu) me immunem sensi, ut aut rarissime aut nunquam postea de vocationis ad Societatem certitudine hæsitarim. Petitionem igitur instantius prosequor, moræque impatiens, ut spiritualis istius fœderis consensum a te quam primum postulet, efflagito. Pater autem tam subitæ in me mutationis conscius, quantumque vtrique nostrum ex mutua conuersatione prouenire posset vtilitatis perpendens, se rem M. Leonardo propositurum pollicetur. Ego eandem Deo commendaturus discedo, et inter spem et metum positus in hac cogitatione toto illo die occupor: et licet timorem incuteret patriæ sermonisque discrepantia morumque meorum fugienda deformitas, ex adverso tamen fiduciam præstabat in sancto proposito consona voluntas, quæ longe efficacior ad nos vniendos quam supradicta ad separandos nos esse videbatur. (f. 2ᵛ) O si iam scires (Joannes mihi carissime) quos ego tunc temporis de tua deuotione pietate et secreta cum Deo conuersatione in animo conceptus formabam, existimo procul dubio quod maximam inde ferventius Deo seruiendi occasionem arriperes. Si scires etiam quam ferventem in me conceptus isti generaverint charitatis erga te ardorem, quomodo animus in præsenti versum te affectus sit facile judicares. Sed ne epistolæ modum excedam, his multisque similibus supersedeo, illud solum ad Dei gloriam commemorans, quod adeo noua rerum facies in me apparuit, et e profunda caligine emersam tam inusitatus splendor mentem illustrauit, ut omnia præteritæ pugnæ vulnera hoc solatium in sola tui consensus expectatione & fiducia perceptum perfectissime sanare videretur. Sed quid in spei effectibus immoror, et appositi mellis intuitu potius quam gustu exsaturor? Vocor tandem a M. Leonardo felix et optatum nuncium excipio, assensisse Joannem de tali nouo lætissimus intelligo. Quid iam aliud restabat nisi ut pactum per alios fœdus nos mutuis uocibus stabiliremus? Conuenimus igitur de loco; (et quis quam qui ante sacellum situs est talibus erat sermonibus aptior?). Denique congredimur, invicem desideria et intima pectoris secreta manifestamus, et dulcissimis de Deo

institutoque Societatis colloquijs inflammamur. Quid tunc Joanni quam Robertus, quid Roberto quam Joannes, quid vtriue quam in Societatem introitus in hoc mundo gratius esse potuit? Nullus dies transibat, nulla occasio omittebatur, imo quidquid ad colloquendum poteramus temporis suffurari breue nimis uidebatur. Tunc incepit orationis fervor accrescere, priuatæ carnis afflictiones delectare, cilicij denique flagellique asperitas summopere arridere. Recordemur nunc, carissime Joannes, recordemur inquam istorum, et quod, velut exules ad patriam aspirantes, ad civium Societatis imitationem fecimus, nos jam in Societatis cives adscripti feruentius exequi studeamus.

Tu quidem mihi literis tuis quem tum conceperam feruorem in memoriam reuocas, cuius dum tam mutilum ego partum intueor, meam merito in fouendo fœtu negligentiam agnosco: spero tamen quod qui et cœcis uisum, et mortuis uitam, is et mihi claudo integritatem aliquando concedet. Gratulor interim tibi, carissime Joannes, quem tanta clementissimus Jesus conscientiæ pace tranquillitateque dignatur; imo potius nobis gratulor, non minoris et ipse consolationis, quamuis nullis meis suffragantibus meritis, particeps effectus. Et licet locorum interuallum, Deo ita disponente, prohibet quominus pariter in corpore Deo gratias agamus, nihil tamen impedire potest, quominus infinitam ejus bonitatem cum summa animorum consensione glorificemus. Adde quod ueniet aliquando Deo fauente expectata et sicut mercenarij dies nostra, in qua facie ad faciem maiestatem Diuinam contemplantes, ei qui nos vnivit pariter vniti perpetuis laudibus intonemus Osanna in altissimis. Interea tamen dum in hac lacrimarum ualle, obscuroque corporis ergastulo conclusi, incolatus nostri procrastinationem deplangimus, suavissimum Christi iugum in ipsius Societate fortiter ad finem usque perferamus, et caritatis nodum quem ante ingressum nectere cœpimus, mutuis pro invicem orationibus in eadem Societate confirmemus. *Si enim colloquendi de Deo cupido nostri fuerit congressus exordium, si vnanime eidem seruiendi desiderium nostri fuerit progressus vinculum, cur et conformis desiderij effectus nostræ non esset amicitiæ complementum. Caritas quippe quam, Spiritus Sancti sigillo impressam, in ipso Societatis Jesu introitu, uelut in secundo baptismate, accepimus, tantum abest ut veræ amicitiæ repugnet, ut carnalem si quis latuit affectum extinguens, id quod ex Deo est foueat, augeat, atque perficiat.* Sed ne forte nimis crescat oratio finem scribendi faciam.

Salutant te Matthæus Martialis, Petrus Regius, Petrus Gras, nec non Gulielmus Hart, pro quo Deum instanter ores obsecro, quippe qui desiderio Societatis ingrediendæ tenetur. M. Leonardus et M. Senellius Sacerdotii sunt dignitate donati; P. vero Joannes Gravius infirmæ carnis solutis compagibus ad summum Cæli Sacerdotem mense Septembri emigravit. Ingressi sunt Societatem flandri ad minus octo, ijque personæ non uulgares, inter quos unus est Subregens Marcianensis Collegii cum quodam P. Thoma Audomarensi qui in eodem Collegio Grammaticam profitebatur. Tertius est quidam magnæ expectationis ob maximam diuersarum linguarum peritiam, is apud Joannem Austriacum Secretarius fuit [*above this* officio quodam principali fungebatur]: fama præterea est quod præter uirum quendam ualde nobilem et primarium consularem

* to * —See the first paragraph.

qui Societatem ingressus, alij etiam triginta magnæ spei iuuenes sese ex Flandria in Germaniam Societatis ingrediendæ gratia sese contulisse, quos Deus O.M. ad felicem propositi terminum perducat!

[*Translation*]

Pax Xti. Being lately on a walk with one of our Flemish brothers, as I was speaking to him about our former friendship and intimacy, my dear Deckers, I began to wonder, not a little, how it could have happened that we should both have kept silence for so long a period about so just and holy a familiarity without once referring to it. For if among heathens the power of friendship, when once contracted, was such that it never allowed itself to be quenched by forgetfulness, what far greater force ought it to have over the minds of Christians, of those especially who have been drawn together not from any sense of natural liking, as commonly happens, nor with a view to self-interest, but by a sincere love and pursuit of virtue. As then Jesus Christ laid the foundation of our fellowship (and on this point I have not the slightest doubt), and the desire we both shared of serving Him, was the force that consolidated our union in its progress, why should not the result we both longed for also consummate our friendship? The charity, forsooth, which by the seal of the Holy Ghost was stamped on our hearts at our very entrance into the Society, is [better able] still to increase and strengthen that friendship. My wonder increased, as, in reflecting more closely over the matter, I perceived that there were many urgent reasons on both sides pressing me to write, and nothing to prevent it. I decided, therefore, to have done with drowsy silence, and to place on a candlestick the light of our friendship so long hidden under a bushel, so that, aroused by its flame, we might perceive how great a boon through God's favour it had been to us.

With my mind thus preoccupied, I was proceeding to carry out in deed what I had conceived in thought, when suddenly a letter from you was handed to me, on perusing which I discovered that you had written to me in the very same frame of mind.

Regarding this as an interposition of God's providence, who would not allow the union between us, which He Himself had wrought, to be dissolved, but rather willed to see it fostered, revived, strengthened by mutual interchange of letters, and in order that I may not resist this divine wish, I will, on my side, proceed to recall to you some things, the remembrance of which may serve to inflame our hearts with a more ardent desire of serving Him. I will, therefore, begin with the opportunity which God made use of as a means of drawing us together, and briefly state what first induced me to disclose my inmost thoughts and intentions to you.

While still uncertain about my vocation, I was tossed to and fro by various interior impulses, wavering between the bark of Bruno and that of Ignatius, yet was unable to reach either, being well-nigh drowned by the beating waves of temptation. Then shaping a more prudent course, I frequently sought the advice of my soul's physician. He, with repeated arguments, exhorted me to follow steadily my first vocation, which was to the Society. In this way he calmed for awhile my interior tumult of soul, yet not so thoroughly but that on leaving him some new storm would buffet my mind with not less fury than before. Thus beset by daily assaults and uncertain where to find a haven of safety, I began to be worn out with the incessant struggle. At one time the Institute of the Society would attract me, and presently the devil by his artifices would cause me to change my mind. If I thought of enlisting under the banner of Bruno, at once I was exposed to the misgivings of conscience. Tossed about

in this wretched way, ever wrestling with myself, I found no peace for three months. At length acting under an inspiration from our Lord, who allows no man to be tempted beyond his strength, intent on a final effort over myself, I went to my confessor, telling him that the one and only remedy for my case was to introduce me to some one who had desires similar to mine, with whom I could freely converse and explain my ever-recurring difficulties. At the very time when I was speaking to him, the Divine Goodness arranged that you should be walking about with Master Leonard [Lessius], you whom our Lord had destined to be a helper to me, His poor combatant. The Father (Confessor) pointing you out to me, said: "There is one who for a year or more has been burning with a zeal like yours to serve God, and who, unlike you, has never betrayed any sign of inconstancy."

Transported with sudden joy at these words, I felt relieved of all doubt, so that rarely, if ever afterwards, have I had any misgiving as to the certainty of my vocation to the Society. Forthwith, impatient of delay, I strongly urged him to obtain straightway your consent to be my spiritual friend. The Father noticing the sudden change in me, and reflecting what advantage might accrue to us both from mutual intercourse, promised to lay the matter before Master Leonard. I, on my part, intent on recommending the same to God, took leave of him, and spent the whole of that day in suspense between hope and fear; fear because of our different nationality and tongue, hope because of the conformity of our wills in the same holy purpose, which latter consideration seemed to me to have greater force to unite us than any other might have to keep us asunder.

If you only knew, dear John, what an esteem I then formed in my mind of your devotion, piety, inward communication with God, I feel sure you would derive thence a fresh incentive to serve God more fervently: if you knew, too, what ardent affection for you that esteem excited in me, you would easily understand my present feelings towards you.

But to confine myself within the bounds of a letter, I pass over these and many other similar considerations, merely noting for God's glory, that such an entirely new aspect of things presented itself to me, such an unwonted light shone on my mind previously clouded in darkness, that the confident hope I entertained of winning your consent, seemed to heal all the wounds of my preceding conflict.

But why linger on the hope thus raised in me, why rest in the sight rather than relish the taste of the honey presented to me? I was sent for and heard from Master Leonard the glad and welcome news, viz. that you had consented (to be my spiritual friend), tidings that filled me with joy. It only remained for us to strengthen by interchange of friendly conversation, the intimacy thus started for us by others. A rendezvous was appointed, and what spot more suitable than that in front of the chapel; there we met and disclosed to each other the desires and secrets of our heart, and were both kindled with enthusiasm as we conversed about God and the Institute of the Society. No friend was then so dear to John as Robert, none so dear to Robert as John; no delight in this world seemed greater than to enter into the Society. Not a day passed, not an opportunity was lost. Whatever free time we could steal for conversation together seemed all too short. From that time our fervour in prayer began to increase; private chastisements of the flesh to afford delight; the unsparing use of the hairshirt and discipline to please exceedingly. Let us now recall those experiences, my dear John, and strive to perform more fervently now the exercises we then practised, when we were as yet exiles sighing for our country, and imitators of the members of the Society.

In your letter you remind me of the fervour which I then had. Well, when I look on the stunted fruit of that fervour, I am driven to confess my negligence in fostering its growth. Still I hope that He who gave sight to the blind, and life to the dead, will at length restore soundness of limb to limping me. Meanwhile I congratulate you, my dear John, to whom our merciful Jesus has vouchsafed to impart such peace and tranquillity of soul. Indeed, I congratulate myself as well, for I, too, partake of no less consolation, through no deserts of mine.

And though, God so disposing it, distance of place prevents us from offering our thanksgiving in each other's presence, there is nothing to prevent our glorifying His infinite goodness with fullest accord of wills. Moreover, through God's favour, the long-looked-for day, as of a labourer, will arrive when contemplating face to face the majesty of God, and united likewise to Him who united us together, we shall, with unending praise, raise the glad hymn, *Hosanna in excelsis*. Meanwhile, as long as in this vale of tears, prisoners in the darksome dungeon of the body, we sigh over the prolongation of our sojourn here, let us bear the sweet yoke of Christ in His Society right on to the end, and let us by prayer for each other in the Society, tighten the bond of charity which we contracted before our entrance. For if the desire to converse about God was the origin of our intimacy, if our single-hearted wish to serve Him drew it forward, why should not the result of our common desires put the finishing touch to our friendship? The charity, forsooth, which by the seal of the Holy Ghost was impressed upon us, as though in a second baptism at our entrance into the Society, so far from being at variance with true friendship, extinguishes any lurking affection arising from flesh and blood, while it fosters, increases, perfects that which comes from God. But lest my communication outgrow due bounds, I will draw to a close.

The kindest greetings from Matthew Martial, Peter Regius, and Peter Gras; also from William Hart, whom I beg you would earnestly recommend in prayer to God, for he greatly desires to enter the Society.* Master Leonard and Master Senellius have been promoted to the priesthood. Fr. John Gravius, released from the bonds of this weak flesh, departed in September to our High Priest in heaven. No fewer than eight Flemish subjects, men above the average, have entered the Society, among them being the Vice-President of the Marchiennes College [at Douay], with a certain Thomas of St. Omers, who taught grammar in the same college. A third is a man of great promise, because of his extensive acquaintance with many languages; he held the office of chief secretary to Don John of Austria. Report has it that besides the above, a person of high nobility and consular rank has entered the Society; thirty other promising youths have gone from Flanders to Germany seeking admission into the Society; whom may God our Lord lead on to the happy fulfilment of their good purpose.

* This was the William Hart, from Oxford (Foley, vi, p. 134), who became a Jesuit in Rome, 22 October, 1582, and died there 21 July, 1584 (N. Southwell, *Catalogus*, p. 22; Grene, *Collectanea N*, i, p. 1; H. More, *Historia Provinciae Anglicanae*, p. 27).

Father Grene, who at first confused this William Hart with the martyr of the same name, gives a description of eight volumes of beautifully written notes, which he made from the lectures of his professors, Laurentius Terzus, Robert Bellarmine, &c., in 1581, 1582, &c. At the end was the signature of Southwell, showing that he had obtained them after their writer's death.

(ii)

To Father Robert Persons

No date, probably early in 1582

The second letter survives only in Father Grene's transcript (*Collectanea P*, ii, 530). He says that he copied it "ex autographo." This will, of course, have been a draft unsigned and undated, accidentally left behind at the English College when Southwell went to England. It is written throughout in a veiled style, not indeed difficult to understand to those who knew the circumstances, nor indeed to anyone who would study it with care, but still sufficiently disguised by the omission of all proper names, &c., to elude detection by a hurried searcher, or by one who might not know Italian. Though not dated, it must evidently have been written soon after the arrival of the news of Campion's execution, that is early in 1582. Persons went usually by the name of Eusebius at this period.

Molto mag^co^ Sig^r^ Eusebio,

Molto mi sono rallegrato d'haver inteso che li nostri tanto bene si siano portati, quello particolarmente che con esso lei si mise in viaggio come unico e fedelissimo compagno di tutte le sue fatiche, e prima di lei ha caricato la sua navicella di quelle mercantie Inglesi e si è tornato con felice successo al desiderato porto. Aspettiamo di giorno in giorno di sentire qualche simile nuova di V.S. Pure speriamo in sua Divina Maestà, che non la lascierà mai partirsi di quella sorte, come il suo compagno è passato, senza haver prima arrichiti molti di quelle pretiose gioie, de quali V.S. portò gran copia seco in quelle bande.

Una cosa la quale io particolarmente chieggo da V.S. è, che s'ingegni con tutti li modi possibili, di venderne alcune alli parenti del suo Roberto S. poichè mi racordo che una volta grandemente erano affettionati a quella sorte di mercantie, e teneuano continuamente un fattore il quale si occupaua solamente in cercare queste gioie. Forse adesso per haver veduto il gran danno di robba che hanno patiti alcuni altri, si saranno mutati di pareri, la qual cosa mi rincrescerebbe molto se fusse cosi. Prego molto V.S. che se sia possibile, gli persuada per se ò per altri di non sbigottirsi tanto presto per perdita così piccola che ne potrebbe seguire. Poiche questo è essere mercante, alcune volte con allegrezza godere le richezze acquistate, alcune volte con patienza supportare il naufragio di qualche piccola barchetta. Mi ha dato gran sospetto per pensare che loro habbino affatto abbandonata questa mercantia, il non haver mai intesso l'istessa reuscita in loro, come è avvenuta a tanti altri, che l'han pratticata, e ancora se bene con qualche danno di robba al presente pratticano, sapendo bene che alla fine arrichisce piu che qualsivoglia altra sorte di mercantie.

Desidererei molto che V.S. provasse, se non puo fare con uno, di andare agli altri a vedere se pure qualch' uno sia, che vogli abbracciare li suoi consigli in questa parte, e particolarmente al mio carissimo fratello Tomaso il quale, si come ho inteso, una volta parlò a V.S. sopra questo negotio. Ma che si sia risoluto a fare, non ho potuto intendere. Se non le tornarebbe scommodo, vorrei per gratia che V.S. mi certificasse in che parere lui sia e gli altri miei parenti ancora, accio che se non fosse altro rimedio, piu caldamente li raccommandassi al Sig^r^

Salvatore che egli in qualche modo gli dia ad intendere il male che riescera, se loro a si fatto modo lascino quello che tanti e tanti anni hanno con tanto guadagno seguito. Di gratia quando scriverà mi facerà, se gli pare, questo piacere.

Qui ogni giorno nelle prime hore si fa da tutti li Basiliani suoi amici, particolarmente quelli di *Casa* di V.S., particolar memoria di lei. Io alcune volte se le forze e richezze mi bastassero, e cosi piacette al Sig^{r} Claudio, desidero di essere compagno di V.S. in quelle bande, si per aiutarla nelle fatiche, si anche per essere participe del suo guadagno. Tutti di casa si raccommandano molto a V.S. e nomino nessuno, per non dover nominare tutti; poiche ognuno è talmente affettionato verso V.S. che lei stessa non crederebbe.

Mi occorse una cosa, la quale se bene conosco che V.S. la sappi, mi pare nondimeno per confermarla in quel parere a scriverlo. Si desidera molto che sia gran conformità nel modo di trattare de' nostri; e che tutti che sono di questa casa si confaccino, se venisse l'occasione, quanto si può in tutti quelli negotii li quali passarono, ò in parola ò in fatti, tra il suo compagno primo e quelli che gli fecero la festa. V.S. sa in che modo. E per quanto la ragione et occasione permetterà, rispondino alle demande che gli furono proposte come rispose lui, etc. Di gratia mi raccommandi a gli duoi Sig^{ri} suoi compagni, e tutti gli altri miei amici. Tutto di V.S.

Roberto So.

[*Translation*]

Most worthy Sig^{r} Eusebius. I am so glad to hear how well Ours have comported themselves, especially he with whom you started [Father Campion], your trusty and inseparable companion in labour. He has had the start of you in loading his vessel with English wares, and has successfully returned to the desired port. Day by day we are looking forward to hear something similar about you. We hope, however, that the Divine Majesty will not let you leave in such sort as your companion, until you have enriched many with those precious jewels, of which you have taken so large a store to that country.

One request I particularly make: it is that you would contrive by all possible means to dispose of some of them to the relatives of your friend Robert S., for I remember that at one time they were very keen about that particular quality of goods, and kept a factor [? a priest] who was occupied solely in searching for such gems. Possibly, now, after seeing the great losses others have sustained, they may have changed their minds, a circumstance which, if true, would grieve me sorely. I earnestly beg you to persuade them, if possible, either yourself or through another, not to lose heart because of any small loss that may happen; for such is the lot of merchants, at one time to rejoice over the amassing of wealth, at another to bear patiently the loss of some small barque. A strong suspicion for fearing that they may have withdrawn from this line of business, is occasioned by my never hearing of their having the same success as some others have had, who have persevered and still persevere, even with an occasional loss, knowing full well that in the end it is more lucrative than any other sort of enterprise.

I should be much obliged, dear Sir, if you could possibly prevail on some one to visit the others, and see if there be any of them who is disposed to accept your advice in this matter, particularly my dear brother Thomas, who, as I have heard, once had dealings with you in this

particular (line of) business, though what he decided to do I have not been able to ascertain. If not inconvenient to you, Sir, I should feel obliged if you would let me know in what frame of mind he and my other relatives are, in order that, if there be no other resource, I may recommend them more earnestly to our Lord, begging that He would open their eyes to the evil that will result, if they thus retire from the business which for so many, many years they have carried on so profitably. When you write, please do me this favour if you think it advisable.

Here every day in the early hours you are specially remembered by all the Basileans,* your friends, especially by those of your own household. Some future day, if health and means permit, and Signor Claudio [Aquaviva] will give leave, I should like to join you and have my share both in your toils and profits. All here in the house send their kind regards; I omit their names, or I should have to transcribe them all, for you have no idea how tenderly each is attached to you.

One thing occurs to me, which, though I am aware you know it already, seems good to mention, in order to confirm you in that course. It is greatly desired that there should be great conformity among Ours in their method of doing business, and that all who are of this firm, should, when the occasion presents itself, copy as far as possible the conduct in all business matters that was noticeable in the relations (both in word and in deed) between your first companion and those who prepared him for the banquet. You know how. Also that, as far as prudence and circumstances allow, they should answer the questions put to them as he answered, &c.†

Kindly commend me to your two companions [Fathers Holt and Heywood] and all my other friends.

Wholly yours

Robert So[uthwell]

(iii)

COPIA D'UNA LETTERA, MANDATA AL PROVINCIALE DI NAPOLI DELLE NOVE D'INGHILTERRA

Archives S.J., *Anglia* I, fol. 290. The troubles, of which Southwell is here sending on the first confused news, were those connected with the execution of John Somerville and Mr. Edward Arden (*Month* June, 1902). Margaret Somerville was not eventually executed (*C.R.S.*, II, 239). The smaller details of the scare are in some cases exaggerated, but the main facts are true enough. The two laymen martyred will have been Slade and Bodey. Several priests were condemned, but we do not know of any executed at that time.

Quanto alle cose d'Inghilterra stanno adesso in gran bisbiglio e si è accesa una persecutione contra li cattolici piu crudele che mai. Vi sono presi alcuni gentilhuomini di grandissima importanza: uno de quali è stato tormentato nel eculeo cinque volte, e dipoi cacciato in una grotta puzzolentissima. Un altro gentilhuomo intimo del P. Personio, nella cui casa egli per il piu si nascondeva, è stato con-

* There is an intentional vagueness in this description of prayers and masses offered up every morning by "The King's men," a synonym evidently, perhaps a code-sign, for his compatriots and fellow-Jesuits at the English and Roman Colleges.

† Before Campion and his companions were executed, six questions on the Pope's deposing power were put to them all (Bede Camm, *Lives of the English Martyrs*, ii, 449–452). Southwell hopes that all Jesuit missionaries, when similarly interrogated, will repeat Campion's answers.

dannato ed esser appiccato e squartato, e la sua moglie ad esser mezzo appiccata e dipoi abbrugiata. La causa di questo è, come scrivono, che uno subornato dal conte Lecestrio (il quale è uno delli piu fieri che vedesse mai la natura) accusò questi sudetti e alcuni altri, come il detto Conte li avea ordinato che volessero amazzare la Regina, la quale calunnia ha prevaluta tanto, che circa di questa cosa sono stati presi duoi principalissimi conti et un' altro potentissimo Signore. Alcuni altri sono fugiti parte in Francia, parte in Scotia per paura, che non mettessero mano ancora a loro. Fra gli altri uno dell' istesso consiglio della regina et delli piu intrinsechi che lei havesse, perche un sacerdote per via del sudetto rumore fu preso in corte sua, se n'è ritirato alli suoi poderi et [ha] convocato tutti suoi suditti per farli guardia. La cosa va molto caldamente, il fine sa solo Iddio.

In questo mentre patiscono molto li cattolici: I poveri contadini, che non vogliono venire alle lor chiese, et non sono manco sufficienti per pagare quella pena o somma di danari, che gli heretici hanno imposto, sono frustati per le strade. Vi fu uno tra gli altri, il quale fu trattato a questo modo, e quello che lo frustava, havendoli compassione, diceva che caminasse presto, accio tanto meno gli desse. Ma lui rispose che ne caricasse pur la mano, sendo che Christo nostro Signor pati molto piu per lui. Et essendo poi quel che frustava accusato di partialità alli giudici in presenza di quel povero contadino, costui si rizzò et disse al giudice, che se li pareva poco quello che era fatto, che di novo lo facesse comminciare.

Un altra crudeltà mirabile racconterò a V.R. che fu usata contra certi gentilhuomini di nobil famiglia, li quali alcuni anni sono stati tenuti in un loco puzzolentissimo, senza poter mai haver alcun amico che potesse entrare a vederli. Dormivano sempre in paglia, per cibo haveano pane, aqua et un poco di fave cotte et alcuni festi grandi per *carezze* haveano l'interiore di qualche animale. Stavano di piu continuamente legati a un mangiatorio a guisa di bestie; et non contentandosi gli heretici di questo, volevano fare un molino, che si suol tirare da cavalli, accio li cattolici et sacerdoti fossero occupati in tirare quello, et quando non facessero quanto gli era imposto che fussero frustrati come schiavi di galera.

Sono nelli porti strettissimamente essaminati, onde avenne che otto scolari li quali venivano d'Inghilterra a Rhemis fussero presi. Et con tutta questa furia di persecutione crescono pure li cattolici, et vi sono reconciliati di novo alla chiesa tre principalissimi Signori.

Il P. Gasparo Haiwado è preso dall' heretici et serà crudelissimamente senza dubio tormentato, perche gli heretici pensano che lui sia consapevole di tutte le cose dei cattolici, et pero V.R. di grazia facci pregare per lui che Iddio li dia costanza. E preso ancora un sacerdote di questo collegio. Sono, poco fa, martyrezzati tre, un sacerdote et duo laici, per la defensione dell' autorità suprema del Papa nelle cose ecclesiastiche, delli quali non sappiamo altra particularità.

E questo è tutto che sin adesso sappiamo, da me molto sconciatamente scritto, pero V.R. si degni di accettare l'animo in vece di

megliore parole. Adesso non mi resto altro che pregare V.R. che non vogli scordarsi di me se ben indegno nelle sue sante oratione.

Dal Coll: Inglese in Roma alli 3 di Febraro 1584.

De V.R. figliuolo et servo indegno

Roberto Southwello.

[*Translation*]

COPY OF A LETTER SENT TO THE PROVINCIAL OF NAPLES WITH NEWS FROM ENGLAND

In England everything is at present involved in great trouble. A persecution has been commenced more cruel than any before. Certain gentlemen of high position have been imprisoned, and one of them has been tortured on the rack five times, and then thrust into a stinking dungeon. Another gentleman, a friend of Father Persons, in whose house he used generally to hide, has been condemned to be hanged, and his wife to be half hanged and then burnt. The cause of this is, as they write, that someone suborned by the Earl of Leicester (who is one of the cruellest men the world has ever seen), accused these above mentioned, and some others, as the said Earl had ordered him, of wishing to murder the Queen. This calumny has been so widely credited, that on account of it two Lords of high position, and another gentleman of influence have been arrested. Others have fled, some to France, some to Scotland, fearing that hands may be laid upon them. Amongst others one of the Queen's Council, and a prime favourite of hers, seeing that on occasion of the aforesaid rumours a priest had been seized in the courts of his mansion, has retired to his house in the country, and called upon all his followers to guard him. Events are moving rapidly. God alone knows what the end will be.

In the meanwhile Catholics suffer much. The poor peasants who will not go to the Protestant churches, and are unable to pay the fine or sum of money that the heretics have imposed, are whipped through the streets. One amongst them was being treated in this way, when the man who whipped him, moved by compassion, told him to walk quicker, so as to receive less. But he answered that he might strike away, for Christ our Lord had suffered much more for him. The man who had whipped him, was afterwards, in the presence of that poor peasant, charged before the judges with having shown partiality. Hereupon the good fellow rose and said to the judges that, if he thought too little had been done, he might begin again.

I will tell your Reverence of marvellous cruelty which has been shown towards certain gentlemen of noble family, who for some years were kept in a stinking place, where no friend was able to come and see them. They always slept on straw, and their food consisted of bread and water and a few cooked beans, and on great feasts, by way of *indulgence*, they were given the entrails of some animal. Moreover, they were kept tied to a manger like beasts, and not content with this, the heretics had a mill made, such as is usually turned by horses, so that Catholics and priests may be employed in turning it, and when they have not done the tasks imposed, they are whipped like galley-slaves.

At the ports they are very closely examined. Whence it has happened that eight scholars coming from England to Rheims were seized. Nevertheless, in spite of all the fury of the persecution, the number of Catholics increases, and three gentlemen of importance have been reconciled to the Church again.

Father Gaspar Heywood has been captured by the heretics, and he will doubtless be most cruelly tortured, as they think he may be cognisant

of all the affairs of Catholics. Be so good as to have prayers said for him, that God may grant him constancy. Another priest also of this college has been taken. Three were martyred a short time ago, a priest and two laymen, for defending the Supremacy of the Pope in Ecclesiastical matters, of whom we know no other particulars.

This is all the news we have up to the present, very confusedly set down by me. Be so good as to accept the intention in lieu of better words. It only remains for me now to beg your Reverence to remember me, though very unworthy, in your holy prayers.

From the English College, Rome, 3 February, 1584.

Your unworthy Son and Servant,

Robert Southwell.

(iv)

To Father Agazario

26 May, 1586

From Grene's transcript, *Collectanea P*, ii, 506, who adds that he made his copy from the original. He also notes at the end, "Discessit [P. Southwell] Româ 8 Maii, ut constat ex Epistola P. Garneti (*Collectanea P*, 552, c.), non 24 Martii, ut Bartoli (p. 374) errantem Morum secutus." In the letter referred to, Garnet says that, "partendo da Roma il giorno di S. Michele in Maggio, eletti quel beatissimo spirito e tutti i suoi compagni per patrono, speciale di questa mia missione." As Southwell was Garnet's companion, we thus get the date of his leaving Rome, but then we are left in doubt as to the identification of the companion "Guiglielmo," whose horse we hear had got into difficulties. Jonas Meredith was a priest who had been exiled in 1585. After a pilgrimage to Rome, where he had been at the English Hospice from April 1–8 (Foley, vi, 558), Meredith returned to England, when he was again imprisoned (*C.R.S.*, ii, 132, 258, &c.). His companion, Francis Shaw, was also an exiled priest.

Molto R^{do} in Chr̃o Pr̃e

Pax Christi

Ho ricevuto la lettera di V.R. dalla quale ho haurito grandissimo contento, tanto per il paterno affetto che lei in quella mostra, come ancora per li buoni avvisi che contiene. Et assicurisi V.R. che coll' adiuto del S. mi sforzarò di seguitarli quanto mi sarà possibile. Qui à Milano siamo arrivati la vigilia di Pentecoste nel quale giorno venne anche la sua lettera. Habbiamo qui trovato il P. Umfredo et il P. Ricalcati, li quali ci hanno mostrato ogni sorte di amorevolezza. A Modena imbattessimo in doe sacerdoti, cioe il P. Meredithio, et il P. Shao, i quali erano allogiati nel colleggio et stettero ivi un giorno, ci arrivorono anche à Parma e Piacenza, e similmente furono come noi ricevuti, se bene à Piacenza per non esser stato loco in colleggio furono mandati à casa d'un nostro amico doue hebbero ogni cosa gratis come se fossero allogiati in casa. Adesso gli ha voluto il P. Achille allogiare in Casa, et compulit illos intrare, tanto grande è l'affettione che ha questo santo Padre alla natione. Noi li habbiamo ajutati quanto potevamo considerato il peso che noi stessi davamo alli Colleggii. Dimatina che sarà martedi di pentecoste pensiamo di partire per Como, et cosi seguitare coll' ajuto di Dio il restante del viaggio, il quale Iddio ci dia tanto prospero quanto sin adesso è stato. Li cavalli ci servono bene ma ancora non è guarita la piaga del cavallo di Guiglielmo, et dubito che

non cresca quella del caval rosso, che gia sin da Loretto si sente offesa la schiena sotto la valigia. Et cosi havendo dato raguaglio à V.R. di quel che è di noi, farò fine ringratiandola della sua lettera et raccommandandomi et la missione alli suoi S. sacrificii. Questo 26 Maggio, Dal Collegio di Brera 1586.

Sono di V.R.

Figliuolo et servo in Xpo

Roberto Southuello.

[*Translation*]

Very Reverend Father in Christ. Pax Christi.

I received your Reverence's letter, from which I derived the greatest pleasure, both because of the fatherly affection there disclosed, and of the good advice it contained. Your Rev^ce^ may rest assured that I will strive to follow the advice to the best of my power. We arrived here at Milan on the eve of Whit Sunday, the very day on which your letter reached me. Here we found Father Umfredo and Father Ricalcati, who have shown us every attention. At Modena we came across two priests, Fathers Meredith and Shaw, who put up at the college and remained there one night. They then came on to Parma and Piacenza, and were made welcome along with us, although at Piacenza, from want of room in the college, they were sent to board at the house of a friend. There they received every attention gratuitously, as though they had been staying in our own house. Now, however, Father Achille [Gagliardi] would have them lodge in our own house, and insisted on their doing so, so great is the charity this saintly father shows to our countrymen. We helped them as much as possible, considering the trouble we ourselves were giving to the college. To-morrow morning, Whit Tuesday, we intend leaving for Como, and so, with God's help, pursuing the rest of our journey, which may God bless as He has hitherto done. The horses do us good service, but the wound on William's mount is not yet healed, and I fear the wound on the chestnut (rosso) horse will grow worse, for since Loretto its spine has been painfully galled by the baggage.

Having thus given my report to your Rev^ce^ of our adventures so far, I end by thanking you for your letter, and by recommending myself and the Mission to your Holy Sacrifices.

From the College of Brera, May 26, 1586.

Your Rev^ce's^ son and servant in Christ,

Robert Southwell.

(v)

To Father General Claude Aquaviva

25 July, 1586.

The next, the fourth surviving letter in Southwell's correspondence, is preserved by More (p. 182), who quotes the very sincere and earnest prayers of the missionary for God's blessing on his most perilous venture, the dangers of which are most vividly present to his mind. It begins "Extremis iam obijciendus periculis," and an English translation may be found in Foley, *Records S.J.*, i, 319. Unfortunately More has omitted all names, even that of the addressee, of whom we are only told that he had formerly been "a guide to the higher life." The date is given "E Portu, vigesimo quinto Julii." This, if accurate, would be New Style, *i.e.* $\frac{15}{25}$ July, as would be natural in a letter written from France or Flanders.

The fifth and sixth letters are from London after his arrival, are also dated 25 July, but here he would as naturally be using the Old Style, therefore the date New Style would be ten days later, *i.e.* August 4.

The packet of 25 July O.S. was intercepted. Strype (*Annals*, III, ii, 418) has printed the full text of the letter to the Father General Aquaviva, a translation of which is printed below. There is also an abstract of it in the Record Office (*Dom. Eliz.*, cxci, 29; cxcv, 119), where there is also an abstract of the letter of the same post to Father Agazario, Rector of the English College, Rome. These abstracts are both printed in Foley, *Records S.J.*, i, 330, 331, the names in the second having been a good deal mangled. The translation of the fifth letter here follows.

Very Reverend Father in Christ. Pax Christi.

We have reached England after a very fortunate journey, and here have had practical experience of the intense fanaticism which animates the enemies of the truth, and of the hardly less intense fervour of the Catholics. The news of our arrival has already got abroad, and from the lips of those who are members of the Queen's Council, my name has become known to some. The report alarms our enemies, who fear heaven knows what at our hands, so nervous have they now become. On reaching London, I met with Catholics first amid swords (*inter gladios*) and then in a prison, portents (if it be lawful to play the augur) of a fate to me not unwelcome.

After a day or two we found the person [*i.e.* Father William Weston] to whom you recommended us, still in safety and greatly delighted at our arrival. We touched slightly on business, but put off fuller discussion to a more favourable opportunity. We found this opportunity before long, when after making our confession as usual, we renewed our vows, with no great ceremony indeed but with the greatest consolation. If all had fallen out according to our pleasure, we should have sung Mass with all solemnity accompanied by choice instrumental and vocal music, on the very feast of St. Mary Magdalen [22 July]. This, however, was put off to the next day, and I could not spend it there, being called elsewhere. Still we discussed together the subject of our faculties and all other business of importance. Our arrival here has wonderfully cheered and inspirited the Catholics, for they had previously been complaining that they were practically abandoned by the Society, and were full of misgiving, thinking that their pastors, dismayed by difficulties, were abandoning the flock that never stood in greater need of their care.

During the last few months not a few priests have been arrested, though their confinement is not very strict. Some for whom a ransom was paid have been set at liberty unconditionally. But the pursuivants whose business it is to arrest them, prowl about the city lynx-eyed. They ransack houses, and they rob those whom they lay hands on of their money, horses and all other belongings. Some Catholics have died in Newgate overcome by the stench of the prisons: others in the same place suffer greatly from the confinement and filth.

At court there is said to be a matter in hand, which if it prove successful, bodes extremity of suffering to us; if unsuccessful, all will be right. But to Catholics these bodings of evil seem mere bugbears to frighten children, for the enemy have reduced us to such a state, that there is hardly any new cruelty that could be added. And although after the first promulgation of the statute, which had been passed in parliament [*i.e.* the Acts of 27 Elizabeth], even the very staunchest

Catholics felt some fear; yet afterwards, recovering themselves, they returned to their former fervour. From want of missionaries, however, some who then grew faint-hearted, have not yet been restored to their former spirit. It is certainly matter for regret, that there are many counties, each containing not a few Catholics, in which there is not a single priest, though earnestly begged for by many. Unless new supplies are soon sent the Catholic cause will greatly suffer. The evil is further increased by the fact that the priests actually working in the harvest betake themselves in great numbers to one or two counties, leaving the others devoid of pastors.

It was proposed to the Earl of Arundel by the ministers of state, and I believe by the queen herself, that if he would only consent for honour's sake to bear the sword as usual before the queen to church and there wait till the end of the service and of evensong, he should be set free. But he suspects some fraud, and will either refuse altogether, or at least will do nothing, which after consulting his spiritual directors he does not consider lawful: for his resolution is not to swerve a hair's breadth from his duty as a Catholic.

Recently it chanced that a priest, who to elude suspicion had donned a sailor's dress, was arrested while landing. He was led to court, and dragged hither and thither in mockery, and finally conducted into the queen's presence. When she learnt that he was a priest, she laughed and inquired whether he wished to convert her. The priest replied, "By all means. If only opportunity and hearing were given me, I should most gladly do my utmost." She answered, "You must first convert my maids, before making the attempt on me." And after many gibes and scoffs the priest was committed to gaol.

Some extraordinary occurrences, as I gather from ocular witnesses, have taken place here in the case of possessed persons, which have had the effect of converting many to the faith, and greatly rallying the wavering. The priests, whose piety and extraordinary power in these exorcisms has been most conspicuous, have been styled magicians and sorcerers by the heretics, with the object forsooth of slanderously imputing to diabolical artifice and not to priestly power, facts which they cannot deny. They forget what Christ said, "Every kingdom divided against itself shall be desolate."

I am devoting myself to sermons, hearing confessions and other priestly duties: hemmed in by daily perils, never safe for even the smallest space of time. But I derive fresh courage from my very difficulties: and the multitude of terrors, which keep following each other, prevent any from lasting long, and blunts them almost all. For the rest whatever may happen must be left to God.

Do you, Reverend Father, out of the affection you cherish for your sons exposed to these calamities, further our efforts and our most sweet toils with your prayers and holy sacrifices, and those of the other fathers: that He who has admitted me to this mission, may bless my continuance in it, and at length grant a happy conclusion to my sufferings.

There is a keen desire here and great need of the privileges and faculties we asked for in our last: which, if granted, will greatly advantage the Catholic cause.

All of us, still safe by God's grace, recommend ourselves most humbly to your Paternity's prayers. xxplirz [A cipher sign for the place of writing]. 25 July, 1586.

Your Reverence's unworthy son and servant in Xt.
Robert.

Addressed.—To our very Reverend Father [General].

(vi)

To Father General Claudio Aquaviva

21 December, 1586.

The seventh extant letter is from Grene's *Collectanea P.* ii, 508, who says he copied the Martyr's autograph *uti videtur*. But Father Grene sometimes mistakes Southwell's hand.

Admodum Reverende in Christo Pater,

Binas ad Paternitatem vestram dedi literas, quarum unæ nescio quo infortunio periere, aliæ missæ quidem sunt, sed an pervenerint ad vos haud parum dubito; quare scribendas putavi tertias ut vel tandem de nobis aliquid innotescat. Vivimus Dei gratia et valemus qui ultimo sumus missi. Dux autem noster postquam nos de iis instituisset, quæ de hac vinea præcipue aut cavenda aut observanda sunt, et renovatis nobiscum votis in omnes se casus et pericula armasset, in portum saluti proximum, carcerem inquam, permissu divino conjectus est. In quo, pro ea qua est animi et pietate et constantia, ita se gerit ut vinctis dulciorem, liberis minus formidabilem custodiam reddat. Suspiciunt sane hominem plurimi, et sane non immerito, ea semper fuit et prudentia et morum suavitate. Pater Crittonus adhuc in vinculis est, sicut etiam Rodulphus. Accessit ad hos Pondus non ita pridem qui prius aliquam adeptus fuerat libertatem. De Mettamo ubi sit me plane latet. Alii autem quamvis incommodis carcerum non mediocriter afflicti, tamen animis sunt erectis et intrepidis, nec quoad eorum possumus necessitates levare, quicquid illis deesse patimur.

Jam vero quod ad nos attinet, Pater Henricus strenue et sedulo laborat, et hactenus rusticatus est, ego vero non sine magnis et frequentibus periculis Londini substiti, quandoque etiam in rus incurrens. Bis non ita longe abfui a summo discrimine, bacchantibus circumquaque lictoribus et me in domo ubi tunc morabar perquirentibus. Audivi minantes, confringentes asseres, tunsionibus probantes parietes ut latibula invenirent, me tamen, quæ Dei bonitas fuit, tenui tantum et fictili tegumento potius quam pariete ab illis divisum, et 4 integris horis quæsitum non reperere. Verum q́uidem est ita domum per multas simul noctes fuisse observatam, ut vestitum in angustissimo loco et satis incommodo dormire necesse mihi fuerit. Sic nimirum ad tolerandos facilius carceres præparamur, dum adhuc liberi sumus.

Sed tamen inter tot pericula mirum est quam benignus et liberalis sit in consolationibus Deus, ut vel ipsa certè discrimina dulcescant. Delatum ad me fuit jam rumorem increbuisse me captum esse; quod ego cum adhuc liber audirem, subrisi apud me cogitans quam id fuerit jucundum adversariis initio, donec dormientes somnum suum nihil

invenerunt in manibus suis.* Dicant licet quoties velint me comprehensum, ego certe id contendam, ut quamdiu manus illorum evasero intelligant ex re ipsa me captum non esse, non quod quicquam contra eos moliar quo respublica perturbetur, sed quod in animo habeam nunquam ab iis instituti mei officiis abstinere, quæ non possunt diu illos latere si exerceantur, quin resciant talem adhuc hominem exstare in rerum natura quem ipsi necdum ceperint. Illorum verba et minæ contemnendæ sunt, si rem catholicam promovere velimus. Hic enim qui respicit ventum non seminat,† et qui considerat nubes nunquam metet. Anima nostra in manibus nostris semper,§ nec pedem domo efferre possumus, nec plateas obambulare, quin pro exploratorum multitudine vitæ subeamus periculum. Sed nobiliores sunt corporibus nostris catholicorum animæ, nec consideranti quo pretio emptæ sint, grave videri debet pro illarum salute vitæ subire discrimen. Fervet adhuc sacratus ille sanguis, patent vulnera et apparent livores, quibus Deus easdem redemit quas nos pascimus animas. Quorum intuitu facile contemni pericula possunt, ut non pereant margaritæ quæ tanti constiterunt. Accedit etiam catholicorum sancta fames qua sacramentorum usum mire expetunt, imo durissime secum agi arbitrantur, si ad breve tempus cogantur abstinere. Et quamvis recens ista tempestas (qua sæviorem qui hæc et priora tempora novere viderunt nullam) multos perculerit, non desunt tamen qui vel ærumnosis hisce diebus solito magis pietati insistant.

Ac quoniam tempestatis mentio incidit, fuit illa certe rigidissima. Adeo enim frequentes et barbaræ noctu diuque in domos irruptiones ad exquirendos sacerdotes factæ sunt ut a primis calamitatis nostræ initiis ad hunc usque diem tam insolitum nihil acciderit. Capti sunt non solum sacerdotes permulti, sed etiam nobiles feminæ et earum famuli ac ancillæ, omnesque carceribus mancipatæ. Eo tempore quo in me inquisitum est, abducti sunt duo ex famulis, quorum unus quod ad hæreticos abnuit venire conventus, verberibus misere exceptus, et cum vagabundis et id genus hominibus molendinum summo labore interdiu agitare coactus est, noctu vero sine lecto stragulis aut tegmine humi cubare, nec obtinere potuit ut ei vel cibus vel lectus vel vestimenta ab amicis suppeditentur, ac in hunc modum ad hunc usque diem affligitur is, cujus ego auxilio evasi.

Ac hujus procellæ occasionem dederunt illi qui iniquam illam et infelicem conjurationem inceperunt, quæ tanto fuit rei catholicæ detrimento, ut nec ipsi adversarii si optionem habuissent, aliquid nobis perniciosius et magis ex sua sententia potuissent desiderasse. Verum speramus fore ut vallis ista tam profundæ miseriæ impleatur, et appareat mons in vertice montium,¶ ad quem qui in Judæa nunc sunt, id est, in fidei confessione constantes, fugiant, et in quo recedentes a Sodoma salvi fiant. Interim in valle lacrimarum super flumina Babylonis sedebimus et flebimus dum recordamur Sion.‖ Erunt nobis lacrimæ nostræ panes die et nocte dum dicitur nobis quotidie, Ubi est Deus noster?‡ Si moram fecerit Dominus expectabimus eum;

* Ps. lxxv, 6. § Ps. cxix, 109. ‖ Ps. cxxxvi, 1.
† Eccle. xi, 4. ¶ Is. ii, 2. ‡ Ps. xli, 4.

nec enim continebit in ira misericordias suas,* et patientia pauperum non peribit in finem.† Vestræ Paternitatis et pietatis erit afflictos et jacentes sedentes in tenebris et in umbra mortis suis et Societatis precibus erigere, ut in patientia sua animas suas possideant, et bonum certamen certantes, cursum consummantes fidemque servantes coronam gloriæ mereantur. Eam sane feliciter obtinuerunt P. Jo: Lous, Dibdallus et Adamus sacerdotes qui hic Londini constantissime martyrium obierunt: eos nuper subsecuti sunt duo alii, viz. generosus quidam nomine Longleius, et Sacerdos, qui fidei pariter et pietatis insigne testimonium reliquere. Capti cum iis fuerunt P. Mushæus et alii nonnulli, qui tamen nescio quo Sancto propitio manus hostium evaserunt. Et hæc fere sunt, R. P., quæ in præsentia occurrunt scribenda.

Superest ut P.V. iterum atque iterum obsecremus ut curet ad nos mitti facultates illas quas petivimus saltem eam de consecrandis calicibus et superaltaribus, cujus hic maxima jam est necessitas, eo quod diuturnis istis domorum perquisitionibus id genus res non paucæ in manus lictorum venerunt, ex quo maxima nunc laboratur eorum penuria. Ac sane hoc unum superest Catholicis solatium ut inter turbas hasce et molestias pabulo se cælesti reficiant; quod si illis auferatur, langueant necesse est et flaccescant multi, quorum hactenus his epulis nutrita imo aucta fuit animi pietas et constantia. Nos in discessu obliti sumus eam facultatem a D. Alano petere, donec aliunde habere possemus, cujus nos magnopere pœnituit. Rogatam etiam P.V. volumus, ut quia præcipuus negotii nostri et laboris fructus e sursum expectandus est, et quia inter Scillas et Charybdes periculosissimo itinere navigamus, pro paterna illa cura qua Societatis filios prosequitur, suis nos sacrificiis adjuvet et Societatis thesauros liberaliter nobis aperiat quibus nostra infirmitas roboretur, ut dum nos seminamus et rigamus Deus incrementum det, cujus curæ et piæ protectioni P.V. et omnes patres fratresque nostros ibi degentes humiliter commendamus. P. Henricus cum adfuerit, ipse statim de suis laboribus scribet, quos ego hactenus, quod longe absit nec nuncios commodos habuerim, rescire non potui. 21 Xmbris 1586.

Paternitatis V. filius et servus in Xto,
Robertus.

[*Translation*]

Very Reverend and dear Father in Christ. I have sent two letters to your Paternity, whereof the one by some mishap has been lost, and the other, though it was dispatched, yet I much doubt whether it has reached you. Wherefore it seemed that I ought to write a third, that even now you may have some tidings of us. We who were last dispatched, are by God's help alive and well; but our chief [Father Weston], who, after having instructed us concerning such matters as we should most observe, or be most wary of, in this vineyard, had renewed his vows with us and armed himself against whatsoever mishaps and perils, has been cast by God's permission into that haven which is nigh salvation, the prison. In it his piety and constancy are such, that he makes confinement more pleasant to the imprisoned and less

* Ps. lxxvi, 10. † Ps. ix, 9.

terrible to them that are free. He is highly esteemed of many, and rightly so, by reason of his great prudence and gentleness.

Father Creighton is still in prison, and so is Ralph; they were joined not long ago by Pounde, who had before gained some little liberty. Where Metham is I know not. The others, though sore pressed by the grievances of their confinement, are of joyful and dauntless minds. So far as we may relieve their needs, we suffer them not to want for aught.

For ourselves, Father Henry [Garnet] toils hard and perseveringly. He till now has been in the country; I with frequent great peril have stayed in London, going also at times into the country. Twice I was in extreme danger. The pursuivants were raging all around, and seeking me in the very house where I was lodged. I heard them threatening and breaking woodwork and sounding the walls to find hiding places; yet, by God's goodness, after four hours' search they found me not, though separated from them only by a thin partition rather than a wall. Of a truth the house was in such sort watched for many nights together that I perforce slept in my clothes in a very strait, uncomfortable place. In this wise, while we are yet free, we are trained to bear confinement. Yet in the midst of perils it is marvellous how good God is, and how bountiful of His comforts, insomuch that danger itself groweth sweet.

I am informed there is a general report that I am taken, and hearing this while I was yet free, I smiled to think how gratifying that would be for a time unto my foes, until "having slept their sleep, they should find naught in their hands." They may say as often as they like that I am taken; but I shall endeavour, as long as I escape their hands, to let them know by facts that I am not taken. Not that I shall undertake aught against them that can hurt the state; but my intention is, never to desist from the works of my calling, though these when done cannot long escape their notice; and they will know there still lives one of this sort whom they have not taken. We must despise their speeches and threats if we are to advance the Catholic cause; for here, "who regardeth the wind soweth not, and who considereth the clouds shall not reap." "Our soul is ever in our hands." Such is the multitude of spies, that we cannot set foot out of doors, nor walk in the streets, without danger to our lives. Yet the souls of Catholics are more precious than our bodies; and when one reckons the price at which they were bought, it should not seem much to endanger our lives for their salvation.

That Sacred Blood is still warm, those wounds still open, and those bruises may still be seen, with which God redeemed the souls that we are tending. At such a sight dangers may well be scorned, lest such precious pearls be lost. Moreover, the Catholics suffer a sacred hunger, and seek with great instance to approach the sacraments; nay, they hold themselves most hardly dealt with, if for a brief time they must perforce abstain. And though this new storm [after the Babington plot] (than which those who know these times and the times before have seen none more violent) has stricken many, there lack not those who even in these troublous times do more than ever give themselves to piety.

And seeing I have mentioned this storm, it has of a truth been most severe. So often do they violently break into houses to search for priests, that from the first beginning of our griefs unto this day there has been nothing so outrageous. They have taken not only priests in great number, but also certain noble ladies with their servants and maids, and committed them to prison. The time that I was sought for they led off two of the servants; one of whom, because he would not attend the conventicles of the heretics, they cruelly beat and forced him by day with great toil to turn the treadmill along with vagabonds and the like, and to lie at night on the ground, without bed, mattress or coverlet;

neither could he obtain that food or bed or clothes should be supplied him by his friends. After this sort is he afflicted even to this day, by whose means I have escaped.

The occasion for this outburst was given by the men who set on foot that wicked and ill-fated conspiracy, which did to the Catholic cause so great mischief, that even our enemies, had they had the choice, could never have chosen aught more mischievous to us or more to their mind. Yet we hope that this deep vale of misery shall be filled up, and "the mountain on the top of mountains" shall be seen, whereunto they that are now in Judea, that is who are firm in the confessing of their faith, may flee, and hiding themselves therein may be free from Sodom. Meanwhile in the vale of tears, "upon the rivers of Babylon we will sit and weep when we remember Sion."—"Our tears shall be our bread day and night, whilst it is said to us daily, Where is thy God?" If the Lord shall make delay we will await Him; for He will not "in His anger shut up His mercies," and "the patience of the poor shall not perish for ever."

It is for your Paternity of your piety by your prayers and the Society's to raise up them that are stricken to the earth, "sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death," to the end they may "possess their souls in patience," and having "fought the good fight and finished their course and kept the faith," may earn a crown of glory. Such a crown has happily been won by Father John Lowe and by the priests Dibdale and Adams, who here at London have with constancy suffered martyrdom. Of late two others have followed them, one Longley, a gentleman, and a priest, who both gave good witness of their faith and piety. With them were taken Father Mushe and some others, who however, with the help of some saint, escaped the enemy.

And this, Revd Father, is about all that occurs to me at this time to write. For the rest, I earnestly do beg your Paternity to have sent unto us those faculties we sought for, especially to consecrate chalices and superaltars. Of this there is very great need, for that by reason of these long searchings of houses, many such things have fallen into the hands of the pursuivants, so we are in great want.

Of a truth the one remaining solace of the Catholics amid all this trouble and turmoil is to refresh themselves with the Bread of Heaven; which if it be taken away, it cannot be but that many will faint and grow feeble, whose piety and constancy was heretofore nourished and increased at this table. We forgot, when we were leaving, to ask this faculty of Master Allen so long as we might have it from other sources; which we much regret. We would also ask your Paternity, inasmuch as the chief issue of our work and toil must come from above, and we sail most perilously betwixt dangers on every side (Scylla and Charybdis), of your fatherly care for the sons of the Society to help us with your holy Sacrifices, and freely to open unto us the spiritual treasures of the Society, whereby our weakness may be made strong; to the end that while we sow and water, God may give the increase; to whose providence and good care we humbly commend your Paternity and all our fathers and brethren in Rome. Father Henry Garnet on his return will at once write about his doings. Hitherto I have heard nothing, for he is far off, and I lack convenient messengers.

Dec. 21, 1586. Your Paternity's son and servant in Xt,

Robert.

(vii)

To Father Agazario

22 December, 1586

There are two contemporary copies (one of which Grene was half inclined to think might really be an autograph) at Stonyhurst, *Anglia* vi, 7 and 55, Grene's transcript *Collectanea P*, ii, 517.

John Lowe suffered 8 October, 1586. The imprisonment of Martin Sherson (died in bonds in 1587), Christopher Bagshaw, Jonas Meredith, Ralph Bickley, Christopher Thules, George Potter, John Bolton, may be followed to some extent in the prison lists, *C.R.S.*, ii, 256, &c., and in Father Morris's *Troubles*, vol. ii, where the full history of Anthony Tyrrell will also be found; but I cannot identify Bradford.

Pax Christi. De nobis intelliget omnia V.R. ex P.N.; de vestris tantum agam. Loum habetis novum martyrem: parum abfuit quominus habuistis etiam P. Musheum: captus enim fuit sed evasit. Bradfordus, Shersonus, Potterus, Boltonus, D. Bagshaus, Meredith, Bicleus, Thulesius, Hidus ex nostro Collegio sunt Londini in vinculis, alacres tamen et constantes. Tirellus liberatus est, sed tamen est semivinctus. Qui ultimo ante nos venerunt, salvi sunt et utiles operarii. Ex antiquioribus vidi paucos, nimirum tres vel quatuor, qui seduli vinitores. Qui deinceps venturi sunt se ad graviora arment quam hactenus socii passi sunt; fervet enim mare oceanum solito magis et acrioribus turbatur procellis. Nec tamen hoc ut terream dico: sciunt enim quam secure navigent qui Christum habent navarchum. Jactari potest navis nostra et ad scopulos allidi, frangi tamen aut submergi non potest. Vivimus nos in procellis quamvis parum secure de corpore: sed si forte nos abripiant, ad vitam et tranquillitatem abripient, ipsoque erimus naufragio felices. Si vivimus vincimus, nec minus si morimur vincemus, quia sive vivimus sive morimur Domini sumus. Optima lege a Christi militibus certatur, quos si hostis vincat coronat, si relinquat corruit: vivi enim aliorum animas lucrantur, proprias lucrantur mortui. Vere, mi Pater, in ipsis periculis mirum est quam exultet animus, dum cogito cui et quanam causa militem. Quamvis enim caro infirma sit et corpus quod corrumpitur aggravet animam, quia tamen sanguis noster si fundatur animarum pretium est, et cum Samsone etiam morientes Philisthæos mores in multis occidimus; non enim injucundum certe est mori, ut in tot animis vivat virtus et vitia moriantur. Sed ut ad vos redeam: memini non-nunquam turbarum quas in Collegio habuistis, et dum eas apud me reputo mir[or] ibi dæmonem posse eos in dissidium excitare qui hic et nobiscum et inter se sunt maxime concordes. Hic enim habemus tot communes inimicos ut nihil opus sit intestinos agere tumultus. Imo vero studio nobis est quî capitibus nostris consulere et rem catholicam promovere possimus. Certe tantum abest ut hic sit inter nos ulla vel minima dissensio, ut maxima sit consolatio utrorumque nostrum quando (ut nonnunquam contingit) convenimus in eundem locum et mutuis fruimur colloquiis. Tu igitur, pie pater, imperfectum nostrum tantisper æqui consule, si quando spiritus procellarum mare vestrum perturbet. Pisces habetis nostris usibus pernecessarios, qui si exenterentur* oculos curant, dæmones fugant, et multa in se habent medicamenta necessaria

* *cf.* Tob. vi, 5–9, &c.

si vivant. Petro aderunt* ut ex ore ipsorum drachmas eruat, quibus Catholicorum debitum supremo Cæsari persolvatur. Certe quilibet hic sacerdos perutilis est, maxime illi qui casus conscientiæ et controversias probe callent. Cætera enim doctrina, quamvis curiosis quandoque auribus satisfaciat, rarissimus tamen est apud nos illius usus. Concionatores hic magnopere desiderantur, ideoque pernecessarium est ut ibi assuefaciant se, ut et facilitatem in dicendo et rerum copiam usu acquirant. Rumor hic est plures ad nos ex nostris non venturos, ita jubente Pontifice; sed speramus aut falsum esse rumorem, aut magnum aliquod portendere quod sit e re catholica. Utut sit nos hic sumus, et donec alii veniant soli ferimus pondus diei et æstus. Vos in umbra quiescite, et aperientes ora spiritum attrahite,† ut cum venerit hora vestra etiam in solem ac pulverem descendatis.

Interim, mi Pater, illud superest, ut pro singulari vestro in me amore gratum et memorem animum me retinere significem. Et quamvis R.V. tantæ caritatis mercedem et expectet et repositam procul dubio habeat, id tamen, ut par est, a me quoque mercedis habebit, ut mearum precum et sacrificiorum semper sit particeps. Oblitus pæne eram monere vos ne criminosis de sacerdotibus nonnullis rumoribus fidem facile præbeatis; aut enim sunt omnino innoxii, et calumniæ hæ ab hæreticis confictæ; aut si quid leve peccaverint, leve illud fuit, et non solum contritione cordis sed corporis etiam deletum.

Salutet obsecro meo nomine omnes meos in Christo dilectissimos fratres, alumnos suos, quorum ego sane in dies in sacrificiis memini; peculiariter quoque eos ex sodalitate B.V. quorum precibus non parum confido me quotidie juvari. Salutet etiam obsecro Antonium meum cujus mater ac frater sunt vincti in Domino fidei causa. Mater me sollicite rogavit ut illi scriberem, ne ullo pacto discessum a vobis cogitet, sancte asserens nescire se quid de illo fiet si huc veniret. Bona Domina non parum gravatur, et ad eas jam redacta est angustias, ut me oporterit illi 10 libras mutuare. Ego matri (vestra fidens pietate) dixi illic eum sine sumptu suo aut pretio aliunde a suis expectando ali, et tamdiu ibi moraturum quoad studia confecerit. Laudavi etiam illum antiquis illis laudibus quas in primo suo adventu jure optimo meruit, quas tamen ut postea intellexi ex matre suis ipse literis discessum postulantibus obfuscavit. Dolui sane ut audivi, sed quo meliori modo potui excusavi illum, ne adderem afflictionem afflictæ. Optima de illo spero: Dominus mihi spem in rem convertat. Burleum quoque et Elmerum ex me quæso salutet una cum P. Curtesio,§ de quibus sane alta spero quando ad nos venerint, quem ego diem utinam merear videre. Nunc ad nostros venio. Omnes quæso apud vos salutet, et præterea Patres Assistentes, Rectorem et Ministrum Collegii Romani, Germanici et Seminarii, et imprimis P. Provincialem: Everardum quoque Rugerium et Lucium cum reliquis condiscipulis; denique, quem licet ultimo nomino, cum primis tamen veneror, D. Alanum patriæ parentem, cui quicquid est hic boni acceptum referre possumus. Vale, mi Pater, et una tecum valeat P. Leonardus Ricalcatus et P. Humfredus. 22 Decembris ex Anglia.

* *cf.* Mat. xvii, 26. † *cf.* Ps. cxviii, 131.

§ These three names (Burley and Elmer also recur in the intercepted letter of 25 July) seem to be aliases, as they do not appear on the English College lists.

Hos omnes in his literis particulatim recensui, ut in sequentibus semper intelligatur istos esse quos salutatos cupio quamvis nominem nullum.

R. P. Personio.

Scriberem ad vos peculiares literas, si quid novi esset quod N.P. non scripsissem; sed quia omnia ibi narratu digna recensui, id unum superest ut a V.R. flagitemus, idque enixe, nostras ut facultates primo quoque tempore mittendas curet. Gratissimum porro esset ac certe non parum necessarium si nobis P.P. concederet benedictionem Collegii Anglicani pro duobus millibus rosariorum et granorum sex millibus, quia hic omnes a nobis petunt, et nulli possumus hanc gratiam præstare. Esset hoc certe admodum utile. Obsecro, mi Pater, cura ut petatur admodum expresse in Indulgentiis Collegii Anglicani, nempe ut liceat nobis, tam pro granis quam pro rosariis, quorum idem periculum est, materiam ut in Domino videbitur assignare, quæ eo ipso habeat benedictionem. Vale, mi Pater, et ora pro me tui in omnibus sacrificiis memore. De comitiis seu Parlamento nihil scribo, quia literas meas sicut et animum cupio a rebus ad statum pertinentibus alienissimas.

[*Translation*]

Pax Christi. Full information about myself your Reverence will hear from his Paternity: I will speak only of your former alumni. Your College has now a new martyr in Lowe: and you have just missed having one in Fr. Mushe: for he was taken, but escaped. Bradford, Sherson, Potter, Bolton, Mr Bagshaw, Meredith, Bickley, Thules, Hyde, alumni of your College, are in prison in London, but cheerful and steadfast. Tyrrell has been set at liberty, though is still half a prisoner. Those who came just before me are safe, and are useful missionaries. Of the older ones (their predecessors) I have seen few, to wit three or four, who are zealous workmen in the vineyard. Those who are to follow later should gird themselves for heavier trials than their companions have hitherto suffered; for the sea is more boisterous than usual, and swept by fiercer storms. I do not say this to frighten them; for they know how securely those ride the waves who have Christ for pilot. Our ship may be tossed about and grind upon the rocks, but it cannot go to pieces or be sunk. We live on in the midst of storms, with but little security for the body. Yet, if they do carry us off, they will only be taking us to life and to rest. Even in shipwreck we shall be blessed. While we live we conquer, nor shall we be less victorious if we die, because "whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's." Christ's soldiers fight under most favourable terms; for if the enemy defeat them he crowns them, and if he let them alone, he is himself defeated: while they are in life they save the souls of others, and in death they win salvation for their own souls.

Truly, dear Father, in the midst of dangers it is marvellous what joy of heart I feel, reflecting under whose name and in what cause I am enlisted. For though the flesh be weak, and this corruptible body drag down the soul, still our blood if shed will ransom souls, and like Samson, our death will mean the death in many of the vices of the Philistines. Assuredly it is not unpleasant to die that virtue may spring to life in many souls, and vices receive their deathblow.

But to return to your alumni. I recall at times the troubles you have had in the College, and in recalling them, I marvel that the devil should be able to stir up dissension among those, who here live in perfect

harmony both with us and amongst themselves. Here, forsooth, we have so many enemies in common, that there is no time for internal factions. Rather our great concern is how to consult for the safety of our lives and to advance Catholic interests. So far from there being the least disagreement among us, it is the greatest consolation to both sides when, as occasionally happens, we meet together in the same place and enjoy each other's conversation. Be patient, dear Father, with our shortcomings, if occasionally the breath of storms ruffle your sea. You have "fishes" there greatly wanted here, which, "when disembowelled, are good for anointing to the eyes and drive the devils away," while, if they live, "they are necessary for useful medicines" [Tob. vi, 5–9]. They will come to Peter's hands, that out of their mouths he may take the coins of the tribute, wherewith to discharge the debt Catholics owe to supreme Cæsar [Mt. xvii, 26]. Every priest here is useful, especially those who are well skilled in moral theology and controversy. The other departments of sacred learning, though they may occasionally gratify the curious, are seldom called for amongst us. Preachers are here in great request: hence it is most important that the students should practise themselves, so as to acquire readiness of speech and a plentiful supply of matter. There is a report here that by the Pope's direction no more of ours are to come, but we hope that this report is either false or portends something great for the advantage of the Catholic cause. Whatever the case may be, we who are here have alone "to bear the burden and heats of the day" till others arrive. Take now your rest in the shade, and open your mouths to draw in breath, so that when your hour comes, you too may go down into the sun-scorched arena.

It only remains for me, dear Father, to express my grateful feeling for your extraordinary kindness to me. And though your Rev^ce^ has another reward to look forward to, a reward firmly secured, still, as is fitting, you shall have some return from me, to wit a constant share in my prayers and masses.

I nearly forgot to warn you not to give ear to scandalous reports about certain priests; for they are either wholly innocent, the calumnies having been fabricated by heretics; or if they have fallen into some fault, it is a light one, and has been expiated both by contrition of heart and maceration of the flesh.

Present my fond greetings to all my dearest brothers in Christ, your pupils, whom I daily remember at Mass, especially those of Our Lady's Sodality, from whose prayers I am sure I daily derive benefit. Greet too for me my Anthony, whose mother [Catherine Copley] and brother are prisoners of Christ for their religion. The mother earnestly begged me to write to him that he must not think of leaving the College, solemnly adding that she did not know what would become of him if he returned hither. The good lady is not a little distressed, and reduced to such straits that I had to lend her ten pounds. Relying on your kindness, I told the mother that Anthony would be kept at the College without any charge to her, or the seeking any pension from his other relatives, and that he should stay there till he had finished his course of studies. I praised him in the old words of praise, which he so well deserved at his first arrival, though, as I afterwards learnt from his mother, he has dimmed that praiseworthiness by his letters, asking to be allowed to leave. It pained me to hear this, but I made the best excuses for him I could, so as to spare fresh sorrow to one in affliction. I hope for the best regarding him: may God convert hope into reality.

Present my regards also to Burley, Elmer and Fr. Curtis, from whom I hope great things when they come here: may I live to see that day.

Now I come to our own Fathers. Present my greetings to all who belong to your community, also to the Fathers Assistant, the Rectors and Ministers of the Roman and German Colleges, and of the Seminary, and especially to Fr. Provincial: likewise to Everard, Roger and Lucius, with the rest of their fellow students. Finally (though I mention him last, he ranks in my esteem among the first), to Dr. Allen, the father of his country, to whom must be ascribed whatever good we are here able to do.

Farewell, my dear Father, farewell also to Fr. Leonardo Recalcati and Fr. Umfredo. From England. December 22.

All the above I have made particular mention of in my letter, so that in subsequent letters they may be understood (though I should give no names) as the persons to whom I desire to be commended.

To Father Persons

I should have written to you a special letter, if there was anything to say not already told to the Father General; but as I have related to him everything worth mentioning, I have only to ask of you, and I do so most earnestly, that you would see to our faculties being sent at the first opportunity. It would be a great boon and meet a great want, if the Pope would give us faculties, like those granted to the English College, to bless 2,000 rosaries and 6,000 grains, for here all are asking for such objects, and we are unable to gratify them. It would also be of great advantage to us. I beg of you, dear Father, to obtain this clause in particular for us among the Indulgences granted to the English College, viz. to be allowed (as well for the beads as for the rosaries, the risk in both cases being the same) to choose ourselves the material we think best in the Lord, to which the blessing may be attached. Farewell, dear Father, and pray for me who am mindful of you in all my Masses. About Parliament I say nothing, as I desire my letters, like my soul, to have absolutely nothing to do with matters of State.

(viii)

Father Aquaviva to Fr. Southwell

20 February, 1587

Archives S. J., *Galliae, Epistolae Generalium*, f. 46 v. This is the only letter *to* Southwell which I have found.

Londini. Domino Roberto Southwello.

Nihil gratius nobis accidit his diebus Dnis. Vae. literis quas binas accepimus, mensibus Novembri ac Decembri scriptas, tertias quarum scribit periisse sane dolemus. Non arbitramur enim eiusmodi fuisse quae si in manus alienas inciderint nihil inde incommodi timendum sit, unde et hac ipsa occasione admonendam statim his initiis D.V. duximus, ut si in mittendis literis cautior esse non possit (quod facile credimus), cautior tamen sit in scribendis, nec tam multa dictione aperta ac simplici enunciet, ne vel aliis vel ipsi sibi periculum inde creetur in ista hominum iniquitate et magna non modo creditorum sed debitorum etiam suspicione, si scriptio sua ad alios deveniret. Res est parabolis aliquanto obscuranda, cum est momenti (nam qui leget intelliget) vel oblique tantum attingenda cum de personis agitur, cuius nos aliquod forte specimen vel his nostris vel aliis aliquando praebebimus.

Primum igitur gratulamur tam V. Dni. quam amantissimo nostro Henrico, de accessu salvo in ista loca, de statione, de laboribus, de

valetudine, de periculis vitatis, et de animo quem habeat ad futura tempora; de quibus rebus quando erit commoditas [quo] saepius nos certiores facie[t] (sine periculo tamen) eo erit nobis gratius, qui perpetuam vestri memoriam habemus, quare et apud communem Dominum quotidie commendamus. Utrique Gulielmo nostro compatimur quidem ex animo, sicut et Rodulpho quod tantum in eo potestatis creditores habent. Seniori tamen Gulielmo minus periculi timemus quam reliquis duobus, quanquam in periculis plurimis tam parato animo, quam D.V. scribit et eos facile existimamus, ad omnia ferenda etiam gravissima. Nominatim delectarunt quae de constantia reliquaque virtute D.V. scripsit Gulielmi minoris. Idem de Pondere et Meta intelligimus, quos omnes a nobis magno affectu salutatos cupimus, cum eius rei commoditas dabitur. Complectimur enim omnes amore magno in Domino, a quo et per quem universa eis prospera et salutaria precamur. Quod D.V. expetebat in calices aliaque istiusmodi potestatis, id quidem antea tam sibi quam Domino Henrico permissum fuerat, sed tamen propterea id ipsum renovatur, ne in posterum ulla sit ea de re dubitatio. Gaudeo D. Vam. tam bono animo esse temporibus tam difficilibus, nec abesse a spe lucri ex commercio tam laborioso, quam in dies spem ampliorem ac certiorem fore spero, diffluente tempestate hac, quae aliquandiu iam saeviit sed durare semper non potest. Longioris epistolae neque necessitas est, neque argumentum. Itaque finem faciam si illud tantum addidero, vestros omnes hinc vos salutare, optimeque cupere, nos autem id imprimis, ut magnam curam habeatis valetudinis ac libertatis vestrae, nec unquam ad lucrum tam attenti sitis ut interim non habeatur ratio securitatis. Sanctissima Dei ac Domini nostri gratia vos conservet semper. Ex eo loco quo ultimum amplexi sumus. 20 Feb., 1587.

[*Translation*]

To M[r] Robert Southwell, at London.

Nothing of recent occurrence has been a greater pleasure to us than your two letters, written in the months of November and December. That the third which you wrote has gone astray, causes us real sorrow, for we apprehend it was of such a character that, supposing it fell into hostile hands, evil results might be feared. Wherefore at once on occasion of this first letter, we have judged that your Mastership should be warned that if in the dispatch of letters you cannot exercise greater caution (as we readily believe to be the case), you should at least in writing them be more on your guard. Do not say so much in plain and open terms, lest (if what you write fall into others' hands) danger should thence arise either to others or to yourself; men there being as wicked as they are, and the suspicions both of creditors and debtors [*i.e.* persecutors and persecuted] being so great. Things, especially when of importance, should be somewhat veiled in allegory (for the receiver will grasp the sense), and when persons are in question, they should be merely alluded to indirectly. Some specimen of this we may give either in this or in some future letter.

So first of all we congratulate both yourself and also our most loving Henry [Garnet] on your safe arrival in those regions, on the stations you have established, on your labours, your good health, on dangers escaped, and on the courage with which you face the future. On these topics, when you have an opportunity, the more often you inform us (without incurring danger) the more pleasing will it be to us,

who because we are ever mindful of you, daily commend you to the Lord of all. For William [Weston and] William [Creighton], both so dear to us, we feel heartfelt compassion, as also for Ralph [Emerson], in that his creditors [*i.e.* persecutors] have him so much in their power. Yet we have less apprehension of danger for the elder William [*i.e.* Creighton] than for the other two, although encompassed with many perils. As you write, and we readily believe, his heart is prepared to endure every extremity. Especially were we consoled by your words as to the steadfastness and other virtues of William the younger [Weston]. We understand as much of "Weight" and "Winning-post" [Pondus et Meta, *i.e.* Pound and Metham]: to all of whom we desire to send greetings with great affection, when opportunity is afforded, for we embrace all with great love in our Lord, from Whom and through Whom we implore every success and blessing.

As to the faculties with regard to cups and other things of that nature which you have been asking for, they had already been granted both to yourself and to Mr Henry; yet, on account of your request, these faculties are now renewed, so that for the future there may be no doubt on that score.

I rejoice that you are so full of courage in times so trying, and that you do not despair of gain from a trade so toilsome. I trust that those hopes may daily increase and become better grounded, as this storm passes over, which has raged so long, but which cannot last for ever.

There is neither need nor theme for a longer letter, and so I make an end; only adding this, that all your fellows here send you greetings, earnestly desiring (and we chief of all) that you take the greatest care of your health and freedom, and that you should never be so keen on profits as to lose reckoning of your safety. May the most holy grace of God our Lord keep you always. From the place where last we embraced. 20 February, 1587.

(ix)

To Father General Claudio Aquaviva

31 August, 1588

Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia* vi, 59, a contemporary copy on Roman *Carta palomba*. Grene's copy, *Collectanea P*, ii, f. 523.

This letter should be studied together with the letter of 22 December, 1588, printed anonymously in Yepes, p. 604, which may perhaps also be by Southwell.

Historia Diuersorum Martyrum, qui ob fidem catholicam passi sunt in Anglia mense Augusto 1588. Ex literis cuiusdam patris Societatis Jesu ad Praepositum Generalem scriptis, ut infra:—

Crudelem recentium martyrum stragem scripturus (R.P.) animi dubius haerebam, satiusne esset patriae nostrae calamitatem patrio tantum luctu deflere, an priuatum hunc vnius insulae dolorem in exteras quoque nationes deriuare. Quamvis enim miseriarum nostrarum cumulus aliorum oculis obiectus non possit, ut arbitror, non magnam excitare miserationem; cum tamen afflictorum aerumnae nequeant sine opprimentium tyrannide recenseri, verebar plurimum, ne horum impietas plus odij quam illorum constantia laudis Anglicano nomini conciliaret. Verum cum huius tempestatis ac turbinis sedatio non tam in armorum strepitu quam in pijs fidelium precibus ac lacrimis, vel exitu rerum id subindicante, sita esse videatur; eo minorem de

prodenda hostium crudelitate rationem habendam duxi, quo solet impugnantis immanitas ad afflictam oppressorum conditionem intelligendam plurimum lucis adferre.

Principes igitur nostri naualis belli periculo defuncti, ac dimisso quem terra coegerant exercitu, ab externis hostibus in viscera sua arma conuertunt, et conceptum in Hispanos odium in conciues suos et tribules inhumana quadam feritate exercent. Primum enim, quos in carceribus habebant, a se disjunctos, communi qua antea utebantur societate ac colloquio interdicunt, a maritis vxores, a parentibus liberos seiungunt, amicorum accessu omnes prohibent: quin immo, et si qui eos inuisuri veniunt cum illis vna in carcere detinentur.

Trahuntur deinde gregatim ad tribunalia. Ibi non tantum de rebus gestis quam de futuris actionibus examinantur: quid nimirum si hoc illudve accideret, in animo illorum sit facere? Si respondere nolint, id scilicet rebellis animi et laesae maiestatis conscij argumento volunt esse clarissimo. Si respondeant se contra Reginae patriaeque ius et debitum vtrique officium facturos nihil: id tanquam ficte et simulate dictum calumniantur. Quicquid demum dixerint, nisi id dicant quod capitis periculum creare illis possit, nihil horum judicum voluntati satisfacit. Responderunt pro tribunali omnes mansuetis ac, quantum fieri potuit, ab omni acerbitate alienissimis verbis; suam semper testati in patriam et reginae ius, fidem ac obseruantiam; eo nimirum consilio, ne si acrioribus verbis fuissent vsi aut apertius quae sentiebant exposuissent, propensos ad effundendum sanguinem aduersarios ad deteriora impulissent, qui ex eorum responsis de catholicorum omnium his in rebus iudicio, coniecturam capere conabantur. Cum igitur res ad fidem non spectaret, et responsiones sacerdotum in commune detrimentum vergere potuissent; consultius iudicatum est, eiusmodi verbis vti, quibus et veritas inesset, et magistratus minime offenderentur. Sacerdotes se sacris initiatos aiebant, quibus bellum gerere fas non esset; et ideo se Deum precaturos illis ut faveret partibus, a quibus ipse et causae aequitas esset. Laici vero polliciti sunt patriae et principi fideles se praestituros, et vtramque defensuros contra quosuis, qui iniurijs iniquisue armis earum ius violare conarentur. Sed nihil haec responsa profuere: statutum quippe apud iudices erat morte omnes afficere; et satis id causae fuit, quod sacerdotes, aut ecclesiae reconciliati, aut sacerdotum adiutores extitissent.

Atque his nominibus vno die 13, altero 2 alij morti adiudicantur; inter quos fuere sacerdotes 6, laici 7, et vna mulier. Summa omnes alacritate in iudicio responderunt; sed maxime cauerunt iudices ne multa loquendi daretur potestas, id quod erat suspicati ipsorum nimirum verbis iudicij iniquitatem facile conspectum iri.

Inter caetera autem quae ad tribunalia contigerunt insigne haeretici fastus documentum editum est. Adfuit, inter caeteros, pseudo-episcopus Londinensis, vir aetate grauior quam moribus, qui adeo sui est vbique similis, vt vel ipsis suae sectae hominibus sit ridiculus. Is, cum laicum quendam nescio quibus de religione sermonibus adortus esset; laicus responsum in sacerdotes reiecit. Suscipit negotium pater Lighus, et

apertum illi Martem indicit. "Tu vero," inquit Pharisaeus ille, "mihi te opponis? Sane perinde mihi videris facere ac Alexandri olim canis, qui Vrsos et id genus animantia contemnens, illis visis nec mutire quidem dignatus est; conspecto autem elephante statim latrare coepit, nobile tantum illud animal suo ratus dignum latratu. Elephas ego sum, tu instar caniculi illius. Quid enim in te est mihi conferendum, qui et diuturnitate lectionis et profunditate ingenij vel ipsum vestrum Alanum superem?" Quibus verbis non solum nostris sed toti [p. 60] concilio risum homo vanissimus excitauit.

Sed iudicij is exitus fuit vt omnes morti adiudicarentur sacerdotes eo solum quod presbyteri essent; laici, partim quod sacerdotes recepissent hospitio, aut ab illis in ecclesiam Romanam recepti sint, quamvis et ad haec ipsa contra laicos probanda tam exili nixi sunt testimonio, vt ipsi (post latam sententiam) iudices inter se rem grauiter expostularent et indignitatem rei aegerrime se ferre apertis verbis professi sunt. Sed, vt vt fuerit nota iudicibus vel testibus sententiae iniquitas, insontes tamen sicut impie damnati, ita et pari scelere postero die extremo supplicio affecti sunt. Ac mirum sane quam importunis clamoribus vulgus eos sit prosecutum, nihil non inhumanum et absonum in seruos Dei effutiens. Illi interim iunctis manibus, composito ad pietatem vultu et ad hilaritatem propenso, populi maledictiones benedictionibus compensant; et, fixis in Deum mentibus et in coelum oculis partim psallentes partim meditantes a tribunalibus denuo ad carceres et a carceribus deinceps ad supplicium ducti sunt.

Mirus ciuium concursus et vndique confluens multitudo; sed quo consilio haud scio. Diuersos eorum varijs in vrbis partibus binos ternos ac etiam singulos, idque eodem die (sex erectis crucibus) suffixere. Nec, ut moris hactenus fuit, traha rapti aut in partes dissecti (quamuis ad haec fuerant in iudicio damnati), sed plaustris ad supplicium, latronum more, vecti sunt. Omnem fere illis loquendi copiam ademerunt, ita vt paucissima pro populo fari potuerint; et Denum presbyterum vehementius laborantem ad populum verba facere, obturato ore linteolo, non solum sermone prohibuerunt, sed ante suspendium paulo minus suffocarunt. Similiter et in via, cum se audiri postularet, sublatus est repente clamor, quo nihil ab ipso dictum ab astantibus possit excipi. Sic nimirum pudet aduersarios, vt veritas causae et eorum iniquitas populo innotescat.

Aliqui extra vrbem, incitato equorum cursu, delati sunt; et in vicinis oppidis supplicio affecti. Inter caeteros mulier quaedam Margareta nomine, insignis virago, praeclarum in sexu fragili edidit constantiae exemplum; quae vna cum Rocho quodam Hiberno ideo morte mulctata est, quod funem ad sacerdotem quendam vinctum, cuius ille adminiculo euasit, detulisset. Haec tamdiu verberibus caesa, et in altum manibus suspensa est (extremis tantum articulis terram attingentibus) vt iam clauda et membris capta esset; quae supplicia clarissimam martyrem ad vltimum illud magnopere praemunierant.

Margareta Ward.

Roche.

Feltonus. Feltonus etiam diu in Bridwello verberibus exceptus, postea in teterrimam Nugati speluncam, quam Limbum vocant, septimanis 15 in catenis ac compedibus asseruatus, demum post longum et diuturnum certamen, ad egregiam meritorum palmam peruenit. Illi semper in summis angustijs id solatio fuisse dicitur, quod speraret se simili cum patris sui exitu vitam conclusurum; qui et ipse ob allatam et valuis Sancti Pauli affixam Pij Quinti Bullam, in crucem actus est. Iuvenis hic vnus ex eis fuit, qui extra vrbem passi sunt; ac tantam modestiam ac pietatem prae se tulit, vt illius tantum aspectu quidam vehementer animo perculsi sint. Quaedam faemina non humili loco nata, cum praetereuntes sacerdotes aspiceret, nec prae dolore a lacrimis et sermone abstinere posset, eos flexis genibus rogauit, vt pro se ad Deum precarentur. Haec, hoc solum nomine comprehensa et in carcerem coniecta est. Alter eductos e carcere cum tam multos vno die occidendos videret, nescio quo animi motu impulsus, vt fieri a pijs solet, crucem sibi veluti rem miratus impressit, quod cum esset ab alijs obseruatum satis causae fuit, vt vinculis traderetur. Tertius, petente martyre iam morti proximo, vt si quis ibi adesset catholicus pro se intercederet: motus praesenti hominis necessitate in genua prouolutus orationi se dedit, et magno hac de causa populi tumultu in custodiam coniectus est. Sic nimirum nec sacerdotibus dum viuunt opitulari, aut adiutoribus vti, nec ijsdem, dum plectuntur, aut miserationem aut preces impertiri, nec hostium saeuitiam admirari, sine carcerum capitisque periculo fas est, rem sane sanguineis lacrimis deplorandam.

Mortuis autem, seu potius ad meliorem vitam translatis martyribus, proxima cura aduersarijs fuit erecta patibula diligenti custodia muniendi; ea nimirum tam pretiosa rati a nobis habitum iri, vt illis surripiendis non pauci ex nostris capita exposuissent, ni fuissent illorum astu praeuenti.

Nec id praetereundum existimo, quod cum quaedam pia faemina ad illustrem hominem petitura accessisset, vt cuiusdam ex his qui damnatus fuit capite mortem differri curaret. Interrogata primum est, an is cuius causam egit homicidij reus esset: cumque illa nihil minus esse diceret, sed ob fidem tantum Catholicam condemnatus. "Pro dolor," inquit (p. 61), "ob fidem! At si homicidium patrasset, non dubitassem postulatis annuisse! Caeterum, si fidei res agatur, non ausim me interponere." Adeo nimirum exosum iam euasit Catholici seu vt ipsi loquuntur Papistae nomen, vt facilius homicidis quam Catholicis indulgeatur.

Passi sunt etiam Derbij sacerdotes duo: Simpsonus ille, cuius pater Henricus iampridem scripsit historiam, et Garlikus; et tertius quidam Staffordiae, et alij Eboraci, Wisbichi denique nonnulli, de quibus alias cum certiora accepero.

Atque vt his literis modum imponam, quippe qui aliarum breui ampliorem materiam habiturus sum, illud tantummodo adiungam, statutum esse aduersarijs Catholicos omnes, si possint, eradicare: necnon Catholicis, quando res ita postulat, certum esse quaelibet potius perpeti quam fidei nuncium remittere; quo fit vt illi mortes inferendo, et nos sustinendo, egregium Deo, angelis, hominibus spectaculum breui exhibituri simus, si quo pede coeperint negotia haec progrediantur.

Interim Paternitas vestra sic Catholicorum constantiam miretur, vt in propenso per se ad pietatem populo talia admirationi esse solent;

sic vero caeterorum furorem ac crudelitatem expendat, vt non in opprobrium gentis, sed in haeresis pestem, non fidem tantum sed ipsius naturae leges ac terminos violantem vitium conferendum existimet, atque ita fiat, vt illorum amabilior virtus, horum vero miseratione dignior ignorantia videatur.

Omnium patrum fratrumque precibus, et nos qui adhuc incolumes sumus, et has patriae calamitates iterum atque iterum humilissime (*sic*) commendamus ac in primis R.P.V., cui, sicut praecipue nostri cura incumbit, ita et facilius, quae petit, concessa fore speramus. Ambo,* licet, disiuncti, pari officio P.V. caeterosque omnes ex animis salutamus.

Pridie Calendas Septembris 1588.

Endorsed.—Of the martirs, 88, Aug:

[*The marginal notes and underlining are by Persons, and the passages marked correspond with the parts used by Ribadeneyra, lib.* 3, *c.* 1.]

[*Translation*]

As I began to write about the cruel slaughter of our last Martyrs, I felt uncertain whether it was better to confine to home my lament over our domestic calamity, or to impart to other nations the inward sorrow we here alone endure. For although the accumulation of our woes if presented to the eyes of others cannot, I feel sure, fail to awaken great compassion, yet as the trials of the afflicted cannot be related without speaking of the tyranny of the oppressors, I feared much lest the recital of their impious conduct should bring more hatred on the English name than the constancy of our Martyrs would win for it praise. But the stilling of this storm and tempest depends not so much on the clash of weapons as on the pious prayers and tears of the faithful, as is shown by recent events, so I thought I ought to have less scruple about exposing the savagery of the enemy, inasmuch as the brutality of the oppressor is wont to shed a strong light on the woeful condition of the oppressed.

Our rulers, therefore, after the peril of the Armada had passed, and the army which they had enrolled on land had been disbanded, turned their arms from foreign foes against their own sons, and with inhuman ferocity vented the hatred they had conceived against the Spaniards on their own fellow citizens and subjects. In the first place they separate and confine apart from each other those whom they hold in prison, depriving them of the companionship and intercourse hitherto enjoyed by them; they divide wives from husbands, children from parents, and cut off all access to friends; nay, if any friends come to visit them, they too are held in durance.

Then they are dragged in gangs to the court-houses, and there examined not only as to their past deeds, but about their future conduct, what forsooth they would be disposed to do under such and such circumstances. If they refuse to answer, the refusal is set down as a clear proof of a rebellious will and of treason; if they answer that they will do nothing contrary to their just and bounden duty to Queen and country, they falsely accuse them of hypocrisy and insincerity. In a word, whatever answer they give, it never satisfies the minds of these judges, unless it is one that imperils the prisoner's life. All the imprisoned have given their answers before the court in a spirit of

* "Ambo" must be Southwell and Garnet, the only two Jesuits at liberty. As Henricus is mentioned, three paragraphs above, in terms which distinguish him from the writer of this letter, the latter must be Father Southwell.

meekness, quite free from bitterness, as far as was possible, protesting their loyalty and duty to the claims of Queen and country, thus acting, lest by making use of harsher words and expressing their mind too bluntly, they might incite their enemies, already keen for bloodshed, to deeds of greater violence: for from the answers given, these men proceed to form conjectures about the frame of mind of Catholics in general on such matters.

As therefore it was not a question of faith, and when the answers of priests might entail disaster on the Catholic body, it was thought more prudent to use language that was truthful and yet would not irritate the magistrates. Accordingly priests confessed that they had been admitted to Holy Orders, that as priests it was unlawful for them to bear arms, that their prayers were offered to God to favour the side on which His cause and that of justice stood: lay persons offered to prove their loyalty to sovereign and country by defending both against all who by injuries or unjust aggression sought to violate their right. These answers, however, availed nothing. The judges had already made up their minds that all must suffer the death penalty, the fact that the prisoners were priests, or had befriended priests, or had been reconciled to the Catholic Church, being considered sufficient evidence against them.

Upon charges such as these thirteen were sentenced to death on one day, and two on another day, among whom were six priests, seven laymen, and one woman. All delivered their answers at the trial with great promptitude, but the judges took good care not to allow much freedom of speech, suspecting, as was the case, that by the words of the Martyrs the injustice of the judgment would be exposed.

Among other incidents at the trials, a striking instance of heretical pride was witnessed. Amongst the rest there present was [Aylmer] the pseudo-bishop of London, a man more venerable for age than conduct, which on every occasion is so peculiar that he makes himself ridiculous even to the followers of his own sect. This man making an attack on a lay prisoner on the subject of religion, the latter referred him to the priests for an answer. Fr. Leigh took up the argument, and challenged him to public disputation. Thereupon that Pharisee exclaimed: "Dost thou set thyself up against me? Of a truth thou seemest to act after the fashion of Alexander's dog, which despising bears and vulgar animals of that sort, did not even growl when it saw them, but would at once bark if it caught sight of an elephant, thinking that noble animal was alone deserving of its attention. I am the elephant, and thou the puppy. What right hast thou to dispute with me, who in extent of reading and depth of intellect surpass even your Dr. Allen?" By which words the conceited fellow provoked a laugh not only from our Martyrs, but from the whole assembly.

The outcome, however, of the trial was that all were condemned to death, the priests on the sole ground that they were priests; the laymen either on the charge of harbouring priests or for having been reconciled by them to the Roman Church. To prove this charge against the laymen such paltry evidence was relied upon, that, after sentence was passed, the judges themselves vigorously protested, and there were open expressions of regret at the unworthy proceeding. But although the injustice of the sentence was clear both to judges and witnesses, the prisoners, innocent though they were, were impiously condemned, and executed next day with the same barbarity with which they had been condemned. It was strange to hear with what incessant shouts the mob followed them to the scaffold, uttering all manner of harsh and savage abuse against the servants of God, while the Martyrs, with clasped hands and a look of piety, even gaiety, on their faces, repaid the people's curses with blessings.

They fixed their hearts and eyes on God; sometimes they chanted, sometimes they prayed in silence, as they were being led from the court-house back to the prison, and from the prison to the scaffold.

There was an extraordinary concourse of citizens, and a crowd surging on all sides. What it felt I know not. The Martyrs were hung in various groups here and there about the city, by twos and threes and even singly, on six specially erected gibbets, but on the same day. Contrary to custom, they were not dragged on hurdles nor dismembered, though they had been condemned to this in their sentence; but like robbers they were conveyed to the place of execution in carts. Nearly all liberty of addressing the people was denied them, so that they were able to say but little to the bystanders. As one priest, William Dean, was making strenuous efforts to address the crowd, they gagged his mouth with a cloth, thereby not only stopping his speech, but very nearly suffocating him before he was hanged. So also on the way to execution when he claimed to be heard, a shout was suddenly raised, so that not a word could be caught by the bystanders. Our enemies forsooth are ashamed to let the truth of our cause, and the iniquity of their conduct, be known to the people.

In the case of some the horses were whipped up, and they were carried outside the city and were put to death in the neighbouring townships. Among others a certain woman, Margaret [Ward] by name, a lady of remarkable courage, gave a noble proof of constancy despite her sex. Along with an Irishman named Roche she suffered death for supplying a certain priest in prison with a rope wherewith he escaped. She was flogged and hung up by the wrists, the tips of her toes only touching the ground, for so long a time, that she was crippled and paralysed, but these sufferings greatly strengthened this glorious Martyr for her last struggle. Felton, too, was flogged at Bridewell; and afterwards he was thrust into that most darksome dungeon at Newgate called Limbo, and kept there in chains and shackles for 15 weeks; finally after this prolonged conflict he obtained the glorious palm, the reward of his merits. In his sorest distress it is said that he was consoled by the hope that he would close his life by a death like his father's, who was hanged on the gallows for bringing and nailing to the door of St. Paul's the bull of Pius V. This young man was one of those who suffered outside the city, and such an example of modesty and purity did he give, that several people were deeply moved by the very sight of him.

A certain woman, of no mean station, when she saw the priests passing by, unable from grief to check her tears and words, begged them on her knees to pray to God for her. At this she was arrested, and on this sole charge cast into prison. A man seeing such a number of victims led from prison to execution on the same day, moved by I know not what impulse, as is the case with pious persons, made the sign of the cross in astonishment at the event. This, being noticed by others, was accounted sufficient reason for his imprisonment. A third standing by, when a certain Martyr on the point of death asked any Catholic who chanced to be present to pray for him, touched with compassion at his distress, fell on his knees and began to pray. Hereupon the people raised a great outcry, and he was hurried off to prison. Thus forsooth Catholics may neither give help to priests, nor seek their help while they are alive; nor show compassion nor pray for them at their execution; nor express surprise at the enemy's barbarity, except at the peril of their own lives: a thing certainly to be bewailed with tears of blood.

When the Martyrs had died, or rather passed to a better life, the next concern of our adversaries was to surround the scaffolds with watchful sentinels; knowing that those remains would be so prized by us that in order to secure them not a few of us would risk our lives, unless we were prevented by their cunning precaution.

Nor do I think I ought to pass over the following incident: A certain lady went to a man of note asking him to use his influence that the death of one of the condemned might be delayed. The first question was whether the person, whose cause she pleaded, were guilty of murder. She replied that he had not been condemned for any such thing, but only for the Catholic religion. "O dear," said the gentleman, "for his religion! If he had committed murder I should not have hesitated to comply with your request; but as it is a question of religion I dare not interfere." So hateful has become the name of Catholic, or, as they call it, Papist, that murderers are more easily pardoned than Catholics.

Besides the above two priests have suffered at Derby. An account of the death of Simpson, one of these two, was written by Father Henry some time since,—the other was Garlick. There has been a third at Stafford, and others at York; others again at Wisbeach, about whom I will write later, when I have better information.

But I will conclude this letter, for I shall have more to write of ere long, and will only add that our enemies are determined to make an end, if possible, of all Catholics, and that the Catholics are equally determined, when the occasion presents itself, to suffer any extremity rather than deny their faith. Thus it comes to pass that they in inflicting death, and we in suffering it, shall ere long exhibit a most remarkable spectacle to God, to angels and to men, that is, if the persecution goes on apace as it has begun.

Meanwhile your Paternity should regard the situation in this light. The constancy of the Catholics is such as is always admired in a people naturally inclined to piety, but the fury and cruelty of the enemy is not to be regarded as a disgrace on the nation, but as the outcome of the pestilent heresy, which does violence not only to religion, but to the laws and restraints of nature. Thus the virtue of the former will appear more attractive, the ignorance of the latter more deserving of pity.

Again and again we most humbly recommend to the prayers of all the Fathers and Brothers both ourselves, who are yet in safety, and the calamities of this country: and especially do we recommend them to your Paternity. As solicitude for us beseems you more than all, so do we trust that what you ask for, will be the more readily granted. Both of us, though separated, unite in sending hearty greeting to your Paternity and to all others. 31 August, 1588.

(x)

To Father General Aquaviva

16 January, 1590

The best available text of this letter is in Father Grene's *Collectanea P*, ii, fol. 521, and he says that he copied from *Miscellanea A*, fol. 238, a volume now broken up. There is another copy in the Westminster Archives, iv, 267, *i.e. Collectanea B*, p. 13. The words in round brackets are additions from B, which however altogether omits the third paragraph. The letter has also been quoted by Yepes, and was translated from him by Challoner. The passages which they omit are here enclosed in square brackets.

Father Grene was much in doubt as to the *year* of this letter, and concluded that Southwell must have used Old Style, so that the true date was 1591. But Stow, p. 760, mentions the great storm as having occurred on the Epiphany of 1590. The mishap to the *Revenge*, here mentioned, was not fatal, as she was afloat and in commission a few weeks later.

Vivimus adhuc et valemus et vinculis digni non sumus. Literas vestras rarius accepimus quam nostras ad vos damus, quas tamen vix jam possumus secure transmittere, et de quibusdam certo scimus periisse. [Singulis mensibus scripsimus et nonnunquam sæpius, ideoque miramur maxime quod querantur vicini nostri (ex Belgio) de magna in scribenda negligentia; utinam perinde tutum esset mittere ac gratum est scribere; haberetis profecto quotidianos literarum fasciculos.]

Eadem est [hic] Catholicorum quæ jampridem erat conditio, [satis] misera nimirum et timoribus plena et jam pluribus obnoxia periculis, cum sibi bellum imminere adversarii suspicentur. Vincti nostri suis fruuntur et gaudent carceribus, soluti suam nec magnopere curant nec diuturnam fore putant libertatem. Omnes (quæ Dei bonitas est) ad durissima quæque animos præmuniunt, de una Dei gloria animarumque salute magis quam de corporum bonorumve jactura solliciti.

Miranda hic nuper prodigia apparuerunt quæ boniue an mali quicquam ominentur vestrum esto judicium. In occidenti plaga Angliæ ad littus (millibus aliquot ad spectaculum confluentibus) visa est aut similis pisci mulier, aut ab umbilico sursum mulieri simillimus piscis, qui non solum aspectus novitate, sed etiam suavitate cantus mira omnes affecit voluptate. Cum autem e spectatoribus quidam exploso globulo canentem petiisset, magno ac misero cum gemitu post acceptum vulnus e rupe cui insidebat in mare prosiliens, amplius non comparuit. In plaga septentrionali intra quingentorum passuum intercapedinem quinque ingentis magnitudinis ceti, quorum minimus octo et viginti cubitorum maximus vero 40 longitudine fuit, eodem tempore in littus ejecti sunt, id quod a sæculis ante non contigit. Porro in vigilia Epiphaniæ tam vehemens sæviit tempestas, ut multæ domus ubique ruerent, arbores maximæ eradicarentur, et in ipso reginæ cubiculo magna fenestræ pars, vi turbinis mensam versus disjecta, ciphum vitreum maximi pretii comminuit, aulicum quemdam læsit et fere petiisset reginam nisi ictum alius intermedius propulsasset. Duæ quoque naves regiæ præcipuæ, quarum altera Vindicta, altera Triumphus appellatur eadem procella in portu submersæ sunt. Alia quoque non minus his admiranda audivi, quæ quod certum non cognoscam auctorem, silentio prætermitto.

Nostri omnes suas curant provincias et magno cum fructu sedulam animabus dant operam. Duo* nuper capti sunt sacerdotes, quos [hæretici crudeliter] misere exceperunt. [Carcerem illum infamem] Bridwellum, qui jam comprehenduntur, experiri coguntur fere omnes, qua in carnificina quos patiantur cruciatus credi vix potest. Cibus non solum tenuis et parcissimus, sed tam vilis et sordidus est ut [ingentem] nauseam edentibus generet. Labores [imperantur] continui et immodici, ad quos etiam ægrotos verberibus impellunt. Cubilia straminea pædore ac situ squalentia. [Non sinuntur etiam datis pecuniis cibos emere, nisi tales velint quos potius pretio amovere quam comparare mallent.] Suspenduntur aliqui totos dies manibus in altum extensis, et summis tantum articulis terram attingentibus. Denique qui ibi detinentur sunt in lacu miseriæ et in luto fæcis. Unum istud purgatorium timemus

* Videtur unus fuisse Chr: Balæus qui martyrio affectus fuit 4 Martii 1590. Note by Father Grene.

omnes, in quo duo illi Catholicorum carnifices Topliffus et Youngus omnem habent cruciandi libertatem.

Sed quodcumque tandem nobis fiat, omnia, uti spero, poterimus in eo qui nos confortat. Interim confundantur omnes iniqua agentes, et loquatur Dominus pacem in plebem suam, ut inhabitet gloria in terra nostra. Vestræ Dominationis cæterorumque amicorum precibus nos humillime commendamus. 16 Jan^{rii} 1590.

Vestrae Dominationis studiosissimus
Robertus.

[There is a translation of this letter, Foley, *Records*, i, 324.]

(xi)

To Father General Aquaviva

8 March, 1590

Father Grene has transcribed this from two copies, *Miscellanea A*, ff. 236 and 237. An abbreviated version of this in Yepes, p. 648, and from him retranslated into Latin in More, p. 183, and an English version in Challoner. In the Record Office (*Dom. Eliz.*, ccxxx, *n.* 104) there is another copy, almost but not quite so full as Father Grene's, as it lacks the postscript. From this there is an English version in the *Rambler*, 1857, i, 104, reprinted in Foley I, 325.

Admodum Reverende Domine,

Frequentes ad vos literas dedimus, sed ut nuper intellexi raræ ad vos pervenerunt ob impiam cujusdam fraudem de qua a P. Gulielmo* accipietis. In mediis adhuc periculorum fluctibus jactamur, et sane non parvo cum discrimine, e quo tamen Dei ope erepti hactenus incolumes sumus.

Una omnes magna nostra cum voluptate consuetam antiqui fœderis instaurationem curavimus, et dies aliquot mutuis exhortationibus ac colloquiis occupati aperuimus ora et spiritum attraximus. Videbar ego mihi nascentis in Anglia Societatis incunabula contemplari, cujus nos mittentes semina imus et flemus, ut venientes alii veniant portantes manipulos suos. Cantavimus tamen canticum Domini in terra aliena, et in deserto hoc suximus mel de petra oleumque de saxo durissimo. Sed extrema hujus gaudii luctus occupavit,† et subitis terroribus dissipati majori (ut eventus probavit) periculo quam detrimento evasimus. Ego et e nostris alter dum Scillam vitamus incidimus in Charybdim, utrumque tamen scopulum insigni Dei beneficio prætervecti, nunc in portu navigamus.

Comprehensus est nuper præter alios sacerdos quidam nomine Christophorus Bales,§ Romani primum postea Rhemensis Collegii alumnus. Is viginti quatuor horas integras manibus suspensus, extremis tantum articulis terram attingentibus misere excruciatus est. Cumque plurimis illum quæstionibus fatigarent, unum hoc ad omnia respondit,

* Father William Holt, in Flanders.

† It is most probable that Southwell is here alluding to the escape or escapes described in More, *Historia Provinciae Anglicanae*, 1660, p. 253; Morris, *John Gerard*, p. 115.

§ R.O. *adds* e comitatu Dunelmensi.

sacerdotem catholicum se esse, ad animas in ovile Christi revocandas venisse, nec aliud* in animo aut votis fuisse unquam. A Briduello olim meretricum et circumcellionum nunc vero Catholicorum carnificina, in alium carcerem abductus, ibi in eodem cubiculo cum Puritano positus est; unde paulo post ad tribunal vocatus eo nomine capite damnatur quod, sacerdos cum esset, pontificia auctoritate initiatus in Angliam venerit.

Urgebant hominem an Papæ liceret Reginam deponere; ad quod ille eam esse in Papa potestatem ut principes justis ex causis deponere posset, respondit. Cum vero jam sententiam in eum dicturi essent, quærebant de more haberetne quidquam quod pro capitis sui salute posset afferre. "Unum," inquit, "a vobis rogatum velim. Fuitne Augustinus a Gregorio primo olim in Angliam missus proditor ac læsæ majestatis reus an non?" "Non fuit," inquiunt. "Cur ergo," ait, "me ab eadem sede eundem in finem missum hujus criminis reum asseritis, cum nihil mihi possit quod non potuisset etiam Augustino objici?" At illi ad hoc nihil præterquam "Tolle, crucifige."

Cum ad locum supplicii de more super ligneam cratem traheretur psalmos cecinit. Ad patibulum cum ascendisset, "Absit," inquit, "mihi gloriari nisi in cruce Domini Nostri Jesu Christi"; et elevatis oculis in coelum signo se crucis munivit, prout vinctis manibus potuit. "Venistis," ait, "ut hominem videatis morientem, commune spectaculum; ut sacerdotem, nec id insolitum. At sicut corpus intuemini, ita utinam et intimos cordis affectus, et animi quem sortietur exitum videre possetis, certe profecto non minus tunc mihi et compateremini et congauderetis, quam modo infensis animis mala imprecamini. Omnibus ex animo ignosco et ab omnibus mihi ignosci cupio." Deinde rogans ut pro eo Catholici omnes orarent (hæreticorum enim suffragia ei haud profutura dixit) precibus se dedit; et paulo post vultu ac mente intrepida mortem fortiter ac constanter subivit. Passus est feria 4ª Cinerum in regia quadam Londini platea quæ omnium est frequentissima, † plurimis etiam hæreticis pietatem et constantiam viri laudantibus.

Carnifex vero cruentatis in hujus cæde et dissectione manibus ad alterum, laicum illum quidem sed probatum virum, excarnificandum in aliam plateam festinat.§ Is quod sacerdotibus favisset et sua eos ope levasset morte mulctatus est. Ante mortem cum in tetro et obscuro carcere accensam haberet candelam, in umbræ suæ capite, coronam ex umbra formatam vidit. Ille capiti manus admovens, et quod talem efficeret umbram sentiens nihil, obambulat ut animadverteret an ex situ corporis illud quod viderat contigisset. Ambulanti quoque idem apparet, euntem sequitur, cum sistente consistit, et sic ad horam integram capiti velut affixum diadema ut futuræ gloriæ specimen conspicitur. Hoc ille paulo ante martyrium piæ cuidam fœminæ indicavit. Hornerus homini nomen fuit, et non minori quam alter constantia insignem victoriæ palmam adeptus est.

His nimirum tanquam vernis imbribus Ecclesiæ ager irrigandus fuit, ut in stillicidiis hujusmodi lætaretur germinans. Expectamus et nos (nisi forte indigni tanto honore simus) quando veniet sicut mercenarii

* R.O. *adds* sibi. † Fleet Street. § Smithfield.

dies noster. Interim Dominationis vestræ ac cæterorum omnium preces enixe rogamus, ut pater luminum reddat nobis lætitiam salutaris sui et spiritu principali confirmet nos. 8 Martii 1590.

Vestræ Dominationis studiosissimus
Robertus

Ex aliis literis ejusdem.

Adhuc persistimus licet cum summa difficultate. Vivo ego et versor quotidie in ipsis inferni faucibus, ubi vix quisquam manere potest quin continuo devoretur. Adhuc tamen (quæ Dei bonitas est) liber et sine vinculis ambulo, licet in tenebris et in umbra mortis. Salutes quæso nomine meo et D. Henrici amicos omnes in Annunciata et hospitio Jesu. Vale. 8 Martii 1590.

[Translations in the *Rambler*, 1857, i, 104; Foley, *Records S.J.*, I, 325.]

Record Office copy is endorsed: This relation was translated into Spanyshe and presented to al the grandes of Spayne, to make them conceave that the number & persecution of Catholiques in Englande was greate. Hit is of the order of Xp̃er Bayles his deathe, with one other laye mannes.

(xii)

From Grene's *Collectanea P*, ii, 507. His original was *Miscellanea A*, 106.

E cosa mirabile, vedere sin' dove l'heresia conduce gli huomini. Questi di passati sono comparsi tre compagni, che si fanno chiamare Propheti, e per tali vogliono essere stimati. Il primo il quale fu prima Ministro Puritano ha per nome proprio Copingero, e adesso si chiama Profeta di misericordia, mandato (come egli dice) da Dio per vocatione estraordinaria a significare al mondo i periculosi giudicii suoi ch'hanno a venirli sopra, se non si pentirà e non si sottometterà alla volontà divina, e quelli che l'ascoltano, sono gli eletti di Dio (quali egli fa professione di conoscere a la prima vista) li segna in fronte col suo anello, e gli altri che non gli piacciono, rimette al suo compagno, che si chiama Profeta di vendetta, detto per nome proprio Ardingtono, il quale con tanto ardire e confidenza prononcia la sua sentenza contro chi gli piace come se fosse consegliero di Dio. Il terzo, che per nome si chiama Hacketto, già anco Ministro, è come egli dice Giesu Christo, Rè dª terra, Rè dª Christianità etc. disceso dal Cielo per essegiure i suoi giudicii sopra di quelli che ributtano la misericordia. Duoi di qᵗⁱ Profeti alli 26 di Luglio passato comparuero nella piazza di Orefici, luogo famoso e frequentato di Londra, et ivi montati all' improviso sopra d'una caretta comminciarono à mettere in esecutione la loro commissione dal cielo, e tra l'altre cose prononciarono la sua sentenza contro il cancelliero e il Pseudo arcivescovo di Cantuaria, li quali prononciarono traditori à Dio et al regno. Ultimamente il Profeta di vendetta digradò e depose la regina, e dice ch'ella non poteva più regnare, per haver ributtate le petitioni de' fedeli, e negletta la causa di Dio e della sua chiesa; per le quali cose dice che ella haveva ad esser punita, se bene l'anima sua si salvarebbe poi. Questi Profeti col suo Christo furono subito presi e condotti inanzi al Governatore di Londra, et ivi esaminati da duoi del consiglio di Stato, cioè il Secretario Wooleio et il

Sig^re^ Fortescu. Li due profeti stettero forti e costanti sopra la loro commissione: ma il Pseudo Christo non volse rispondere altro che, *Io sono che sono: quello che ho detto, ho detto: li huomini daranno testimonianza di me*, et altre cose simili. Si crede molto probabilmente che ò tutti ò alcuni di questi saranno giustitiati.

[*Translation*]

It is astonishing to see to what extravagances heresy will lead men. These last few days three fellows made their appearance, who gave out that they were prophets, and wished to be regarded as such. The first, who was previously a Puritan minister, is named Copinger; he now styles himself *Prophet of Mercy*, sent by God (so he says) by an extraordinary mission to proclaim to the world the terrible judgments that will befall it, if it fail to repent and submit itself to the divine will. His followers are "the elect of God," and he professes to know these at first sight, and signs them on the forehead with his ring. Others who do not satisfy his wishes, he passes on to his companion, who calls himself *Prophet of Judgment*, his real name being Arthington. This man passes sentence on all whom he lists with as much boldness and self assertion as if he were the counsellor of God. The third, whose name is Hackett, was also once a minister, and declares himself *Jesus Christ*, King of the earth, King of Christendom, descended from heaven to execute judgment on those who refuse his mercy. Two of these prophets appeared in Goldsmiths' Square [Cheapside], a place in London well known and much frequented. There they suddenly mounted a cart and began to fulfil their would-be heavenly commission, and among other things pronounced sentence against the Chancellor and pseudo Archbishop of Canterbury, saying they were traitors to God and to the realm. Finally the *Prophet of Judgment* degraded and deposed the queen, saying she could reign no longer, having rejected the petitions of the faithful and neglected the cause of God and of His church; for which reasons, he averred, she would suffer chastisement, though her soul would be saved. The two prophets with their Christ were forthwith arrested and brought before the [Lord Mayor] of London, and then examined by two counsellors of State, to wit, Secretary Wolley and Mr. Fortescue. The two prophets clung firmly and unhesitatingly to their commission: but the false Christ would vouchsafe no other answer than this: "I am what I am," "What I have said, I have said": "Men give testimony of me," and such like assertions. It is thought very likely that all three, or (at least) two of them, will be executed.

XCV.

LEAKE'S RELATION OF THE MARTYRDOM OF FATHER SOUTHWELL

After February, 1595

Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, vi, pp. 125–128, probably autograph.

Thomas Leake was a priest who lived in or about London. *C.R.S.*, i, 112, and Foley, *Records S.J.*, i, *passim*. As the name is not found in the *Diaries* of the Rheims or Roman Colleges, it may be an *alias*.

Anno Domini 1594 in februarie (I do not remember the day perticulerlie) father So[thwell] was removed from the Towre to Newgate, and within some few daies after was brought to the King's Bench . . . and arraigned before Poppam cheif iustice. [Two] other Iudges their

weir, whose names I remember not. Their weir also sitting vpon the bench Fowler, Skevington, Doctour Stanhoop and Alderman Hart, Iustices. The father being brought along with halberts and bils and his armes tied with a cord, pressed with the throong at the length came to the bar; and then, having his hands loosed put of his hat and made obesance. The cheife iustice, casting his eis vpon him, asked him his age; who answeared that he was about the age ovr Saviovr was of, when he was brought before Pilate, "Why then," quoth he, "you make yovrself Christ His companion?" "No," sayth he, "but a poore worme created of Him to serve Him."

Then the Clarke of Thassisses red thinditement, which was this. "Robert Sothwell late of London clark, hold vp thy hand. Thou art indited by the name of Robert &c.; for that thou, since the first yeare of the Queen's Maiesties raigne that now is, didst passe without licence out of her highnes dominions beyond the sayes, and their receavedst ordre of preisthood from the pretended and vsurped authoritie of the Bushop of Rome, and didst retourne, and was found like a vile traytor at one Bellamies house, nigh a place called Harrow Hill in Midlesex."

His answear, after some pause. "I confes I am a chatholick preist, and I thank God for it, but no traytour; nether can anie law make it treason to be a preist." The cheif iustice importuned him to answear according to form of law, whose answear was, "Not guilty of treason"; which in the end was accepted.

Cook began thus, having explicated the parts of thinditement. "I had not thought to haue spoken anie thing this day; but that the prisoner let fall a word viz., that no law could make his case treason. I haue, sayth he, occupied this Roome but three years, and their haue bene diverse high poyncts of treason practised by Jebusits, I should say Jesuits. I omit the treasons of Ballard and Babington, and those confederats that of Doctour Parrie before my time. Behould of late one Heskit sent over to make rebellion; and even this last Terme one Williams and Yorcke . . . from father Holt and others condemned for treason; and now this man heer, which is to be this day tryed. What haue they not attempted b[y prin]ting and sending over seditious books? which, maysters, beware how you [read] for it is felonie to keep them. A good note, quoth he, to be observed. [Seeing] that wold not serue, they caused seminaries to be erected, where youths weir trayned vp to be sent into England to disuade her Maiesties subiects from their naturall obedience. And, prevayling not that way, they practised for invasion; and now of late their designments haue bene to make a Spanish or open rebellion. So that you may iudge that the statute vpon which this prisoner is arraigned was not made but vpon vrgent cause. They pretend conscience; but you shall see how far they are from it."

Then was brought in one Bellamies daughter, married to the keeper of Newgate, who betrayed the father to Topliffe. Her deposition was that father S. tould them, that if in case anie should inquire for him and propose to them an othe whether they had sene him, that they might deny it by oth; although they had seene him that same day; reserving this intention:—"Not with a purpose to tell you." Heer thatturney exclaimed that the Rotten chear would downe, which

mentayned a doctrine by the which all iudgments, all giving of Testimonies should be perverted.

Father S. answeared that his words weir not altogether as she reported. "But I tould them that to an oth weir required, iustice, iudgment and truth." Some few words he spake more; but his vtterance was somwhat vnready, and they allways cut him of when he begun to speake.

Topliff: "Did not you confes it in speech before Sir Robert Cecil and excuse it with a speech of ovr (fol. 126) Saviovr where he sayd that the Angels in heaven knewe not of the day of iudgment, nor the Sonne of man: meaning, for to tell them. And being asked whose exposition it was, you answeared, it was St. Hierom's?"

F. S.: "I sayd in deed that St. Hierome did expound it so."

Atturney: "Hath on of your years read the Doctours? Such boyish prists!" (By the way, I thinke the father [is as] ould as he.)

F. S.: "I haue red them that haue red them."

Atturney: "You ought pet." After diverse such words.

The father sayd, "Put the case that the Queene should be pursued by her enemies (whom God blesse), and should come to yovr house, and the enemies following should vrg you vpon yovr oth to declare to them where she was, in refusing to swear weir a plaine discoverie; for so must the case be put."

Popham: "Theise cases are vnlike, yours and hers."

Fath. S.: "That which I then taught, I will defend by the law of God, by the common law civill and the law of all nations. No civill societie can be menteyned, if the contrarie be admitted."

Often they interrupted him, that he could seldome or never end one sentence, which he did begin.

F. S.: "I am decayed in memorie with long and close imprisonment, and I haue bene tortured ten times. I had rather haue indured ten executions. I speak not this for my self, but for others; that they may not be handled so inhumanelie, to driue men to desperation, if it weir possible."

Toplif: "If he weir rackt, let me die for it."

F. S.: "No: but it was as evill a Torture, of late devise."

Toplif: "I did but set him against a wall."

F. S.: "Thou art a bad man."

Top.: "I would blow you all to dust, if I could."

F. S.: "What, all?"

Top.: "Ey, all." *F. S.:* "What, soule and body too?" Heer Toplif exclaimed that he found him in a corner tredding vpon books; and also having their lettres directed to him from Persons that Jesuit. Which lettres he shewed; but nothing was red of them, nor of other papers nor books which he poured out of a bag.

The Jeurie, not staing aboue a quarter of an houre, retourned saying "Guiltie;" and so the father lifting vp his eis and hands, having the cord tied about his armes, which for the time of his being at the bar was loosed, was sent back to Newgate. Who was led all along the street, notwithstanding at the bar thatturney bid them carrie him by water.

(When Popham had pronounced sentence the father prayed God to pardon the authors or accessories to his death.)

The day after, as far as I remember, he was haled vpon a draw from Newgate, layd along vpon straw, to the place of execution by Tiburne, having a cord fastened about the wrists of his armes. All the way he prayed, with his countenance and eis lifted towardes heaven and his hands, so much as he might; and vsed not anie speech, but was drawen *tanquam ovis ad occisionem.*

When he was come to the place, as they weir taking him of the draw, the minister of the Towre came to him and vsed these words: "You hould the decrees of the councell of Trent for authenticall?"

"I do," sayd the father.

"Theirin," sayd he, "is decreed that no man shall presume to beleeue that he is sure to be saved, but is to doubt. If you beleiue to be saved, you contradicte the councell; if you doubt (being to die) your case is hard: and you doubting, we must needs doubt."

F. S.: "I hope to be saved by the merits of my saviour; but I pray you trouble me not."

So he was lifted vp into the caurt; at which time his countenance appeared verie modest, yet chearfull, like the sun when it breketh out after that it hath dispersed the clouds. The minister began to speake to him againe, to whom he answeared; "I pray you mayster minister giue me leaue." So turning him self to the vnder-sherrif, he asked him whether he might speak; who answeared that he might, so that he would confes his fault. "I will," sayd he, "speak nothing against the state."

His beginning to pray had entrance with this place of thapostle, *Siue vivimus domino vivimus, siue morimur domino morimur; siue vivimus siue morimur, domini sumus;* at which words the sherrif interrupted him. So whear it seemed he would haue made some speech, being cut of, he desired all Catholiques to ioyne with him in prayer to allmighty God, that it would please Him to forgiue him all his sins, which he had committed in this miserable life. Miserable, not for that he died a reprochful death ignominious in the sight of the world, but honorable before God; for that it was for the testimonie of his cause; but miserable, for that he had sinned so often agaynst so mercifull and gracious a God. He praied for the Queene, that she might inioy all gifts of nature and grace, all helpes of frends and faithful councelours whereby she might raigne to God his glorie, and after this life be inheritour of the kingdome of heaven; and wished that she would pardon him, for that he had come into her kingdome without lycence. He prayed that God would be mercifull to the whol land and vouchsafe to convert them which weir out of the way of truth. And so protesting that he died a Catholique priest and in the Romane faith, standing in his shert, often repaiting theise words *In manus tuas domine*, etc., the Cart was removed, and having hanged a while the sherrif made a signe to the sergeants to cut the rope. At which their was a great confused cry in the companie that he praied for the Queene, "And therefore let him hang, till he be dead," sayd they. And so he was not cut downe till he was senst, as far as could be perceaved. A man might perceaue by the countenances of the beholders that their was almost a generall

commiseration, none that rayled against him, so far as I hard. The lord Mon[tjoy] was present, who is sayd (having beheld the mild and godly end of the father) to haue vttered theise words: "I cannot iudg of his religion; but pray God, whensoever I die, that my soule may be in no worse case than his."

Postscriptum.—A sessions was appoynted three or four daies before the father was arraigned and the Iurers met; but the court was dismist, for that the iudges weir not at leasure. And the court being reiournayed, I walked over the feild with one who seemed to be one of the principall Iurers; for he was in a silke dublet and other things correspondent. I asked him the cause of their apparance that day. Quoth he, "To be impaneled vpon a Iesuit." "What kind of men are they?" sayd I. He answered that they beleived in the Pope. "Why, what do they make of him?" He answered that they beleived more in him then in God, and that they came in ether to do some other mischeif or to kill the Queene. Hearby appeareth what manovr of proceeding in iudgment their is in England wheir such sots are called to determine concerning the liues of learned Catholique preists. Thomas Leake.

XCVI.

RECORD OF THE TRIAL OF JOHN PIBUSH

1 July, 1595

Record Office, *Controlment Roll*, 37 Eliz., rolls ciiij and cxj°; *Coram Rege Roll* (No. 1,334), 37 Eliz., Trinity, Crown side, rot. 2.

(i)

[*Abstract*]

(County of Middlesex.) Writ of Venire on the Thursday after the 18th of Holy Trinity (July, 1595), for a petty jury to inquire whether John Pibush (who has lived under the aliases of Grosvenor and Forster, at Morton on the Marsh, in Gloucester) is guilty of the high treasons of which he has been indicted. The same day has been appointed for the above John in the custody of the marshal. On that day the jury are elected, tried and sworn, and say that John is guilty of the above treasons, and that he has no goods, chattels, lands or tenements. Therefore sentence is that the said John Pibush, &c., shall be drawn and quartered, as appears in the capital roll for this term [*i.e.* on the *Coram Rege Roll*, printed below].

ADHUC DE TERMINO SANCTE TRINITATIS, SANDES

Midd. Venire facias Jovis post xviij Sče Trinitatis xij^cim &c., de visu de corpore Comitatus predicti per quos &c., Et qui Johannem Pybushe nuper de Morton henmarshe in Comitatu Gloucester Clericum, als dictum Johannem Grosvenor nuper de Morton henmashe predicta in dicto Comitatu Gloucester Clericum, als dictum Johannem Forster nuper de Morton henmashe predicta in dicto Comitatu Gloucester Clericum, nulla affin &c. Ad recognoscendum &c. si predictus Johannes culpabilis sit de quibusdam altis prodicionibus [*erasure*], Unde iudicatus est necne. Quia &c. Idem dies datus est prefato Johanni &c. sub custodia Marrescalli &c. Ad quem diem breve cum panello

et jurati exacti venerunt, qui ad veritatem de et super premissis dicendi, electi, triati & iurati dicunt super sacramentum suum quod predictus Johannes est culpabilis de altis prodicionibus predictis ei superius impositis: Et quod ipse nulla habet bona neque catalla terras neque tenementa. Ideo consideratio est quod predictus Johannes Pybushe als Grosvenor als fforstor Trahatur & Suspendatur &c. prout patet in capitali rotulo istius Termini. [*In margin.*—T. & S.]

(ii)

[*Abstract*]

Record for the city of Gloucester, that John Pibush &c., was brought by virtue of a writ of habeas corpus by the sheriffs of the county of Gloucester to the Queen's bench bar with his cause, which was that he was detained in the Queen's gaol of Gloucester for high treason, and that on the 19th of February of the above year [*i.e.* 37 Elizabeth] he broke the said gaol by force and arms, and escaped. Afterwards, viz. 20 February of the same year, he was captured at Maston in the same county, and committed to the gaol of the said city. This is the cause of the detention of the said John Pibush, who was committed to the marshal. Afterwards in this term he was tried in the court here, on an indictment for high treason, on which he was convicted and attainted, and judgment was given that he should be drawn and quartered.

Adhuc de Termino Sancte Trinitatis, Sandes

Civitat. Glouc. ss. Johannes Pybushe als Grosvenor als fforster Clericus per Christoferum Caple & Johannem Brewster Vicecomites Civitatis predicte, virtute brevium domine Regine de habeas corpus ad subjiciendum eis inde directorum & coram domina Regina ductus cum causa, videlicet quod predictus Johannes Pybushe als Grosvenor als fforster detentus fuit in Gaola domine Regine Civitatis Gloucester pro alta prodicione. Et eandem Gaolam xix° die ffebruarii anno infrascripto vi & armis fregit, & abinde escapavit. Et postea scilicet xx° die ffebruarii anno supradicto idem Johannes Pybush apud Matson in Comitatu Gloucester captus fuit, & prisone dicte domine Regine infradicte Civitatis Gloucester commissus fuit. Et hec est causa detencionis predicti Johannis Pybushe: qui comittitur Marrescallo. Et postea arraniatus fuit isto Termino hic in Curia super quoddam Indictamentum pro altis prodicionibus & superinde convictus & attinctus fuit, & Iudicium redditum quod trahatur & suspendatur. [*In margin.*—T. & S.]

(iii)

[*Abstract*]

Record of trial at Westminster on Tuesday next after the 18th of Holy Trinity. Whereas on Friday next after the Octave of Holy Trinity at the court of Queen's Bench, Westminster, the presentment was made under the oaths of twelve jurymen that John Pibush *alias* Grosvenor &c., was born in England after the feast of St. John Baptist in the first year of the present Queen,* and was ordained by authority from the see of Rome

* The Elizabethan Settlement of religion came into force on this day. Those ordained before were not liable to the penalties of the laws of 27 Elizabeth, those ordained after were.

before the 1st of May, 32 Elizabeth [1590], and came to Morton on the Marsh against the Statute &c. The Sheriff was ordered to take him &c., to answer &c. *And now*, that is on Tuesday next after the 18th of Holy Trinity, John Pibush comes under the custody of the marshal of the Queen's Bench (to whose custody he had been previously committed) and was brought to the bar. Asked how he will be tried, he pleads *Not Guilty* and places himself on the country. The Jury come on Thursday after the 18th of Trinity &c., and John Pibush also. They are elected, tried and sworn, and say that he is guilty of the above high treasons, and that he has no goods, chattels, lands or tenements. He is asked if he can say anything why the court should not pass judgment, who has nothing more to say than he has said before. The Queen's Serjeant and Attorney pray for sentence in the usual form, and the court having understood all, and called on the Queen's Serjeant and Attorney to be present, the sentence is that John Pibush *alias* Grosvenor &c., be returned to the Marshalsea prison, and from thence drawn to the place of execution at St. Thomas Waterings, and be there hanged, &c. &c. &c.

Adhuc de Termino Sancte Trinitatis, Regina

Midd. ss. p indictment. & contr. istius term.

Alias scilicet die veneris proximo post Octavam Sancte Trinitatis isto eodem termino coram domina Regina apud Westmonasterium per sacramentum xij^{cim} Juratorum extitit presentatum quod Johannes Pybushe nuper de morton henmarshe in Comitatu Gloucester Clericus, alias dictus Johannes Grosvenor nuper de morton henmarshe predicta in dicto Comitatu Gloucester Clericus, alias dictus Johannes fforster nuper de morton henmarshe predicta in dicto Comitatu Gloucester Clericus, natus infra hoc regnum Anglie & post festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste Anno regni dicte domine Regine nunc primo, & ante primum diem Maii Anno regni dicte domine Regine nunc tricesimo secundo factus & ordinatus Sacerdos per authoritatem derivatam & pretensam a sede Romana, leges & statuta huius regni Anglie minime ponderans nec penam in eisdem contentam aliqualiter verens, nono die Julii Anno regni dicte domine Regine nunc tricesimo tercio apud morton henmarshe predictam in dicto Comitatu Gloucester proditorie et ut falsus proditor dicte domine Regine fuit & remansit, contra formam statuti in huiusmodi casu editi & prouisi & contra pacem dicte domine Regine, coronam & dignitatem suas. PROPTER QUOD preceptum fuit vicecomiti quod non omitteret &c. quin caperet eum, si &c. ad respondendum &c. Et MODO SCILICET die martis proximo post xviii Sancte Trinitatis isto eodem termino coram domina Regina apud Westmonasterium venit predictus Johannes Pybushe, als dictus Johannes Grosvenor alias dictus Johannes fforster Clericus, sub custodia marrescalli marescaltie domine Regine coram ipsa Regina, in cuius custodia preantea ex causis predictis & aliis certis de causis commissus fuit, ad barram hic ductus in propria persona sua. Qui comittitur prefato marrescallo &c. Et statim de premissis sibi superius impositis allocutus qualiter se velit inde acquietari, dicit quod ipse in nullo est inde culpabilis. Et inde de bono & malo ponit se super patriam. Ideo venerunt inde Jurati coram domina Regina apud Westmonasterium die Jovis proximo post xviij sancte Trinitatis. Et qui &c.: Ad recognoscendum &c.: Quia &c.: Idem dies datus est prefato Johanni sub custodia prefati marrescalli

interim commisso salvo custodiendo &c. Ad quem diem coram domina Regina apud Westmonasterium venit predictus Johannes Pybushe, als dictus Johannes Grosvenor, als dictus Johannes fforster, sub custodia prefati marrescalli in propria persona sua. Et Juratia Juratorum predicta per vicecomitem Comitatus predicti ad hoc impanellata exacta, similiter venerunt. Qui ad veritatem de premissis dicendam electi triati & iurati, dicunt super sacramentum suum quod predictus Johannes Pybushe als dictus Johannes Grosvenor als dictus Johannes fforster est culpabilis de altis prodicionibus predictis ei superius supposítis modo & forma prout per Indictamentum predictum superius versus eum supponitur. Et quod ipse idem Johannes nulla habet bona nec catalla terras neque tenementa. Et statim quesitum est de eodem Johanne si quid pro se habeat vel dicere sciat, quare Curia domine Regine hic ad iudicium & execucionem de eo super veredictum predictum procedere non debeat: qui nichil vlterius dicit preterquam ut prius dixerat. Super quo instantibus Servientibus domine Regine ad legem ac ipsius Regine Attornatu iuxta debitam legis formam pecierunt versus prefatum Johannem iudicium & execucionem superinde pro dicta domina Regina habendam &c. Et super hoc vic [? visis] & per Curiam hic intellectis omnibus & singulis premissis, Serviente domine Regine ad legem ac ipsius Regine Attornatu ad hoc convocatis & presentibus Consideratio est quod predictus Johannes Pybushe, als Johannes Grosvenor, alias dictus Johannes fforster ducatur per prefatum marrescallum usque prisonam marrescalli marescaltie domine Regine coram ipsa Regina, & deinde usque ad locum execucionis nomine St. Thomas Waterings trahatur & super furcas ibidem suspendatur, & vivens ad terram prosternatur, ac interiora sua extra ventrem suum capiantur ipsoque vivente comburentur. Et quod caput eius amputetur quodque corpus eius in quatuor partes dividatur. Et quod caput & quarteria illa ponantur vbi domina Regina ea assignare voluerit &c. [*In margin.*—T. & S.]

XCVII.

THOMAS TICHBORNE TO THE ARCHPRIEST BLACKWELL, WITH POSTSCRIPT BY FATHER H. GARNET

15 July, 1595

Stonyhurst, *Anglia*, ii, 39, f. 131. A copy; the heading, marginal note and postscript in Garnet's hand.

The following paper introduces us to a subject which fills a large space in the history of Catholics at the end of Elizabeth's reign, the troubles that ensued after the appointment of the Archpriest Blackwell. Robert Benson had been an unruly scholar at the English College, Rome (Foley, vi, 3, 42, 565), and his faculties were recalled by the Papal Nuncio in Flanders, on the 29th of December, 1597 (T. G. Law, *Archpriest Controversy*, I, 6, Camden Soc., 1896). In the same collection of papers (pp. 201, 202) there is the abstract of a letter from Blackwell to an unnamed correspondent about Benson, which may possibly be an answer to Tichborne's letter now under consideration. The abstract, however, is made in a hostile spirit, apparently in order to show that Blackwell was partial to the Jesuits. One cannot therefore be sure that it represents Blackwell's mind, and in any case it throws no light on our letter, as all Blackwell's allusions to his correspondent are excised. Blackwell event-

ually interceded for the restitution of Benson's faculties, which were re-granted in January, 1599 (*ibid.*, p. 202). Benson nevertheless signed the second Appeal, 17 November, 1600 (Tierney, iii, Ap., p. 144).

Though all that we here see of Tichborne's relations towards Blackwell, Benson and the Jesuits, may seem to us exceptionally praiseworthy, he did not altogether avoid blame in those days of partisanship. Father Blount in the next number "suspects," and Father Garnet plainly wrote of his being "too neutral in life" (5 May, 1602, Stonyhurst MSS.) Would that more of his contemporaries had deserved the same blame!

EXEMPLAR LITERARUM D. THOMÆ TICHBURNI AD R. D. ARCHIPRESBYTERUM de causa D. Bensonii, ut latius patebit post litterarum finem.

Reverende Domine:

Uti mihi præcepit ita litteras suas tradidi Domino Bensono, cuius vicem non possum non summe dolere: plane enim iam perspicio ipsum fefellisse spem meam, atque statuisse nihil eorum facere, quæ aut ego aut ipsa sua Reverentia cupit. Nam imprimis ait Reverentiam suam non intellexisse quid ipse scripserat, aut si intellexerit perperam interpretatam esse. Non enim postulabat ille (uti ait) ut quæ antea sunt acta atque etiam transacta, iterum a vobis tractarentur: sed solum illi erat in animo (ad quod etiam adductus erat, non tam propria inclinatione quam rogatu meo et instantia) pro errato suo satisfacere (si tamen ut iam loquitur fuerit erratum), et illud sub hoc omine et conditione ut patres laborarent, quantum convenienter possunt, bonam suam famam resarcire, quam pretendit ipsos divulgatis quibusdam rumoribus sibi abripuisse, priusquam ille adversum eos aliquid aut egerit aut locutus fuerit. Atque cum videret se bona sua existimatione spoliatum anteaquam vel adeo primum ac regionem sit ingressus putavit sibi non esse silendum de eorum actionibus, qui ita suas et aliorum propalassent et amplificassent ultra veritatem.

Societas illius famæ nunquam detraxit: tantum a multis secularibus divulgabatur eum Romæ contentiosum fuisse eique facultates a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro ablatas fuisse. [*Garnet's hand.*]

Tum addit Reverentiam suam nullas amplius a se recepturam litteras, neque agnoscere se ullam autoritatem sibi delegatam. Nam si ita est (inquit) ostendat Bullam Pontificis, et credemus illi: sin minus; non credam: scribat licet Illustrissimus Cardinalis Protector millies; cum præcipue experientiam iam habeam, ipsum solere ad nutum et voluntatem Patrum ea in vulgus mittere, tanquam ex Pontificis mandato, quæ sanctissimus Pontifex neque mandat neque cogitat. Ac deinde si certum esset Reverentiam suam pollere ea autoritate de qua (ut ipsius utar verbis) ita gloriatur: non esset cur multum doleret etiamsi suspenderetur, cum confideret huius rei causam aliam non esse quam iustitiæ et veritatis defensionem.

Veruntamen permanentibus rebus quemadmodum iam sunt, si conetur sua Reverentia censuram aliquam adversus illum pronunciare, non obediet: eo quod pro certo sibi persuadeat authoritatem suam non esse veram sed subdititiam, qua in re utinam non haberet plures sequaces, quam par esse deberet: tum demum pro comprobatione illarum accusationum quas in litteris suis digessit adversum Reverendos Societatis Jesu Patres, adducit plura quam possunt meæ aures patienter ferre.

De cæteris rebus Romanensibus in pluribus accusat Patres grauissime: et pro singulis adhibet testes, viros extern[a] [*MS. blotted*] quidem specie graues, atque etiam non minus doctrina quam ingenio pollentes. Quid vero interius latet difficile est iudicare, qui[a] omnes mira qua[dam] constantia seu potius petulantia conclamitant, unum tantummodo habere pro se Patres testimonium quod sæpe iactant, examen nempe Illustrissimi Cardinalis Segæ,* quod tamen asserunt reprobatum fuisse, et in multis ita transactum, non ut erat veritas sed pro nutu et voluntate Patrum.

Veruntamen de his et aliis similibus cogitent alii quicquid voluerint, ego quidem aliter de Reverendis illis Patribus cogitare non possum quam docuit me experientia. Fui enim sub eorum tutela 7 annos in eodem existens collegio de quo isti sunt regressi, quo toto tempore (f. 131 *v*) mira quadam caritate [me] cum cæteris meis coætaneis fouebant alimoniis, instruebant virtute et doctrina. Nihil unquam in ore eorum sonebat [*sic*] præter exhortationes ad virtutem, nihil in eorum actionibus quod non addebat nobis stimulos ad eandem complectendam; et tamen non deerant qui tunc etiam moliebantur nos ad bellum et inimicitias movere. Novi identidem illos viros huius Societatis, adversus quos militant præcipuæ ex accusationibus, et illi quidem meo tempore egregia edidere tum pietatis tum doctrinæ exempla: unde non adeo facile adduci possum ut credam eos huiusmodi monstra apud se alere. / &c.

Father Garnet's postscript.

Mitto ad vestram Reverentiam verum exemplar illius partis harum literarum quæ causam Domini Bensonii concernebant. Is quædam hic diuulgarat contra Societatem Romæ ualde enormia. Inter alia uero (quæ recensere non est opus) ualde probabilibus coniecturis, et tantum non manifestis demonstrationibus inferri uolebat, nostros Romæ mortem procurasse trium Illustrium personarum, Alani et Toleti Cardinalium S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ et Reuerendissimi Episcopi Cassanensis. Eius literarum exemplar quibus hæc continebantur (et quosdam quasi testes, duos Presbyteros allegabat a quibus hæc et multa alia cognosci poterant) spero ad Vestram Reuerentiam iam peruenisse. Quod fortasse Illustrissimo ac Reuerendissimo Nuncio in Latinam linguam traductum ostendi necesse erit; nam cum eæ literæ ipsius chirographo Bensoni Reuerendo Domino Archipresbytero ostensæ essent, grauiter admonendum hominem censuit, quod et ipse suis literis ad illum datis iterum præstitit. Ad priores nihil rescripsit quod ad propositam controuersiam pertineret; ad posteriores nihil omnino, nisi quod maleuolentiam ac contumaciam suam abunde sermone protulit Reuerendo Domino Thomæ Tichburno concaptiuo suo, quo uiro potissimum usus est Reuerendus Dominus Archipresbyter ad Bensonii salutarem correctionem.

Et quoniam Bensonii causa nominatim Domino Nuncio a Sua Sanctitate commissa est, isque tam pertinaciter suam Dominationem spernere uidetur, operæ pretium forte erit si hæc Domini Tichburni verba Illustrissimæ ac Reuerendissimæ Dominationi suæ ostendantur, ut ipse

* Printed by H. Foley, *Records, S.J.*, vol. vi, pp. 1–66.

pro sua prudentia atque eo in Societatem amore quem ex eius ad Dominum Archipresbyterum literis perspeximus et gratissimis animis semper recolemus; imo etiam, pro cura quam gerit de Apostolicæ Sedis et Illustrissimi Protectoris autoritate, statuat ac Reuerendo Domino Archipresbytero præscribat quid in hac causa agendum sit, et num expediat in hominem tam manifeste, et tot facinorum convictum, ea edi exempla quæ alios eius fautores uel sequaces reddant cautiores. Porro hæc scribo ex commissione ac consilio Reuerendi Domini Archipresbyteri qui nunc abest, sed nuper tamen ad Dominum Nuncium scripsit. Vestræ Reuerentiæ precibus ac SS. SS. me commendo

Reuerentiæ Vestræ seruus in Christo

15° Julii. Henricus

Endorsed by Persons.—Literæ Patris Thomæ Tychburni sacerdotis de sermonibus patris Bensoni contra patres Societatis 1598. *By Grene.*—Cum Postscripto Patris Garneti.

[*Translation*]

Copy of the letters of Mr. Thomas Tichborne to the Very Reverend Archpriest, on the cause of Mr. Benson, as will further appear at the end of the letter.

Reverend Sir. I gave your letter to Mr. Benson, as you bade me, and I cannot but deeply grieve over his present position. I see plainly that my hopes about him have failed, and that he is not resolved to do any of those things which either your Reverence or I myself desire. In the first place he says you failed to grasp his letter, or if not, that you purposely misunderstood him. He did not ask (he says) that you should again deal with matters that were already past and done with. All that he had in mind (and to this he was drawn by my request and instance rather than by his own inclination) was to make satisfaction for an error, if indeed, as he now says, he was in error. And this under the condition that the Jesuit Fathers should take such pains as they conveniently could to repair his good name. His contention is that they injured it by divulging certain stories, before he did or said anything against them: and that it was only after he found himself robbed of his reputation (and that before, or as soon as ever, he entered the country) that he thought he ought not to keep silence about the misdeeds of those who bruited about and magnified beyond the truth what he had done.

[*Marginal note in Garnet's hand.*—The Society never injured his good name; the only thing was that many seculars related that he had been contentious at Rome, and that faculties had been taken from him by the Pope.]

Then he [Benson] added that your Reverence should receive no more letters from him, and that he would not acknowledge that any authority had been delegated to you. "If it is so," said he, "let him show the Pope's Bull, and we will believe him. Otherwise I will not believe, not though the Cardinal Protector should write a thousand letters, especially now that I know by experience that he is wont, at the beck and will of the *Padri*, to give out this and that as commanded by the Pope, which His Holiness has neither ordered nor even thought of."

Moreover, if it were certain that your Reverence had that authority, "of which you so much boast" (I quote his words), he would not have much to grieve for, even if he were suspended, for he is confident that in this instance he is suffering for the defence of justice and truth.

While matters stand as they now do, he will not obey even if you should pronounce a censure against him. He is certainly persuaded that your

authority is not true, but surreptitious. Would that he had not in this more followers than he should have! Finally, in proof of the accusations which he has accumulated in his letter against the Reverend Fathers of the Society, he alleges more than my ears can listen to with patience. He brings the gravest accusations against the Fathers in regard to the other Roman matters, and has witnesses ready for each, persons who seem to be of weight, and not less noted for their learning than for their ability. What the real value of the statements may be is hard to judge. All declare with strange constancy, or rather petulance, that the *Padri* boast of but one testimony, that is the report of Cardinal Sega, which however the other side asserts to have been rejected, and to have been so handled in many points that it reflected, not the truth, but the beck and will of the *Padri*.

Well, of this and like matters let others think what they like, I cannot think otherwise of those Reverend Fathers than experience has taught me. I was under them for seven years, during all which time with wonderful charity they kept me and all my contemporaries upon alms, and instructed me in virtue and learning. Nothing was heard from them but that which invited to goodness, nothing [was seen] in their actions which did not stimulate us to good works. Yet there were not wanting those who instigated us to rebellion and enmity. I knew those very members of the order against whom the chief accusations are directed, and in my time they were examples both of piety and learning. Consequently I cannot easily be brought to believe that they would encourage monstrosities like these.

Postscript in Garnet's hand.—I send your Reverence a true copy of that part of this letter which regards the case of Mr. Benson. He had given out here certain very exaggerated charges against the Society at Rome. Amongst others (for it is not necessary to enumerate them all) he pretended that the inference was most probable, and all but proved to demonstration, that our Fathers in Rome had procured the death of three illustrious persons, of Allen and Toledo, Cardinals of the holy Roman Church, and of the most Reverend Bishop of Cassano.* A copy of his letter containing these charges (with certain quasi-witnesses, two priests whom he named, and from whom these matters and much else might be learnt) has I trust reached your Reverence's hands. Perhaps it would be well to translate it into Latin and show it to the Very Rev. Nuncio, for when that letter in Benson's own hand was shown the Very Rev. Archpriest, he decided that the party should be severely reprimanded, which he did twice by letter. To the first no answer was sent which touched the point in debate, to the second nothing of any sort, except that by word of mouth he abundantly vented his malice and contumacy in presence of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Tichborne, a fellow-prisoner, of whom the Archpriest had availed himself for Benson's correction.

As His Holiness has specially committed to the Very Rev. the Nuncio the case of Benson, and he, it seems, sets at naught his Lordship's authority, perhaps it would be worth while showing these words of Mr. Tichborne to his Rev. Lordship, in order that he, in his prudence and love for the Society (which we see reflected in his letters to the Archpriest, and shall ever remember with gratitude), yea in the care he takes for the authority of the Apostolic See and the Cardinal Protector, may decide and inform the Archpriest what should be done in this case, and whether it is not expedient, when one finds a man convicted so clearly

* For later sequels of these extravagant charges, see *Persons' Memoirs, C.R.S.*, ii, pp. 12, 13, &c.; and *Month*, September, 1899, p. 236.

of so many crimes, to make an example of him, and thereby to warn those who favour or follow him.

These things I write by the advice and in the name of the Archpriest, who is at present away, and who has himself lately written to the Nuncio. I commend myself to your prayers and Holy Sacrifices.

Your Reverence's Servant in Christ,

15 July Henry

XCVIII.

THE MARTYRDOM OF WILLIAM FREEMAN

13 August, 1595

English College, Rome, *Collectanea F*, f. 90. For other documents contained in this volume see H. Foley, *Records S.J.*, iii, 214–257; 731–769, and abbreviations from them in *Collectanea M*, printed in J. Morris, *Troubles*, iii, 315–330. Father Joseph Stevenson, whose copy is here followed, notes that the narrative is written "in a contemporary hand, with several corrections, and a few short additions between the lines and in the margin." This was therefore the author's copy. His name we do not know, but he was evidently well acquainted with the martyr. It would seem likely that Dr. Champney, as quoted by Challoner, had some information derived from this paper, though Challoner himself never saw it.

William Freeman arrived at Rheims on the 4th of May, 1586, and is described in the *Diary* as "Oxoniensis," that is of the University of Oxford, for the entry of his ordination states explicitly that he was of the diocese of York. At Oxford he was at Magdalen, and the *Register* (II, iii, 92) tells us that he supplicated for B.A. 20 May, 1580, and determined next year. At Rheims he remained nearly three years, was ordained priest on September the 20th, 1587, and returned to England on the 3rd of January, 1589.

As to the persons among whom he laboured in England, I find few particulars. There were many inquiries about the Sheldons in 1594, owing to the accusations made (during the apparently fictitious plot of Richard Williams in August, 1594) against Ralph Sheldon; and various warrants were sent down to Sir Thomas Lucy and Sir John Harrington to search his house, and Mr. Devordan, High Sheriff of Warwick, was to search the house of the Bishops, at Wolvered, &c. (*Domestic Calendar* for 1594, p. 544, &c.). But whether these harsh measures were the cause of our martyr's arrest in the next year, does not appear. Mistress Dorothy Heath is mentioned in the State Papers (*Dom. Eliz.*, clxxxix, 54) as offering to compound her recusancy fines for an annual sum of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* About Andrew Boardman, Professor of Greek at St. John's, Cambridge, and afterwards given the benefice of St. Lawrence, Alvechurch, Worcester, which he held unitedly with that of St. Mary's, Warwick, a good many particulars may be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, v. 280.

Jesus Maria

Of the Apprehension of Mr. William Freeman, Priest, the fyft of January, and of his arraignment & martyrdom the xij and xiij of August next followinge, Anno Domini 1595.

[His Early Years]

After what maner this blessed martyr bestowed his younger years, & of the accidentes that chaunced unto hym in that space, litle as yet hath come unto our knowledge, savinge that beinge borne in the north partes of Englond in Yorkshire of honest parentes, was by their care put to schoole there in the cuntry & afterwards sent to the Universitie

of Oxford, where he continwed so longe untill he was thought fitt for the degree of Bacheler of Artes; & then removinge thence to London conversed ther for some tyme.

What the first means of his conversion from schisme unto the unitie of God's Church should be, beside the grace of almightie God callinge and assistinge men to their salvacione, I am not able to sett downe: but sure I am I have heard hym tell with great affection of the martyrdom of Mr. Edward Streansham, Preiste, which yf it were not the first motyve, yet a great confirmacion undoubtedly yt was unto hym in the Catholique faith, as by his taulke might well appeare. But whatsoever yt was, at lenght stirred up with the instinct of the Holy Ghost & zeale of syncere pietie, he forsoke his natyve cuntry with all posibilities of earthly preferments, went to Rheimes, & there in the English Colledge applyed hymself first & principally in learninge the waies of salvacion, & secondly in gettinge such knowledge wherby he might be able to instruct & reduce others deceyved and erringe from truth at home in this cuntry. Of both which when he was sufficiently furnished, he tooke Holy Orders of Preisthood; & shortly after was sent by his superiors, according to his owne request made, into England againe.

[His Return to England]

Havinge passed on his jorney together with some other in his companie so farr untill they were come upon the river of Themes, neare (as I remember) unto Gravesend, they desired to be set on land, but Sathan's mallice not bearinge the losse of those praies which he perceyved were like to be pulled afterward from his power by those servauntes of Christe, began to seeke meanes how to prevent such afterclappes, & furthwith put into the hartes of the wicked mariners to murdre them & cast them overboard, eyther of hatred for that they were of a contrary religion, or els for love of lucre, suspectinge they had gode store of money. Yet were they devided; some of them being desperate & caringe for nothinge, other some although contented, yet feared yf yt were performed they might be called in question & accordinge to their desertes hanged. "Tush, tush," quoth one at last, more desperate then the rest, "geve me but one cartrone of peares" (which is a certaine measure) "and I will ridd you of all these feares, for I will doe yt myself."

As thus the matter was [deba]itenge, yt pleased the goodnesse (f. 1*b*) of God to frustrate their mischeivous purpose & delyver His servauntes for His further glorie & goode of distressed sowles. For as the wicked enemy had conspired their death, so did God suggest unto them means how to escape; in so muche that over hearinge their whisperinges, and understandinge their pretences, got them presently to the haches (the mariners beinge all under), drew out their rapiers and cried to them; "My masters," said they, "we perceyve where about you are, keepe yourselves therefore within, for whosoever adventureth to put furth his head shall dye for yt, but send us out some one whom you shall thinke goode, & no mo. We promise yow upon our faith he shall have no harme, but he shall cary us to shore & receive fraite for our passage." Those good fellowes thinkinge themselves hardly mached ynough & to

stand in perill, thought yt best to accept of the offer, & thereupon sent them furth one who brought them accordinge to their desire safe to land. Thus were they by God's protection set free from the great daunger of those myscheivous mariners.

[Of his Work in England]

After his arryvall, Mr. Freeman, as it pleased our gracious Lord to dispose, tooke his waie downe into Warwicke & Worcester shires, & fallinge into acquaintaunce with a goode ould man, was demaunded by the same how he would be called. "Call me," quoth he againe, "how you will, you shall geive me my name." "Why then," said the other, "you shall be called Mason, for that yow are to be a workman & layer of stones in the buildinge of God's Church." How fitly that name was imposed & what paines he tooke in that heavenly businesse, the lyvely stones themselves by hym placed & all that knew his diligence, can well declare, to his perpetuall memory. Great & dayly were the laboures he bestowed for some yeares, travailinge ordinarily on foote to comforte the meaner sorte in wearinefse of body and sundry perrilles, from which not withstandinge he was marveilously delyvered, & emongest others once out of the handes of purswyvauntes by whom he was arrested. Another tyme from a minister whom he chaunced to meete with, rydinge on the waie; & intendinge to make some sporte asked hym of what occupacion he was. The minister answered that he was of none. "I had thought," said Mr. Freeman, "yow had ben a bowcher." "Nay," quoth the other, "I am a minister, & a preacher of God's Word." Whereupon* they entred into tauke of controversie, and afterward fell to multyplyinge of wordes, in so muche that the minister said there was never a Papist in England but he was a theif to God & a traitor to his prince, which words moved the other so much that he had thought to have stroke hym with his dagger, but "Well," said he, "I percieve I miscalled you not, for you shew by your words that you are indeed a bloudy boucher. I thought you were (f. 2) eyther a killer of beastes or a kyller of men's sowles." Notwithstanding this whot conflict and that he brought the minister throughe the towne to his owne dores, yet for then he escaped. But afterwards the minister repented that he had not apprehended hym; for he went and complayned to the justices, caused some to be examined & trobled for hym, offred to be deposed that he was a Semynary & that they knew hym for one, & would have procured his inditment at the Quarter Sefsions.

These and such like bickeringes had he some tymes with the devilles instruments, who longe before yt came to passe (yf Gode's permission had so served) would certaynly have discovered hym, interrupted his course, as by this that is allready said may partly appeare; and furthermore also by a woman in Alchurch towne somewhat suspected for sorcery and witchcrafte, who seeinge hym passe throughe the streete cryed out, "Hide thy crowne, Hide thy crowne, Hide thy crowne,"

* The text, from this point to the paragraph beginning "These and such like bickeringes," is written upon a slip of paper pasted over the corresponding passage in the original, which is much altered by erasures and corrections.

which made hym not a litle to muse consideringe that he had neither seen her before nor she hym, as he thoughte. But to returne to our principall purpose, in maner before mentioned he imployed hymself untill an honest gentlewoman in the cuntrey was willinge to intertaine a Catholique servingman, whose service she might use in such affairs [as] shee had to be done, but especially in teachinge a sonne shee had: of which offer Mr. Freeman in his distresse was contented to accept, & so was admitted into her service.

[Of his Apprehension]

Being thus placed with her he continewed so longe untill the tyme came wherin yt pleased the providence of Almighty God to suffer wickednefse to prevaile & Sathan, alwaies the maligner of God's trew servauntes, to put in exeqution the temporall overthrow of this blessed martyr. For the effectinge whereof a chief agent and earnest soliciter was one Mr. Combes, alied by mariage of their parentes unto Mistres Sheldon, with whom Mr. Freeman now conversed. This man in his childwhood bereft both of father & mother, was by the care of some lovinge benefactors (emonge which Mrs. Heith was one) set to schoole & brought up in learninge, who comminge to riper yeares applyed hymself to the study of the lawes, & lastly came to be a favourite of some in authoritie, as namely to Doctor Whitegift, superintendent first of Worcester and now of Canterbury, the Lord Treasurer & the Lord Keeper; by which meanes he grew to be of some countenaunce & accounte in the countrey. And bycause that advauncement without habitude & maintenaunce is many tymes litle esteimed & sone vanisheth, he began to devise how & where he mighte compasse some landes & revenewes to uphould his credytte & post attayned. First, he gat the gyft of a very good ferme at Alchurch in Worcestershire at the handes of Mrs. Sheldon before named for his owne lyfe and his wyves; & then seeing Mrs. Heithe's parke to lye handsomly hard joyninge to his former, began to lay snares for that also, to the obtayninge whereof he might be encowraged for that shee was a widdow & destitute of frendes to follow her cause, for that shee was a Recusante indited, & yf I mistake not then a prisoner in Worcester for her conscience. Animated with these consideracons he made an entraunce upon the grounde in the (f. 2 *b*) behalf of the Queene, & began to fell tymber & spoile the woodes, but perceyvinge belike he might not cary awaie the booty was contented to compound for large summes of money, & so brake of for that tyme with faire promises & profession of frendship to that gentlewoman for hereafter. But this fair weather was but a gleame to prepare a greatter storme, for within some fyve or sixe yeares after a speciall commission was procured & directed from the superintendent of Canterbury & some other of the Councell & brought downe to Stratford upon Avon, where Mr. Combes kept his Christmasse, by one Cole, a pursuyvaunt, the effect whereof (so far as I coulde learne) was to searche the house of Dorothe Heith, & there to apprehend any Jesuite, or Seminary Preeste, or suspected person, yf any such were found, & furthermore to commit to pryson the afore Dorothe Heith. And for performaunce hereof were appointed commifsioners, William Combes of

the towne of Warwicke, Justice in the same county, and Mr. Boardman, minister, person of Alchurch, & vicar of the Highe Church, Warwicke. When this commission was perused, Mr. Combes (bycause he would fayne have saved his credyt in the cuntrey), pretended hymself verie sory and unwillinge to deale in the business, willed the pursuyvaunte to goe to Mr. Burge, a Justice of peace in Warwickshire, & request hym, for that he had much businesse, to take the matter in hand & satisfie the Commission. Whether this were so done for a counterfeit shew or not, I am not certain; at least wise his will was that the people should take yt so. But on the iiij of January he came, together with Mr Boardman, within two miles of Alchurch, & lodged at a gentleman's house all night, & from thence the next morrow, beinge Sundaie and Twelveve, they went to Alchurch service, & after some short staie made in the church, they departed sodainly, tooke the cumpanie there assembled & beset Mrs. Heithe's house with one part, & with the rest entred in. There they found Mrs. Heith and Mrs. Sheldon come thither to accompany her, whom musinge somwhat at their comminge, they let understand they were come with Commission to doe as aforesaid. Mr. Combes would not much meddle with searchinge hymself, but committed the businefse to the pursuyvauntes & the other. To be shorte, when they had done what they could they found nothinge savinge a Prayer Booke or two, whereof Mr. Combes seemed to be very gladd.

Whiles these matters were in doynge Mr. Freeman was gone furth upon some businesse, & nothing misdoubtinge this tragedy begon. Yt is much to be noted the haste he made that Sunday morninge, from the place where he was. He got up early in the morninge, tooke his (f. 3) leave, & by no means woulde be entreated to staie & dyne there, but tooke with hym a few cumfettes, found also when he was apprehended, which they gave out very ignorauntly or very maliciously to be Singinge Breades. Such spead he made to be with his mistres by dinner tyme. When he was come within half a mile, or lesse, of the house, he met with one Acton, a man of Mrs. Heithe's, who both knew hym very well, & was not ignoraunt of the daunger he was rushinge into, yet of stubborne minde woulde he geive no warninge, but suffred hym to fall into his enemies handes.

Here I thinke yt not impertinent to our purpose to note some matters knowen by relacion from his owne mouthe. He would tell to some of his acquaintaunce his dreames, as he tearmed them, which whether they were so indeed or [ra]ther revelacions, which for modestie & humilities sake he might call dreames, I will not much stand upon, but surely from God they may seeme to be probablie the event provinge the thinge trew. Emong others he would tell that both when he was scholler at Rheimes & also since his comminge thence he should dreame somtymes that he was apprehended, & evermore the one end of his dreame was that one Acton & another whose name I have forgotten, should be the causes of his death. This happened unto hym longe before he knew this Acton, & this would he report to some of his familiars longe before this matter fell out. In dreames I put no certaintie, knowinge that they are for the most parte illusions and deceites; yet no man doubteth but that some tyme yt pleaseth God to reveale his wille

& future purpose to His servauntes by dreames, as He did to Joseph, Pharo, & others, & here not unlike to His designed martyr.

But to come backe to where I left before:—havinge departed from this Acton he paſsed on untill upon the suddaine he was emonge the watchmen aboute the house, whom when he perceyved he asked them the waie to a place called [?] Wether or Kehill. They directed hym the waie he should take, but seeinge hym turne out of the waie they shewed hym they began to suspecte, & presently pursued hym, which he perceyvinge began to runne & they after, insomuch that at the last offeringe to take over a pole, one nearer then the rest hyt hym on the head with a staffe & strooke hym to the grounde & so was he apprehended & brought before the Commissioners then busie in searchinge the house. Of them he was demaunded many questions; & first, what was his name. He answered, Robert Freeman, bycause he was there knowen only by the name of Mr. Robert. Then Mr. Combes asked hym of his religion. He answered he was a Catholique. "Are you a Priest?" quoth the Justice. The martyr consideringe that yt was no denyall of his faith, but only of his state, answared "No," (f. 3 *b*) in which denialle he stoode before the Judges eaven to his last end. What other particuler reasons he had so to doe I will not stand to debate or search; but well we may suppose that God, who governeth the hartes & tongues of the faithfull put now into the harte & tongue of His trustie servaunt & appointed champion that which His divine wisdome forsaw to be most expedient, both for himself and others. Further, they demaunded yf he were ever out of England. He answered, "Yea." "Have yow ben at Rhemes?" quoth Combes. "Yea," quoth he. "How longe?" said Combes. "Aboute three yeares," said Mr. Freeman. "How had yow maintenaunce there?" "I tooke money with me out of England," said he, "and when yt was almost spent I returned, & findinge tymes troblesome & havinge no staie I was content to geive myself to service." Then demaunded the Justice whether he had seene the Pope, or Cardinall Allen. He answared "No, but I have seene Cardinalles," quoth he, "and had their Benediction also." "To whom come yow now," said Mr. Combes. "To my mistreſs," quoth he, who was sister-in-law to Combes that examined hym in all these pointes, & then present in the house. "Say yow came to Mrs. Heith," said Combes, "and we will shew yow favoure." He answared "No"; he came to his mistress, that was the treuth, he would saie no other, neither would he injure Mrs. Heith so much. At those wordes the Justice in a rage demaunded of hym whether the Queene were supreome head of the Church of England, or no. "I will answeare that question," quoth he, "in a greater assemblie." All this while he had his Breviarie in his hatt & could by no means conveighe yt from hym, so that at lenght yt was espied, & the Justice lookinge on yt asked how he came by yt. "An ould Preest," said he, "that is now dead, gave yt me." These captious interrogatories ended, Combes cessed, and Boardman the minister & party-commissioner not long after began to dispute with hym in matters of controversie, with whom he behaved hymself so well that he got great creditt & plause of the people present, by whose report yt was spread in the cuntry about that he had convinced the minister in diverse pointes of religion.

[Of his Imprisonment]

Notwithstandinge his apprehension happened within Worcestershire yet were both he and Mrs. Heith carried thence to Warwicke & there committed to pryson, for that there beinge the place where Mr. Combes dwelled he might have more free & convenient (f. 4) accesse to manage the gentlewoman to his purpose, & either by plausible means or roughe & unjust usage, yf his will were not satisfied, force her to resigne up into his handes the lease of her parke at Alchurche, for that to be his drifte he nothinge bashed to speake, & lyinge so handsomly for hym thought yt a folly to let yt escape his clutches, but would be served before an other. To which yf Mrs. Heith would condescend both at the tyme of their apprehension & diverse tymes afterward he promised & made offer to procure both their liberties.

Mr. Freeman beinge committed to ward the jaylor shewed hym smalle courtessie, nay rather used some extremitie toward hym. He put upon hym gyves or strong irons, to which was chayned a great wodden clogge, so heavy that he could scarsly lyft yt with one of his armes; the which after he had continewed therein day & night for some space were for a summe of money, or as they tearme yt a Fee, taken of and a paire of boltes put in place, in which he remayned still, yeven to the day of his exequution. Duringe the tyme of his imprisonment Mr. Boardman & some other ministers came to dispute with hym, but ever departed with small advantage & credytte eyther to themselves or their cause. After he was newly committed some of his frendes, desirous to prevent extremities and daunger of death like to follow, thought best to make tryall whether his delyverie might be compassed for a summe of money, & furthwith hastinge to London procured a petitione to be drawen, which was preferred at the Councell table & proceaded with goode succefse & favoure untill yt came to the vew of the Superintendent of Canterbury, who havinge perused the same wrote underneath as followeth, "Sue no further, for he is a Seminary Priest," & withall threw backe the peticione. This informacione of liklyhood came from Mr. Combes or Boardman, who, as sone as they had apprehended & committed the martyr tooke his jorney to London to relate & make knowen their good service; yet afterward would Mr. Combes put both the prisoners in hope of release by his means after a while. Some thought yt possible & perswaded Mr. Freeman to make an escape & conveighe hymself awaie by stealth, but whether yt might have ben or not, he for his part would never consent thereto, unlesse yt might be with likeinge of his keaper, to whom he supposed an escape might be cause of troble, & matter of scandall to Catholykes abroad: or else peradventure bycause he was not willinge to let goe so goode an occasion (f. 4 *b*) of martyrdom offred, of which yt may seeme he had some desire, for to a frend of his comminge to the pryson to visitt hym, as they were taulkinge merily about the boltes on his legges, & such like matters, he said, "Nay, my masters, I hope God hath not brought me hither for nothinge; I hope He will now have a care over me." At the next Afsises houlden in Lent he was not called nor brought to the Hall, nor any thinge said unto [him] by the Judges of the circuite; but the Lord Popham, Cheif Justice of England,

comminge to Warwicke some few dayes after the Afsises ended to visit one of the Judges there sicke, sent for Mr. Freeman, & after he had contemptuously laughed hym to scorne, examined hym upon the questions proposed at his apprehension by the Commissioners, chardginge hym straightly to answare to every thinge directly & trewly or els he should be caried where he should be made to do yt. But he answared to all as at the firste, whereupon he was sent backe againe to the pryson.

Of his Arraynment & Condemnation

Hitherto the enemie in all his examinacions havinge got no advauntage againste his lyfe by reason that he had concealed his state, the discoverie whereof was chiefly intended, yt seamed goode to the adversary to undermine hym by policie & deceite. There was in pryson with hym at the same tyme a scholler of Judas his schole, as afterward he shewed hym self, one William Gregory, brought up with Hulme, a minister, that had maried his mother. This fellow had quarelled on a tyme with a poore man, whom beinge at worke in a sawpitt he shamfully and brutishly murdred & mangled, which facte the Coroner's Quest (yf the partie that reported yt to me were not misinformed) found to be murder, yet notwithstandinge such frendes were made that he was at the Afsises acquited of the murder & appealed for manslaughter, for which, accordinge to the law he must either compound with the kynsmen of the slayne, or els fight the combatt with them for his lyfe. Well; this honest man (suborned as many suppose by Lacie* the jayler) came & bewailed his case to Mr. Freeman, fayninge his conscience to be much troubled with the gilt of his synnes & doubting whether he should lyve or dye desired to be instructed how he might (f. 5) have his syns forgeiven & save his soule. The martyr nothinge suspectinge his treacherous guile, yealded hym what comforte and councell he might in that case, whose charitable speaches at that tyme uttered were afterward the foundacione & occasion of his death, as anon yow shall perceyve. Gregorie when he thought he had gott sufficient matter for his purpose notyfed the same unto Lacie, & shortly yt was caryed to Mr. Combes, who sent for Gregorie & examined hym. He confessed what he had cunningly wrested out, & Lacye beinge then present was called to witnefs what Gregorie had avouched, for doubt lest he might have afterward denied his former tale, & this was the best testimonie they could touche for the innocent his condemnacion.

All this was taken & closly laid up in deske untill the next Afsises, houlden the 11 or 12 of August followinge, at which tyme Justice Anderson comminge sought what advantages he could possibly against hym, & the night before the Assises begon conferred with his principall adversaries, & stille in all their packinge the conclusion was that he should dye. And furthermore to leve no waie unattempted, the Judge hymself that same night also sent for hym, & after all his examinations the farewell was he would make hym smoake for yt before he departed the towne. Beside this he proposed hym an oath that he should answare to such questions as should be demaunded of hym. "Bycause,"

* It is not clear in the MS. whether this name is—Lacie or Larie or Harie.

said the martyr, "yt is against the law of nature for a man to accuse hymself I will not sweare to answare to that wherein myselfe may be included." "You shall not," quoth the Judge, & yet for all that one of the first questions was whether he were a Priest or not, of which Mr. Freeman forgot not to remember hym at his araynment, & asked whether he were not included in that question. Item, how long he had served his mistress. He answered, "Two yeares." "What didst thow with her?" said the Judge. "I taught her son," quoth the other. "Item, who resorted to thy mistreſs' house?" He answared som gentlemen, some servinge men, some others, & some beggers also. To come nearer the matter an indytment was drawen for want of better evidence upon Gregorie's confession & put up to the Grande Jury, who all for the most part agreed to fynde yt, & founde yt was indeed with overmuch palpable injustice & rigore, chosinge rather to set free, *non hunc sed Barrabbam*, "Not hym but Barrabbas," for at that present (as some of the Jury themselves reported) a bill was exhibited against a theefe for felonie, & bycause there came no better proofe then the witnesse of another prysoner, they would not suffer the bill to paſse; but in the martyr's case the (f. 5 *b*) witneſs of one only, & the same touched with murder, was reputed sufficient, & taken.

After the Grand Jury had thus found the byll, another Petty Jury was impanelled upon lyfe & death, & he called to the barre by the name of Robert Freeman, against which (his name beynge William) although he might have taken exception & pleaded erroure in the indytment, yet did not, but beinge commaunded held up his hand. To whom the Clerke of the Aſsises said, "Thow art indyted by the name of Robert Freman of the towne or burroughe of Warrwicke of High Treason, for that thow hast departed out of this realme beyond the seas, & there wast made Preist accordinge to the maner of Rome *etc.* What saiest thow, Robert Freeman? Art thow guilty of this High Treason, or not guilty?" He answared, "Not guilty." "By whom wilt thow be tryed?" "By God & the cuntry." Judge Anderson furthwith asked hym when he was at Church. "Not this eight years, my Lord," quoth he. "Well; will yow conforme yourself?' said the Judge. He answered, "I am not yet so perswaded." "Tell us at a word," quoth the Judge, "will yow goe now?" "No," said the martyr, with loud & vehement voice, "neither for lyfe nor for death." Then speakinge to the Judge he willed hym to instructe the Jury, beinge symple ignoraunte men, that they might understand what they had in hand. Whereupon Anderson standinge up turned hym to the Jury and said, "My masters, that yow may the better perceyve whereabout yow goe, this man is here for matter of High Treason. He is a Seminary Prest, hath ben beyond the seas, & most vilanously & traitorously retourned into England, & there stayed, contrary to the Statute" etc. This he repeated twice or thrice over, & then he began to exaggerate their common place, what seditious fellows Priests were, of their attempt in Ireland, of the Spaniardes matters etc., & therefore were not in any case to be borne withalle. His discourse to the Twelve ended, he caused the evidence to be read unto them also which so farre as I could perceyve was drawen into fyve Articles. The first was that Robert Freeman, beinge asked of

William Gregory why he was committed thither, answared, bycause when he was demaunded by Mr. Combes whether the Queen were supreme head of the Church or no, he had answared that he could not so say without offence to his conscience. The second Article was that on a tyme, taulkinge with the said Willam Gregory he had said that yf more of the Protestantes in Queen Marie's daies had ben cut of, the rest would have ben more quiet now. The third, that to the said William Gregory, desiringe to be instructed how he might have hys syns forgeven & be reconciled to God, he said: "Yf yow will be ruled by (f. 6) me I will take your syns upon my soule, & yow shall be put in the same state yow were in the first day after your natyvity." The fourth, that he had confessed to the saide William Gregory that he was a Prieste. The fyfth, that on a tyme a minister comminge to the pryson to vysit (yf I did not much mistake the word) his mother, and offringe to say grace, sodainly & in a choller he rose up & when any of the prysoners did singe Psalmes he would shout & disturb them, & would never joyne hymselfe in prayer with any of them.

Concerninge the two first Articles turninge hym to Gregory, his false accuser, [he] bid hym speake upon his oath how yt was; but pausinge & staggeringe the Judge also called unto hym sayinge, "Speake, why speake yow not? Was yt so, or was yt not so upon your oath?" Whereunto Gregory answared that yt was so. Anderson began to expound the Articles in yll sense & to draw them to heynous matter, but Mr. Freeman asked whether the wordes were treason. "No," said the Judge, "althoughe so to say were not indeed treason, yet, my Masters, see the bloudy myndes of these fellowes. They shew a treacherous hart." About the third Article litle was said, savinge that the Judge scorned & rayled at Absolucion, & that Priestes absolved men from their obedience, & hymself had seene the Bull of Pius V, wherein he had discharged the Queenes subjectes of their loyalty towardes her. But the matter reputed most heynous & that gave the deadly stroake to his lyfe was that he had acknowledged hymself a Priest, which wordes indeed he denyed not but pleaded that they were merely spoken & in jest, & that Gregory had confessed so muche in his examinacion. "Nay," quoth the Judge againe, "he said not so, but he said he could not tell whether they were spoken in jest or in earnest." Mr. Freeman beinge aboute to reply and speake in his owne defence, the Judge with many thundering wordes interrupted hym, but he callinge to the Judge said, "My Lord, I beseeche yow heare me, the matter concerneth my lyfe, although in this cause I care as litle for my lyfe as I did for the minister's grace yet I beseche yow heare me." "Yea then," quoth the Judge, "say what you can." Then said Mr. Freeman, "My Lord, yow are to consider not so muche the thinge spoken as the maner how yt was spoken. I spake then but in jest and now I speake in earnest"; & upon this point he stood very much & longe. "Yt is not lyke," said the Judge, "thow wouldest jest in a matter that might touche thy lyfe so neare, & he also openinge his case unto thee in so earnest a manner."

As thus they were debatinge & shuflinge questions and answares to & fro Mr. Freeman uttered somewhat wherwith the Judge was very much moved. How, & upon what occasion yt was (by reason I could

not for thronge, which was very great, presse neare unto the place where he stoode & heare the wordes (f. 6*b*) so distinctly) I cannot certainly put downe, but some affirme that he tould the Judge absolutly that he was Judge; others say that he spake but conditionally, as "What yf I should say I am Judge?" However yt was, sure I am that Anderson burst out into great choler, and said, "What sayest thow? Art thow my Judge?" Mr. Freeman seeinge hym in that rage, said, "I have said, my Lord." "I thinke," quoth Anderson, "thow wouldest be Judge indeed! Thow art a false Judge & a wicked Judge. God blesse me from such Judges. Thow art a pratler and a seducer of the Quene's people. See, my Masters, what fellowes these are; lyers, deceyvers, cutters in greene velvet, sent in to kyll the Queene. *Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos*, By their fruites yow shall know them."

When his choler began to be somewhat asswaged Mr. Freeman desired hym againe to consider the maner of his speaches, "for yow take the matter, my Lord," quoth he, "but not the maner. In that which went before yow would have expounded & drawen the wordes after the sense; here I praye yow geive me leave to have my exposition." "Thow hast said yt," quoth Anderson, "*et ex ore tuo te judico*, I judge thee from thy owne mouth. I know what belongeth to matter & manner also a litle better than thow doest." "My Lord," quoth Mr. Freeman, "yf I should say I am kinge of Spayne am I therfore kinge of Spayne, or will any man so take me?" "You aske me a question, Sir," said the Judge, "I will answare yow with another. What yf I heare a false knave brag of his knavery & say he is such a one, what shall I thinke of hym?" "Well, my Lord, this that I have said is conformable to Conscience, Law, & Divinity." "Divinity!" quoth Anderson, "I will tell thee what. There is as much Divinitie in thee as is in that post." "I care not," said the other agayne, "for all your ministers; what Divines are they?" "Better," said Anderson, noddinge his head in scornfull maner, "then all your Divines of Rheims."

Judge Clinch all this while said very litle savinge that toward the later end of his arraynement he said that he had proved hymself a lyer; but he shewed not how nor wherein. "And furthermore," quoth he, "yow have gone to church, & since yow have ben reconciled." "Yea," said the martyr, "but yt was not within the Queen's dominions." "Ah," quoth Clinch, "yf yow transgrefse the lawes out of her dominions, & afterward come in agayne I beleive yow will be hanged for yt."

Never a one of the Justices spake any thinge against hym that I heard savinge one which, yf I mistake not, was Sir Thomas Lucye, who asked hym whether he were a Preest. He sayd, "No, I have denyed yt already." Item, whether the Queen were supreme head of the Church. "I have other matters (f. 7) now to answare unto," quoth he, whereupon the other held his peace. Against Gregory Mr. Freeman took exceptions as an insufficient witnefse, for that he was a minister's sonne, himself a Puritane, & therefore no frend to Catholikes, & committed for murder. "It is a lye, it is a lye," quoth Anderson (of such modest speaches he is nothinge dainty) "he was no minister. I knew his father well ynoughe. And sayest thow he is a Puritane? A cowple of knaves yow are; yt were well yf yow were both swinged together in a haulter."

As for the Jury that went upon them they were indeed eyther symple or malicious, or rather both, for on the next morrow one of them (and yf I mistake not yt was the foreman) beinge asked wherefore they found Freeman guilty, answared, "for that he denyed the Queene to be supreme head of the Churche." "Nay," said the other, "he did not so, but refused to answare, which is not to deny. And what witnefse had yow against hym besides Gregory, who was insufficient?" "Why," quoth the Juror, "Harye the jailor heard hym speak yt also, that he was a Priest." "Nay," said the other, "Hary did but depose he heard Gregory say so, & I might have deposed the same, for I heard hym say as much in the Hall." "Well, well," said the Foreman againe, "yt were no matter yf all such as he were hanged." Such was the honesty & conscience of this good jury. Yet one emonge them there was that when the Articles were read stood up & asked the Judge whether he might with safe conscience cast a man awaie for speakinge a word in jest. But the Judge replyed agayne, "Yow have heard what hath been confessed & what hath been deposed agaynst hym"; with suchlike sower words & frowninge countenaunce he put the man to silence. To be short, afterward furth they went, & in they came agayne, & either of ignoraunce, feare or malice guilty they founde hym. Whereupon he was called to the barr & asked, "What canst thow say, Robert Freeman, why thow shouldest not have sentence of death, accordinge to the lawe?" "Nothinge," said he againe, "but God save the Queene." Justice Anderson, before he gave sentence made unto the prysoners a goodly exhortacion concerninge the uncertainty of man's lyfe, wyshinge them to remember their offences past, "which," quoth he, "will stir up repentaunce, and then take hould on the mercye of Christ His Paſsion, who only must save us (althoughe there be some present that will take upon them to cast all the sowles here to the devill), and neither Rome nor Geneva" etc. Lastly, at the end of his sweet sermon he pronounced a sower sentence that they (f. 7 *b*) should returne from whence they came, & thence they should to the place of exeqution, & there hang untill they were dead, all savinge one, & that is Freeman, quoth he, "whose cryme is more horryble & more abhominable than the reste," & then he floryshed agayne with the common place of the Pope, the treacherous practyses of Preestes, the brynginge in of the Spanyardes. "Yf such fellowes as these may be suffred what can we looke for but ruyne of the wholl realme & utter desolacion? Wherefore he shall returne from whence he came, & thence he shall be drawen upon a hurdell to the place of exeqution & ther hange, not untill he be fully dead, & then cut downe, he shalbe opened, his bowels cast into the fyer & burnt, his head chopt of & his quarters set up accordinge to the manner." This sentence ended the Hall was dissolved & the martyr ledd by the Sheryffe's men to the jaylor's house. And in the waie meetinge with some of his acquaintaunce shewed no signes of desolacion or sadneſse but smyled on them very merely, which he did not then only but all that day as often as oportunity served to see them. As for any conference, spirituall helps or means to encorage hym, nothinge could be brought to passe savinge that one (whom before the Aſsises by letter he had requested to be there to the end, that as the Elephant is

stirred to fearcenefse at the sight of redd, so he at the sight of his familier frendes might be animated), he meetinge hym goinge towardes his arraynement tooke hym by the hand secretly and said, "*Fides, fides,*" that he might be myndfull of the glory of the cause for which he was goinge. His answare was "Feare not, feare not. I warraunt yow by the grace of God in this cause." And so the same after his condemnacion meetinge hym & comfortinge hym as much as he might, he said, "*Majora his manent*, There are greatter matters then these behind." Surely worth the notinge yt is that the nearer he drew to his extreamities the lesse he seamed to stand in feare of them, but shewed more signes of resolute fortitude & contempt of death. And so much did the people also observe in hym. Some said he was willinge to dye; other some that he was very resolute. Others said that yf ever a minister in England should be served as he must be, he would turne, & such lyke.

(f. 8) Of his Death and Martyrdome

Upon the Wednesday the 13 of Auguste the day appointed for his exeqution great concurse of people there was at Warwicke attendinge his comminge forth before the jaylor's dore. Boardman & another minister went that morninge into his chamber to taulke with hym; but what yt was, or how they parted I could not learne. Emonges others that came to see hym a schismatical gentleman asked hym whether he would reconcile hymself, meaninge to Calvin's company, "but I thinke," sayde he to a frend of his, "I tooke hym up pretely well for yt." Many there were [that] presed into the jaylor's house desirous to see hym, which he understandinge came downe from his chamber unto them. "Here are," quoth he, "a great multitude afsembled to see a poore white man" (understanding hymself in a sute of white from the head to the foote), & then espyinge one of the prysoners said unto hym, "My frend, yow and I shall play no more at Tables now." "Mr. Freeman," quoth the other, "I am the more sorry yf yt might have ben without offence to the Queen's lawes we should have ben glad of your lyf." "Why," said he agayne, "yow shall have me with yow at Warwick every day" (speakinge of his dead quarters). "But yf I might have had but æquity of law, all they could not have cast me; for what yf I should say I am judge Anderson, or the kyng of Spayne, am I therefore so? My Lord Anderson was a litle too quike with me; he would neither hear me hymself nor suffer me to beate yt into the Jurye's head how yt was." "Well, Mr. Freeman," quoth one present, "I hope yow are in charity & beare no man malice." He answered, "No, God forbid; I forgeive all the world."

When tyme was come that he must goe towardes his exeqution, goinge out of the jaylor's house he pynned upon his brest the picture of a Crucifixe made after the forme of a hart, in paper, with which he went alonge the street very chearfully, & dealinge money to pore people that stoode in his way, which one of the Sheryfe's men notinge said, "Mr. Freeman, yow are very mery." "Yea," said he, "I have no other cause, for I dye for this"; layinge his hand upon the Crucifixe. Pafsinge by the Crofse in the streete he did reverence thereunto, & (f. 8 *b*) put of his hatt, & so in joyfulle manner went on untill he came

to the hurdell expectinge hym at the bridge; upon which, makinge first the signe of the Croſse, thereon he laid hym downe, & thereupon was drawen to the place of exeqution, at which he leaped of & rose up, smilinge as thoughe he had ben goinge to a banquett as he was indeed. For which his comfortable behavior & gestures then shewed yt pleased Mrs. Combes & some of her fautors to report that he dyed desperatly & farr unlyke to Christ, who (said this poore dyvine) went to His Paſsion weepinge.

After all the theeves were exequted, stripped into his shert he stoode upon the ladder, at which tyme the exequtioner havinge put the halter about his necke he tooke yt up in both his handes & kyssed yt. Next lyftinge up his eyes to heaven & closinge them agayne with smylinge countenaunce paused a while & then made the signe of the Crosse, joined his handes & said, "Into Thy Handes Oh Lord I commend my soule. Jesu, have mercy on me." After this castinge his armes acroſse upon his brest, with eyes & countenaunce as before, contynewed some space in meditacion; which ended, he began to speake to the aſsembly as followeth. "I desired," said he, "to be set asyde from these men (which were the theeves hanged), desiringe that the sight of them might have droven me into some feare. But I protest unto yow all that I was animated thereby, & thought I stoode upon thornes untill I was at yt. *Sicut desiderat cervus*, etc. Yea, 'even as the hart doth desire to the fountaines of water, so doth my soule desire unto Thee, Oh God.' *Quum veniam*, etc. When shall I come & appeare before the face of God? Now, yea even now, good Lord, I come," pointinge with his finger towardes heaven.

"I have yet," quoth he, "somwhat els to say, so that yt might please your patience to permitte me. Yt shall in no wise concerne any matter of state," which upon that condicion beinge granted he called & said to Mr. Boardman, "Sir, I come hither to dye for my faith, for which I am willinge to suffer æternally." "I pray yow then," quoth Mr. Boardman, "what faith is that? ys yt accordinge to the proceadinges of the churche of Englond?" "I meane," said the martyr, "the trew, ancient, & Catholique faith." "Do yow not then," said Boardman, "take ours to be the trew, ancient, & Catholique faith?" "Trewly Sir, no," said he, "yf I had ben of that opinion I neaded not to have ben here now, for I protest I am guilty of no externall acte of (f. 9) treason, & I hope I have so conversed in all places that I have [been] that no man is able to accuse me of any notorious cryme. As for the Queen, her finger should not ake yf my hart could helpe it. God bleſse the Queene, God bleſse her honourable Councell, God blesse the wholl realme." "That is well said," cryed the hearers. "Then," quoth Mr. Boardman, "is not Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world accordinge to your faith?" "Right, right," said he. "And that by His death & Bloudsheadinge only we must be saved?" "Right," said he agayne. Then began the minister to caville with hym about some matters in controversy, as Mediation & Intercession of Saintes, & such lyke, which Mr. Freeman confessed, the other denyinge said, "Let God be Judge." "And let God be Judge," quoth Mr. Freeman also. "I am now goinge to my judgment, & yow shall come hereafter." Then Mr. Boardman

asked hym whether he would charitably joyne with hym in prayer. He answared "There lyeth the foundacion of all in that we may not joyne prayers with yow all." "I saie first & will yow pray after?" quoth the minister. He answared "No." "Will yow praie first & I will say after yow?" "All is one," said he. "Will yow pray with the people, & I will departe?" "I may not, neither," said the other agayne. "Then," said the minister, "Will yow say the Lordes Prayer with me? I hope yow will not deny that that is good." "Yt is good," quoth he, "but yow and I are devided. There was a division betwene Moyses & Aaron, God's lawfull Priestes, & Chore, Dathan & Abiron. There is but one trew faith, *et sine fide impossibile est placere Deo*, 'without faith it is impossible to please God.' *Quae societas luci ad tenebras*, 'What society hath light with darknesse,'" etc. "I desire the secrete prayer of all Catholiques, yf any other will pray I must thank them. Yt is a signe of good will, but I request not their prayers." Whereupon Mr. Boardman began to enter into matter of controversye with hym agayne. "Sir," said he, "I am come to dye for my faith. I was longe a prysoner with yow, in which space I never refused to answare yow. Now I come not to dispute but to suffer, *et paratus sum transire per ignem et facem*, I am ready to paſse through fire & fagot," pointinge at (f. 9 *b*) the same there ready prepared before his face. Boardman made protestacion that he bare hym no malice, "and that which I have done," said he, "I did yt, put in commission in that behalf of my prince & cuntry, & therefore I hope that yow will forgeive me, & not thinke any yll in me?" "I hope, Mr. Boardman," said the martyr, "yow have not offended me, I fynde no fault with yow. Yow have used me like a worshipfull gentleman." Then lookinge towardes the Sheryff's men said, "Gentlemen, I thanke yow for your curteſsie, I thanke yow all. Yow have used me with great courteſsie," at which wordes they seemed to give a sorowfull signe, as pityinge hys case. Then said the minister agayne: "I hope I have done nothinge but what I might do by the warraunte of God's Word. I wyshe yow eternall salvacion both of sowle & body, & I desire God that at the last instant yow may remember yourselfe & have remorse." "I thanke yow, Mr. Boardman," said the martyr, "I wyshe the same unto yow."

These done, jestinge awhile merely with the hangman, forgevinge hym his death, & puttinge money into his hand for his rewarde, he began to make his last preparacione to dye, sayinge, "I will professe my faith, & recited his *Credo* in Latyne, said his *Confiteor*, & after some pause made as he was speakinge the wordes, *In manus tuas Domine*, smilinge, or rather lawghinge, was turned of the lather, & with great contentment tooke his farewell of this miserable world & made his entraunce into the trew lyfe indeed with God & His Holy Saintes.

Presently cut downe he was not, but hanged some tyme, but whether he were fully dead or not (accordinge to the (f. 10) Judge's sentence) yt may be dowbted, for that his hart trembled in the exequtioner's hand, & as some reported that saw yt, the same leaped thrice out of the fire: & his head chopt of, his mouth gasped twice. Never a one of the standers by made any clamoure, or spake any word against hym, but some there were that revyled the exequtioner & said yt were no matter yf he went

in the other's case. Other some noted much the hardneſs of his knees, & sayd "surely he was a good man & used much prayer." Mr. Boardman the night after suppinge with some gentlemen, was demaunded by one of them what he thought of the man. He answared that he thought his soule was in heaven. And the day after his quarters were set up he commynge downe the streete & lookinge toward them shooke his head, pulled his hat into his eyes, & presently returned into his owne house. And another minister also present at his death, reported afterward that he never saw man dye more confidentially.

Such testimonies had he from the very adversaries of his cause & religion; which testimonies as they make somewhat to shew furth the worthyneſse & fame of thys holy martyr, so more thereof let every reader gather of this which hitherto hath ben rudly & symply set downe. And lastly, to the same purpose yt seemeth to me not impertinent to consider the place of his apprehension, which was under the patronage & protection of the bleſsed martyr S. Lawrence, as also the tyme of his first callinge to answere at the Barr, which was the day of Saints Tyburtius & Susan, martyrs, the tyme of his araynement & condemnacion, which was on the day of S. Clare, the virgyn, & the day of his drawinge with horses & exeqution, which was on the feaste of St. Hyppolithus & his fellowes, martyrs, & all these thre last rehersed within the Octaves & solennitye of St. Lawrence, to whose patronage the place of his apprehension was of ould dedicated & commended, as is afore shewed.* Whether these observacions make (f. 10 *b*) for the renowne of the martyr or not let every one construe my conjecture as he please, yet probable yt is that the holy Saintes on the dayes of their festivities are willinge & more ready then at other tymes to aſsist men here on earth cravinge their aide, especially such as are fightinge & agonizinge for Godes glory & goode quarrelles. And certayne yt is that so God's ordinaunce is that His inferior creatures shall be defended & releived in their distresses & wants by His superior creatures, as men by angelles, & this blessed martyr, not unlyke, by the Saintes afore mentioned. Wherefore to the prayers & merites of all the whole company of Heaven & to his with humility I commend myself & alle my deedes and endeavours. Amen.

The sumare of a letter sent by Mr. Freeman to some of his acquaintaunce: "Syrs, I hope at the end of the next tearme I shall haue my liberty. Either then or never. Yf not then I look for nothing but death. Come rack or come rope, I have set down my rest.† Thus desiringe yow to remember me I commend yow to God."

* St. Lawrence's feast falls on the 10th of August, SS. Tiburtius and Susanna on the 11th, St. Clare on the 12th, St. Hippolitus on the 13th.

† This phrase, a term used in the then fashionable game of primero, gives another indication of the martyr's love of sport.

XCIX.

EXAMINATION OF NICHOLAS TICHEBORNE

14 March, 1597

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, cclxii, *n.* 67.

In the Privy Council Registers there is a writ, dated 16 March, 1597, commending the care taken to arrest [Thomas] Tucheborne, a Seminary priest, now committed to gaol of that county [Hampshire], and giving orders that he should be examined "very strictly what houses he has frequented," &c., "because we are informed that he hath of long time frequented Hampshire," &c., and if he will not confess "to proceed with him according to the law." From this we see that Nicholas Tichborne in the answer below was speaking of those already under arrest. If there was any want of courage in this, the weakness was attoned for next year, when he managed to deliver his brother from custody, at the risk, and indeed at the eventual cost of his life. The escape is referred to below by Benjamin Norton, but he is mistaken in the date he assigns to it. The Privy Council warrant of 3 November, 1598, enjoins all her Majesty's officers to aid John Parlor, keeper of the Gatehouse, from whom Thomas had escaped "by a lewd practice of him and his brother in assaulting the keeper." Norton says the escape took place on St. Bartholomew's Day, *i.e.* August 24, but it is clear that he had in mind the day on which Nicholas was martyred for his share in the escape, which was in fact the feast specified.

Nicholas was a favourite name among the Tichbornes, and we cannot with certainty identify with our martyr the Nicholas Tichburne who on the 22nd of October 1585, says he was too poor to keep a "light horseman" for her Majesty, and who shortly after offered £3 "to be free of the Statute" (*Dom. Eliz.*, clxxxiii, 45, ii; clxxxix, 54). This man may have been the Nicholas Tichbourne who died in Winchester Gaol in 1587 (*Collectanea M*, 196).

The examination of Nicholas Tichebourne taken this 14 of Marche 1597.

Being demanded whether Roger Ticheborne gent., that lately kept him, did ever heare any sermon in his owne house or in his mother's house, denieth that he ever heard any sermon there to his knowledge, and being demanded wherefore before this tyme he affirmed that the said Roger refused to heare a Masse, but heard a Sermon of a Seminarie in his own house, sayeth that he did affirme so much, wch he confesseth now to be untrue, for that he had conceived displeasure against the said Roger, for that he had reported hardlye of him to Beniamin Tichebourne esquier. But saith that about Whitsontide was twelve moneth there was a Masse sayd in the house of the said Roger, where the mother of the said Roger being a recusant doth lie. But saith that the said Roger was not present at it, But Mr Willm. Ringwoode, frauncis tichebourne, old Mrs Tichebourne heard the said Masse, & in the afternoon of the same day Thomas tichebourne, Brother of this examinate, being a Seminarie Priest, that said the said masse in the forenoone, preached in the afternoone and that the said three persons were present at that sermon. But the said Roger Ticheborne was not present nor heard the same. Nicholas Tichbourn

Exam: per { Edw. Coke
Jo. fflemyng

C.

TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION OF JOHN JONES, O.S.F., AND OF HIS HOSTS

30 June to 3 July, 1598

Record Office, *Coram Rege*, 40 Elizabeth, Trinity, No. 2, rolls, 3, 4, 5.

The records here printed give the official account of a further stage in the prolonged and infamous proceedings of Topcliffe against Robert Barnes, of which we have already heard one episode in the account of the death of James Atkinson (No. xci above). In this trial Mr. Barnes, though of course condemned, made a most vigorous defence, which he afterwards committed to writing, and it has been printed by Canon Tierney (Dodd, iii, App. cxci to ccxiii). The whole of this document has its bearing on the history of our martyr, and it also gives us one of the most remarkable pictures of Topcliffe that we possess. Not that he exercised upon Barnes greater barbarities than upon others that could be named, but nowhere else do we read so good an account of his system and style; of the way he persevered, making use of all the resources of cunning, brutality, and violence, to attain his ends. Here I will only give the dates and a few leading events in the case.

Barnes contended that Topcliffe had promised his estate to Anne Bellamy, whom he had corrupted and seduced in order to arrest Father Robert Southwell. This arrest took place in June, 1592, and Barnes' name was drawn in during 1593, after other means of procuring a living for Anne Bellamy had failed. She accordingly accused Barnes of having travelled abroad with Birkett *alias* Hall, a seminarist of distinction, afterwards Archpriest (Tierney, p. cc; *cf.* J. Morris, *Troubles*, ii, 55), and Barnes was arrested 5 June, 1594. As the charge could not be substantiated, she was made to accuse her own father, mother, and other friends and relatives, twenty-six persons in all; and Topcliffe hoped that he might frighten some of these into accusing Barnes. But though some did so while exposed to Topcliffe's violence, they retracted their charges when this pressure was withdrawn (Tierney, p. cc).* Next came the episode of Atkinson's death under torture, of which mention has been made above. His arrest took place between August and November, 1593, his death about the beginning of March, 1595 (Tierney, pp. cc to cciv).

Failing in this endeavour to secure a witness to his mind, Topcliffe next attacked Michael Tompson with similar violence, and during the trial Barnes appealed to the judge to call him as a witness, seeing that he was still lying in the Clink Prison. But this demand was not acceded to. The inference is obvious.

As Tompson could not be constrained, Topcliffe next fell upon John Harrison, an old servant of Barnes, whom he so grievously maltreated, that the poor man died in Bridewell, "the third person dying in this bad cause." Harrison's wife, after twenty-two weeks of confinement, was released in a half-dying condition (Tierney, pp. ccvi, ccvii; there is a letter, dated 30 Feb., 1595–6, pleading for Harrison's release in the Harleian Collection, 6998, f. 224). All this time Barnes was being kept in chains, and for nearly the whole time "close" prisoner (Tierney, p. ccii; Harl. 6998, f. 24).

These violent proceedings were continued well into 1596, but about the beginning of the year a more artful attempt was made to attain the same object. There was one Nicholas Blackwall, a hanger-on of the Gatehouse Prison, where Barnes and Mrs. Wiseman were confined, who was certainly

* The Bellamys seem to have been committed in July, 1595 (*C.R.S.*, ii, 286, 287). If so, the Atkinson episode should have been placed before it.

acting in collusion with Topcliffe after a time, and presumably from the first. Anyhow, this fellow finding that Mrs. Wiseman, like many ladies of that time, used for charity to make poultices and the like for the poor, asked her if she would treat the leg of a friend of his. She consented, and the future martyr was brought on the evening of January the 3rd, 1596,* according to Barnes (Tierney, p.ccviii). The winter evening closed in soon, and the first effect of Mrs. Wiseman's "searcloth" was to make Jones' leg more inflamed than ever. So it was proposed that he should pass the night with them, and for this Blackwall went and obtained (so he said) the leave of the prison-keeper. Next day the leg was better, and Jones departed. This was the "receiving, comforting, helping and maintaining" for which Barnes was afterwards indicted on Blackwall's evidence, and sentenced. The priest came in disguise, and was not previously known, either personally or as a priest, to the prisoners. This Barnes asserted at the bar, and the martyr maintained even on the scaffold (see document iv below).

After a time Blackwall told the two prisoners that Jones was a priest, and had reconciled him (Blackwall) to the church, and that he would bring him in again to say mass for them. This the prisoners declined, and Blackwall "went away discontent, and returned seldomer, yet sometimes returned with beads or medals, letters or a book of pardons"; but Barnes and Mrs. Wiseman became more and more on their guard, and even warned the officials of Blackwall's manœuvres.

At last Topcliffe, in order to take advantage of the "receiving, comforting, helping and maintaining" of Jones, caused him to be arrested about Shrovetide, *i.e.* the end of February, 1597 (Tierney, p. ccix). Various arrests were made in consequence, *e.g.* of Doctor Frerear and Mr. Walker, but Blackwall's evidence against them was so feeble, that they were set at liberty (pp. ccviii, ccxii). Even Barnes, in spite of Topcliffe's representations to the commissioners and the Council at midsummer, was nearly being set free for good. The persecutor, however, begged that his victim might be confined until Michaelmas, when the evidence would be ready, and at Michaelmas he obtained another respite till Candlemas. Towards the end of that term Barnes renewed his petition for release, and Topcliffe answered by preferring an indictment on "the very last day of term," so that the actual trial had perforce to be postponed again. The date here given by Barnes exactly corresponds with that given in the indictment below.

When the case came up for hearing in July, the judges did their best to browbeat Barnes, and assured him that "it did but make his case to be worse, to speak against so good a statesman as Mr. Topcliffe" (p. ccix), and he was of course condemned.

Nevertheless, he was not hanged, nor was Mrs. Wiseman pressed to death, the barbarous penalty pronounced against her for not pleading. The reasons for this reprieve will appear more clearly immediately, but first it is important to notice that from this time forward Topcliffe seems to have been relegated to obscurity, and then allowed to retire to the country, and to enjoy the estates and the other spoils which he had acquired from his many victims. Topcliffe's name does not appear again (so far as I can see) in the annals of the persecution, and six years later he was lying dead at Padley in Derbyshire, the house of the Fitzherberts, where the martyr Garlick had been captured through his means.† Barnes'

* One would have expected to find January,'1596,' mean 1596–7; but it is clear *from the context* that 1596 is meant. In the indictment the date is 20 December, 1595.

† Topcliffe's persecution of the Fitzherberts was very similar to that of his oppression of Barnes. (See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, lvii, 52; Jessopp, *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, p. 64; Harleian MSS. 6998, n. 50.)

speech, therefore, was probably more efficacious than it at first seemed to have been, even for himself. Document iv, however, shows us that there was a reason for saving his life, far more efficacious than his pleadings, however convincing. Barnes "his estate, whilst he liveth, is held worth 140li a year . . . , *which with his death is lost.*" So there is a *volte-face*, and Topcliffe himself is found petitioning the Queen, for what will result in a relaxation of the death sentence.

These details we learn from another scoundrel, who, if less powerful than Topcliffe, was none the less a characteristic production of the age. Henry Lok was a person of sufficient importance to have found his way into the *Dictionary of National Biography* in virtue of the very inferior Puritan hymns which he wrote in later life, after he had failed in the dishonourable trade of spying in which he was now begging Sir Robert Cecil to encourage him, craving "employment, however mean." In the letters before us we see this cringing jackal snarling at Topcliffe, who was getting the best of the spoils. Why Lok should claim any part at all is not clear. He affirms that Mrs. Wiseman is his aunt, and he hopes that Cecil will get him the whole of her income, in which case the fraudulent bankrupt says that he will look after her. He also calmly requests the whole of Barnes' income, "unless something better should grow." But he plainly has little hope of getting either. Still, he is enraged at being "counterpesed in the suite by such a rival [as Topcliffe's] intrusion, especially he being one by his place abler to live than myself, and having obtained 1000 pounds more already than I am like" to receive. The gravamen is that Elizabeth was still partial to the big bully. "It appeareth there is some credit given by her Majesty to Mr. Topcliffe's report."

The conclusion of the story of the martyr's hosts is told us by Father Gerard. After speaking at some length about Mrs. Wiseman and very briefly touching on the story above recited, he adds: "Both she and Mr. Barnes remained in prison as long as the Queen lived . . . They transferred her to a more loathsome prison and kept her there. They wanted to seize her income for the Queen, and if she had been dead this income would have come to her son. The godly widow therefore lived on until the accession of King James, when, as usual at the beginning of a new reign, she received pardon" (J. Morris, *John Gerard*, pp. 92, 144).

Either Lok therefore, or Topcliffe, or his disreputable protégée, received for a few years at least "the wages of their iniquity."

(i)

[*Abstract*]

Indictment found Monday after the octave of the Purification B.V.M. [Feb. 12, 1598] last at Westminster, that whereas George Hathersall, born within the dominions of Queen Elizabeth, and after the first year of her reign, was ordained priest at Valladolid in Spain by authority derived from the See of Rome, Robert Barnes (*alias* Winkfield *alias* Strange *alias* Hynde) late of London gentleman, and Jane Wiseman of Braddox, county Essex, widow—by the instigation of the devil &c.—on the 9th of December, 38 Elizabeth [1595], feloniously received and comforted the said George Hathersall at Westminster against the statute &c. &c. ALSO it is presented that whereas John Jones (*alias* Buckley *alias* Harberd *alias* Freer) late of London, clerk, was born after the first year of Queen Elizabeth and ordained before the first day of December, 38 Elizabeth [1595], by authority derived from the See of Rome, at Rheims in Champagne—one Robert Barnes &c. &c. on the 20th day of December, 38 Elizabeth [1595], at Westminster, feloniously received and comforted him—against the statute.

Precept to the Sheriff to bring him to trial.

Friday next after the 18th of Trinity [30 June, 1598]. Robert Barnes appears under the custody of Hugh Parlor, Esquire, keeper of the Gaol of the Gatehouse, Westminster, &c. &c.—is brought to the bar, committed to the Marshal, pleads not guilty, and puts himself on the Jury.

Monday after three weeks of Trinity [3 July, 1598] the Jury is impanelled &c. and find that Robert Barnes is guilty of the several felonies and transgressions above proposed—and that he has no goods or chattells, lands or tenements. Being asked why the court should not proceed to sentence, he said nothing further except as before.

Sentenced to be hanged.

ADHUC DE TERMINO SCE. TRINITATIS. REGINA

Midd. ss. per indicment. Hillar. xl° E.R.

ALIAS SCILICET die lune proximo post octavam purificationis beate Marie Virginis ultimo preterito coram Domina Regina apud Westmonasterium per sacramentum xij^cim Juratorum extitit presentatum quod cum Georgius Athersall* nuper de London clericus infra dominia domine nostre Elizabeth dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regine fidei defensoris etc natus existens et post festum Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste quod fuit in Anno regni dicte domine Regine nunc primo, et ante primum diem Decembris anno regni dicte domine Regine nunc trigesimo octavo, authoritate derivata a Sede Romana apud Valiodeleda in Hispania in partibus transmarinis factus et ordinatus fuit Sacerdos: Quidam Robertus Barnes nuper de London generosus, alias dictus Robertus Wynkefeild nuper de london generosus, alias dictus Robertus Strange nuper de London generosus alias dictus Robertus Hynde nuper de London generosus, et Jana Wyseman nuper de Brodock in comitatu Essex vidua, Deum pre oculis suis non habentes sed instigacione diabolica moti et seducti, scientes ipsum Georgium Athersall clam sacerdotem fore, vicesimo nono die Decembris anno tricesimo octavo supradicto ipsum Georgium Athersall apud Westmonasterium in comitatu Middlesex scienter voluntarie et felonie receperunt comfortaverunt auxiliati fuerunt et manu tenuerunt contra formam statuti in huiusmodi casu editi et provisi ac contra pacem dicte domine Regine nunc coronam et dignitates suas, &c.

Midd. ss. per indicment. Hillar. xl° E.R.

Alias scilicet die lune proximo post octavam purificationis beate Mariæ Virginis ultimo preterito coram Domina Regina apud Westmon^m per sacra^m xij^cim Juratorum predict. similiter extitit presentatum quod cum Johannes Jones nuper de London clericus alias dictus Johannes Buckley nuper de london clericus alias dictus Johannes Harberd nuper de london clericus alias dictus Johannes ffreer nuper de london clericus infra dominia domine nostre Elizabeth dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regine fidei defensoris, etc., natus existens et post festum Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste quod fuit in Anno regni dicte domine regine nunc primo, et ante primum diem Decembris anno regni dicte Domine Regine nunc tricesimo octavo, auctoritate derivata a Sede Romana apud Rhemes in Champan. in partibus transmarinis factus et ordinatus fuit sacerdos: Quidam Robertus Barnes nuper de london generosus alias dictus Robertus

* George Hathersall, as a young man, was arrested while on his way to Valladolid, and imprisoned. Some account of his adventures is given in Yepes' *Historia*, p. 777.

Strange nuper de london generosus alias dictus Robertus Hynde nuper de london generosus, Deum pre oculis suis non habens sed instigatione diabolica motus et seductus, sciens ipsum Johannem Jones clam sacerdotem fore vicesimo die Decembris anno tricesimo octavo supradicto ipsum Johannem Jones apud Westmonasterium in comitatu Middlesex scienter voluntarie et felonie recepit, comfortavit auxiliatus fuit et manu tenuit contra formam statuti in huiusmodi casu editi et provisi ac contra pacem dicte domine Regine nunc coronam et dignitates suas ◇——w̃. PER QUOD preceptum fuit vicecomiti quod non omittat &c. quin caperet eos si &c. Ad respondendum &c. ◇——w̃. ET MODO SCILICET die veneris proximo post xviij^{m} Sancte Trinitatis isto eodem termino coram Domina Regina apud Westmonasterium venit predictus Robertus Barnes generosus sub custodia Hugonis Parlor armigeri custodis gaole Domine Regine de le Gatehouse infra civitatem Westmonasterium in cuius custodia ex causis predictis et aliis certis de causis commissus fuit virtute brevis domine Regine de habeas corpus ad subjiciendum etc. ei inde directi ad barram hic ductus in propria persona sua. Qui committitur Marescallo &c. Et statim de premissis sibi superius separatim impositis alloquutus qualiter se velit inde acquietari, dicit quod ipse in nullo est inde culpabilis, et inde de bono et malo ponit se super patriam. Ideo veniunt inde Jurati coram Domina Regina apud Westmonasterium die lune proximo post tres septimanas Sce. Trinitatis. Et qui etc. Ad recogn. etc. Quia etc. Idem dies datus est prefato Roberto Barnes sub custodia prefati Marescalli interim commisso etc.

Ad quem diem coram Domina Regina apud Westmonasterium venit predictus Robertus Barnes sub custodia prefati Marescalli in propria persona sua. Et Juratia Juratorum predictorum per vicecomitem comitatus Middlesex predictum impanellata exacta similiter venerunt. Qui ad veritatem de premissis dicendam electi, triati et jurati, dicunt super sacramentum suum quod predictus Robertus Barnes est culpabilis de separalibus feloniis et transgressibus ei superius separatim impositis modo et forma prout per separalia indictamenta predicta superius versus eum supponuntur. Et quod nulla habet bona nec catalla terras neque tenementa etc. Et super hoc quesitum est per curiam de prefato Roberto si quid pro se habeat vel dicere sciat quare curia domine Regine hic ad judicium et execucionem de eo super veredictum predictum procedere non debeat, qui nihil ulterius dixit nisi ut prius dixerat. Ideo cons[ideratio] est quod predictus Robertus Barnes suspendatur quousque mortuus fuerit &c.

In margin.—S^{us} ex.

(ii)

Proceedings against Mrs. Wiseman. The indictment is identical with that against Barnes, both names being again mentioned in the first count, and one only (*i.e.* hers) in the second count.

Friday after the 18th of Trinity [30 June, 1598] she appears under the guard of Hugh Parlor &c. Asked how she will be acquitted, she answers *Not guilty*. Asked how she will be tried, she gives no answer, and will not place herself on any Jury. The court tell her that if she will not put herself on the Jury she must die according to law, declaring the danger of death &c. A day was appointed her by the court to take advise

until *Monday next after three weeks of Holy Trinity &c.* on which day she appears again and is again asked if she will put herself on the Jury, who said nothing further except as before. Therefore the sentence is that the said Jane Wiseman should be led to the prison of the Marshalsea of the Queen's Bench, and there naked, except a linen cloth about the lower part of her body, to be laid on the ground, lying directly on her back: and a hollow shall be made under her head and her head placed in the same; and upon her body in every part let there be placed as much of stones and iron as she can bear and more; and as long as she shall live, that she have of the worst bread and water of the prison next her: and on the day she eats she shall not drink, and on the day she drinks she shall not eat, so living until she die.

In margin.—To be crushed.

Proceedings against Jane Wiseman

[*The first indictment exactly as above. In the second the name,* "Jana Wiseman nuper de Brodock in com. Essex vidua," *is given instead of Barnes.*]

Et modo scilicet die veneris proximo post xviij^m^ S. Trinitatis isto eodem Termino coram domina Regina apud Westmonasterium venit predicta Jana Wyseman vidua sub custodia Hugonis Parlor Armigeri custodis gaole domine Regine de le gatehouse infra civitatem Westmonasterii, in cuius custodia preantea ex causis predictis et alijs certis de causis commissa fuit virtute brevis domine Regine de habeas corpus ad subjiciendum etc. ei inde directi, ad barram hic ducta in propria persona sua. Qui [*sic*] committitur mareschallo &c. Et statim de premissis sibi superius separatim impositis aloquuta qualiter se velit inde acquietari dicit quod ipsa in nullo est inde culpabilis. Et quesitum est ulterius ab ea per curiam qualiter se velit inde triari, eadem Jana Wiseman nullum responsum inde curie dare voluit, nec se super aliquam Juratiam patrie ponere voluit. Et super hoc dictum fuit per curiam dicte Jane Wyseman nisi ipsa super juratiam patrie se poneret, juxta debitam legis formam mori deberet, curia ad tunc ei de morte et periculo eiusdem in hac parte declarante. Et super hoc dies datus est per curiam eidem Jane sub custodiam prefati marescalli ut se advisaret usque diem lune proximum post tres septimanas Sce. Trinitatis tunc proximum sequentem sub suo periculo etc. Ad quem diem coram Domina Regina apud Westmon^m^ venit predicta Jana Wyseman sub custodia prefati marescalli in propria persona sua. Et iterum quesita est ab eadem Jana Wyseman an ipsa pro feloniis et transgressibus predictis se ponere vellet super Juratiam patrie juxta debitam legis formam, qui [*sic*] nihil ulterius dicit nisi ut prius dixit. Ideo consideratio est quod predicta Jana Wyseman ducatur ad prisonam Marrescaltie domine Regine coram ipsa Domina Regina, et ibidem nuda preter linthiamentum circa inferiorem partem corporis ipsius Jane predicte ad terram ponatur, super dorsum suum directe jacente, et foramen in terra sub capite eius fiat et caput eius in eodem ponatur, et super corpus suum ubilibet ponatur tantum de petris et ferro quantum portare potest et plus, et quandiu vivet quod habeat de pane et aqua pessimis prisone ille [*sic*] proxime et illa die qua comedit non bibet, neque illa die qua bibat non comedet, sic vivendo quousque mortua fuerit etc.

In margin.—Quassatur. ex.

(iii)

Indictment of John Jones. On Monday next after the octave of the Purification last past [12 February, 1598], at Westminster, it was presented by the oath of twelve jurymen that John Jones (*alias* Buckley *alias* Herberd *alias* Freer) late of London, clerk, born in this realm of England after the feast of S. John Baptist, 1 Elizabeth, and ordained priest before the first day of December, 38 Elizabeth, at Rhemes in Champagne, by authority derived and pretended from the See of Rome &c.: on the 20th day of December, 38 Elizabeth, was and remained at Westminster contrary to the statute, &c. Precept to the Sheriff to bring him up for trial. Now he comes to Westminster under the custody of John Sheppard, Bailiff of the liberty of the Bishop of Winchester, and Keeper of the same Bishop's prison* in his manor of Southwark, &c. &c., to whose custody he had been committed by a brief of *habeas corpus*, &c. Having been brought to the bar he is committed to the Marshal &c., and asked how he will be acquitted of the treasons above imputed to him, and he answered that he was *Not Guilty*. He was then asked how he would be tried, and the said John Jones would give no answer to the court, nor place himself on any Jury of the country. He was told that unless he did so he must die, and the court then declared to him the danger of death. And immediately after he was again asked by the court, whether he would place himself on a jury, and he said nothing further except as before. Whereupon the Queen's Serjeant-at-law and the Queen's Attorney begged for judgment and execution on behalf of the Queen. Whereupon all and singular the premisses having been seen and understood by the court, the Queen's Serjeant's Attorney being called and present—the sentence is as usual for high treason, at St. Thomas Waterings.

ADHUC DE TERMINO SCE. TRINITATIS. REGINA

Midd. ss. p indictment Hillar. xl° E.R.

ALIAS SCILICET die lune proximo post octavam purificationis beate Marie virginis ultimo preterito coram Domina Regina apud Westmonasterium per sacramentum xij^cim Juratorum extitit presentatum quod Johannes Jones nuper de london clericus alias dictus Johannes Buckley nuper de london clericus alias dictus Johannes Herberd nuper de london clericus alias dictus Johannes Freer† nuper de london clericus natus infra hoc regnum Anglie, et post festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno regni domine Elizabeth Dei gratia Anglie Francie Hibernie regine fidei defensoris etc. primo§ et ante primum diem Decembris Anno Regni dicte domine Regine nunc tricesimo octauo, apud Rhemes in Champania, in partibus transmarinis factus et ordinatus sacerdos per authoritatem deriuatam et

* The Clink prison formed part of the ancient palace of the Bishops of Winchester, and the wharf near it is still called "Winchester Wharf" (*C.R.S.*, i, 47).

† The Louvain document states that his name is "said" to be "Gryffith Jones, known in England by the name Buckle [*i.e.* Buckley], Harbert, and, amongst his own brothers in Italy, Godefride Moritius" (*Rambler*, xi, 52). The Bishop of Chalcedon, in his Catalogue, says he was "ex nobili familia natus in parochia de Clenock comitatus Caernarvoniensis."

§ The Louvain MS., printed in the *Rambler*, xi, 52–59, mistakenly says that the indictment bore that Jones had "gone overseas *in* the first year of her majesty's reign." This shows that the reporter had, indeed, good sources of information, but here he just misses the point. The indictment was only intended to prove that the priest came under the Act of 27 Elizabeth, *i.e.* that he was *not* ordained *before* her reign. All that it affirms is that he was ordained *between* the first year of the reign and the year when he was in England. Consequently the deductions of Simpson, in the *Rambler*, that he was to be identified with Robert Jones, or Robert Buckley, &c.,

pretensam a sede Romana,* leges et statuta huius regni Anglie minime ponderans nec penam in eisdem aliqualiter verens, vicesimo die decembris anno regni dicte domine regine nunc tricesimo octavo supradicto, apud Westmonasterium in comitatu Middlesex, proditorie et ut falsus proditor dicte domine regine, fuit et remansit contra formam statuti in huiusmodi casu editi et provisi et contra pacem dicte domine regine nunc coronam et dignitatem suas &c.—PROPTER QUOD preceptum fuit vicecomiti quod non omitt. &c. quin caperet eum si &c., ad respondend etc. ET MODO SCILICET die lune proximo post tres septimanas Sce Trinitatis isto eodem termino coram domina Regina apud Westmonasterium venit predictus Johannes Jones clericus sub custodia Johannis Sheppard, Balliuum libertatis Wintoniensis Episcopi ac Custodis prisone eiusdem Episcopi manerii sui de Southwark in comitatu Surrey, in cuius custodiam preantea ex causis predictis et aliis certis de causis commissus fuit virtute brevis domine Regine de habeas corpus ad subjiciendum etc. ei inde directi, ad barram ductus in propria persona sua.

Qui committitur Mareschallo &c. Et statim de prodicionibus predictis sibi superius impositis alloquutus qualiter se velit inde acquietari, dicit quod ipse in nullo est inde culpabilis. Et quesitus est ulterius ab eo per curiam qualiter se velit inde triari, idem Johannes Jones nullum responsum inde curie dare voluit nec se super aliquam Juratiam patrie ponere voluit. Et super hoc dictum fuit per curiam eidem Johanni Jones nisi ipse super Juratiam patrie se poneret juxta debitam legis formam mori deberet. Curia ad tunc ei de morte et periculo eiusdem in hac parte declarante. Et immediate per curiam iterum quesitum est ab eodem Johanne Jones an ipse pro prodicionibus predictis se ponere vellet super Juratiam patrie juxta debitam legis formam, qui nihil ulterius dicit nisi ut prius dixit. Super quo Serviens Domine Regine ad legem ac ipsius Regine Attornatus, pro eo quod predictus Johannes

cannot in any case be sustained. Challoner, it may be added, fell into a similar mistake, but for a different reason. The Buckley with whom he has been confused, it may be explained in passing, was the former monk of Westminster, who lived on long enough to join the revival of the Benedictines in 1604, and so to link them with the ancient English line.

* As we have several times noticed, indictments may be very inaccurate even in regard to place and dates. It would seem doubtful whether our martyr was ordained at Rheims. There is at all events no mention of him in the College *Diaries*, nor is he claimed as having been an inmate by the Bishop of Chalcedon and others who drew up the Catalogues of Douay Martyrs, nor indeed by any contemporary that I know, nor by the old Franciscan writers. The first English writer, Father Angelus Mason, *Certamen Seraphicum* (1649), p. 13 (1885, pp. 16, 17), follows the *Martyrologium Franciscanum* of Arthurus a Monasterio (Du Mostier), who in turn cites "Bonifacio Bonibelli (or Bonicelli), *Chronicon P.P. Reformatorum Provinciae Romanae;* Barezzo Barezzi, *Chronicon Minorum*, lib. x, fin. ed. 1680, p. 1131; Mariano, *Chronicon.*" These writers give an admirable account of the martyr's mission from Rome, and state that he left England about 1590, then went to France, where he seems to have joined the Conventuals, then to Rome, where he joined the Observants at the Ara Coeli in 1591, and returned to England in 1592. On the other hand it would seem that the period of time, 1590 to 1592, which these writers allow for his coming from England and returning as a missionary, is so short, that one can hardly see how it can have been sufficient for both a novitiate, perhaps a double novitiate (for in that time he passed from one division of the Order to another) as well as for his sacerdotal studies. If it could not, we must suppose that he was at the English College, Rheims, under another name, or else that he attended lectures elsewhere in that town.

Jones se super aliquam Juratiam patrie ponere recusavit, pecierunt versus eundem Johannem Jones judicium et execucionem pro dicta domina Regina habendam etc. Super quo viso et per curiam hic intellectis omnibus et singulis premissis, Seruiente dicte Domine Regine ad legem ac ipsius Regine Attornato ad hoc conuocatis et presentibus, consideratio est quod predictus Johannes Jones ducatur per prefatum Mareschallum usque prisonam Marescaltie domine Regine coram ipsa Domina Regina, et deinde usque quendam locum executionis vocatum Saint Thomas Waterings trahatur, et super furcas ibidem suspendatur, & viuens ad terram prosternatur ac interiora sua extra ventrem suum capiantur, ipsoque viuente comburentur. Et quod caput eius amputetur quodque corpus eius in quatuor partes dividatur, et quod caput et quarteria illa ponantur ubi domina Regina ea assignare voluerit &c.

Margin.—T. & S. ex.

(iv)

Henry Lok to Sir Robert Cecil

12 July, 1598

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, cclxviii, *n.* 3.

R^t^ Honb^l^.

According to your honorable aduise, I haue considered & examened the truth of my awnt's estate, which by record in Mr Osborn's office, in an inquisition taken in August last by one Felton by a commission of *Melius inquirendum*, aperethe to be of 68^li^ a yere during hir life, which being a porsion competent for intertainment of a lone woman, I did and doe craue may be allotet to me to kepe hir with. Which I rather craue may be els where rather then in prison, becawz papists do comonly repair togethher there, as at this time of hir imprisonment doe and did when she was drawn to this peril of life. Howbeit the Prest todaye diing hath chardged his sowl with clering hir & Barns for euer knowing him a prest, hering him say mas, or so much as praiing with thaim, for which thay were indited. By which (hir maiesty being in mersy likly to be moued to saue Barnses life also, as she hath by his repriual giuen hope of) if it wold also pleas hir maiesty to bestowe for ful recompens of my seruis & inabeling me for farther imploians to bestowe on me the benefit of Barnses liuing (which with his deth is lost), I shold I trust apere thankful for yowr honor's mediation & hensforth les troblesom. His estate whilst he liueth is held woorth 140^li^ a yere, which might both releue him soomwhat & satisfie my present wants & preuent I trust the future. If my merit seme not fit to carye it all, your honor may dispose of such porsion in me as shal seme fit. This I protest is the vttermost I knowe of both which I refer to your honor's wisdom to consider of, and of me, whome this nor any benefit can not more make yours then your vertus & my affectionat dutis haue alredy. Yet may thay inable me to your more fruteful seruis, & thus in al humility resting to be commanded, I commend your honor's sucksesses to the heuenly dirrections. July 12 An. 1598

Your honors in al duty

Henry Lok.

Addressed.—To the R^t^ Hobl. Sr Robert Cesyll Principal Secretary to hir Maiesty.

(v)

Father Garnet to Father Claudius Aquaviva

15 July, 1598

Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, ii, fol. 132, a copy.

It is with a feeling of relief that one turns from the previous records of that which in man is most brutal and degraded to Father Garnet's sympathetic account of the martyrdom.* Though his own words have not been hitherto published, they were translated into Spanish by Bishop Yepes (*Historia Particolar*, pp. 710–713), whence their purport was quoted by Challoner. Dr. G. Oliver printed an abstract of them in his *Collections* for *Devon, Cornwall . . . and the Franciscans*, p. 562, which has been quoted both by J. M. Stone (*Faithful unto Death*, 1872, pp. 111–113) and Mrs. Hope (*Franciscan Martyrs*, p. 89–92); a long quotation also in Morris, *John Gerard*, p. 142*n*. Under these circumstances a fresh translation does not seem necessary. For the rest, it would seem that Garnet was not aware of Barnes's speech, or that both he and Father Jones denied that mass was said in the Gatehouse, or that alms were given to the priest.

Garnet mentions below that another Franciscan father had just come to London, and he would perhaps write a more ample account of the martyrdom. This will probably have been Father William Staney, the person to whom Father Jones is stated to have bequeathed a seal of the Pre-Reformation Observants, of which he had become possessed. Indeed, there does not seem to have been any other Franciscan in England at this time (Thaddeus, *The Franciscans in England*, 1898, p. 19. The seal is figured at page 1. It is renaissance in style, and bears at the base the royal arms, just what one might have expected for the Royal Convent at Greenwich).

Father Staney certainly never published any account of the martyr corresponding to Father Garnet's anticipations, but he may have written the paper published by Simpson in the *Rambler* (1859, N.S., xi, 52) from a volume once belonging to the English Carthusians at Nieuport, and now in the University Library at Louvain. It is contemporary, somewhat fuller than Garnet's account, and derived directly from witnesses of the scene. On the other hand, there is nothing distinctively Franciscan in the references to the martyr's religious family.

* But even while we read Father Garnet's words, so appreciative of the martyr's labours both while free and while in captivity, our pleasure is qualified by finding that a passionate scandal-monger has not hesitated to say that the Jesuits had "cast continual infamy" on this martyr. The writer is an anonymous contributor to the "Archpriest controversy," and one of the most extreme and ill-tempered of that band. He used the initials 'W.C.', which (if they refer to his real name) probably point to William Clark. Francis Barneby has also been suggested as author.

He makes the worst charges he can, but here at least gives no proofs. He mentions the case of Jones *alias* Buckley as notorious, "I was myself particularly acquainted therewith, and his letters writ to Father Garnet after his condemnation may be a sufficient testimony" (quoted in T. G. Law, *Jesuits and Seculars*, p. 110, note). This is a good flourish certainly, but no particulars are given, and the writer knew that Garnet could not answer. When we further read that this same 'W.C.' says that "the third priest in England has not escaped their venomous tongues," we perceive that broad statement meant but little in his mouth. He further does not disguise his suspicions that "the fathers had got rid of Allen, and of the Bishop of Cassano, as well as Pope Sixtus V, by poison." In his denunciations 'W.C.' was evidently quite reckless.

Admodum R^do^ in Xto Patri.

Pax Xti.

Quæ ad religiosæ vitæ decorem atque ornamentum faciunt, ea quamvis e diversis profecta familiis aliquo tamen modo coram sunt universis. Porro neque mihi ipsi neque Societati nostræ universæ antiquius quidquam esse potest, quam ut aliorum ordinum religiosos Patres omnibus officiis demereri studeamus eumque amorem conservare, qui inter Christi servos, carissimasque sponsas, quæ sunt potissimum Religiosorum animæ, semper debet vivere ac florere. Statui [ergo] hisce meis litteris non solum Paternitati vestræ eximiam afferre consolationem, sed observantiam etiam illam declarare qua S. Francisci vere Seraphici Patris tum ordinem universum, tum illum conventum qui ad Sanctam Ceciliam in quo ipse aliquando vixit, sanctitate ac disciplina celebris est, semper colui ac veneratus sum. Godefredus Mauricius qui in illo conventu aliquando habitavit, 12mo hujus mensis Julii die juxta veterem computationem gloriosissima pro Xto morte occubuit. Historiam integram vel nos alias perscribemus, vel scribet certe Reverendus quidam ejusdem ordinis sacerdos qui vixdum ex longo et periculosissimo itinere, in quo comprehensus ab hæreticis, prudenti quodam stratagemate evasit, se collegit, aut rem ipsam penitus intellexit; capita nos hoc tempore tantummodo delibabimus.

Post trium fere annorum labores in hac Christi vinea excolenda non sine magno fructu perpessos, biennium circiter in carcere vixit, annus tamen integer liberioris custodiæ. Mirum in modum ob incredibilem pene Catholicorum conventum, ut in tam sterili agro, fructuosus ille extitit, ita multo longiori tempore in Domini agricultura strenue se gerere potuisset, nisi Domino ita disponente, Topecliffus ille, jam toti orbi terrarum insigniter notus, duorum Catholicorum vel bonis inhiasset, vel constantiæ invidisset. Delatum fuerat olim ad Topecliffum, per proditorem quendam, Reverendum Patrem hunc D. Robertum Barnetium, et D^am^ Janam Wisemannam, præstantissimam fœminam (quæ duos habuit in Societate filios), in uno carcere commorantes, aliquando ante apprehensionem, pietatis causa invississe, apud eos biduo remansisse, coram illis missas celebrasse, atque ab iis pecunia donatum esse. Hanc nactus occasionem Topecliffus initio mensis Julii omnes tandem in judicio sistit. Illi criminis capitalis accusantur, quod sacerdotem pecunia juvassent, ambo condemnati, illa vero (quia 12 virorum judicium subire recusavit, ne illi sanguinis sui rei essent hominesque simplices æternæ damnationis reatu sua causa incumberent), ad acerbissimam mortem, quæ ingentibus supino pectori paulatim impositis ponderibus inferri solet, condemnata est, ad quam sententiam hilari ac constanti vultu latine illud protulit, quod singulis momentis in ore semper habut, "Deo gratias," utrique tamen parcitum iri communis opinio est.

Frater vero Godefridus cum criminis læsæ majestatis reus ageretur, judiciumque 12 virorum refugisset (volens potius in solis judicibus, qui legis illius injustæ auctores extitere, quam in hominibus illiteratis necis suæ causam ac culpam residere), negavit se quidquam contra Reginam machinatum esse. "Atqui," inquit Judex Clincius, "satis constat te nihil Reginæ machinatum mali, sed ut Presbyter es Romanæ Ecclesiæ,

huc contra leges venisti, hocque ex legibus crimen est læsæ majestatis." Hæc videlicet crimina ille libenter agnovit, sacerdotem se esse, hucque animarum lucrandarum studio advenisse. Itaque accepta statim sententia suspensionis, dilacerationis, atque in partes dissectionis, ut in causis læsæ majestatis moris est, in genua se projecit, altaque voce aliquandiu oravit, pronunciatoque psalmo vel hymno aliquo surrexit imperterrito vultu, atque cum alacritate composito.

Decem circiter diebus dilatum supplicium est, demum hujus mensis die 12mo antemeridiano tempore* ad patibulum, quod ad S. Thomam de Wateringo positum est, deducitur. Adest Topecliffus et spectatorum turba plurima, profiteturque ille innocentiam suam, se nihil contra reginam aut patriam perpetrasse, immo pro ipsa quotidie Deum orare solitum esse.† Id audiens ex astantibus quidam Topcliffo, serio affirmat, hominem hunc sanctissime sine dubio mori. "At expectate," inquit Topcliffus, "mox senties quam sit sanctus. Dic mihi, inquit, si Pontifex Reginam excommunicaret aut deponeret, regnumve ad religionem Romanam stabiliendam invaderet, quid faceres ipse aliosve hortaveris ut facerent." At S. Martyr partim elevatis manibus orans, partim ad populum sermonem divertens, propositæ quæstioni nihil respondit. Ea nimirum Topecliffo exclamandi causa fuit, proditorem haud dubie esse.

Protulit deinde Topecliffus historiam quandam exorcismi cujusdam D. Barnetii manu descriptam,§ quam Pater ille nunquam videre poterat, in ea continebantur verba quædam dæmonis vociferantis Reginam jam suam esse, frustra pro ipsa orare. Exorcista vero respondisse, scribitur. "Nescis, scelerate, nescis quid Deus decreverit. Nam ad ultimum usque vitæ momentum tempus pœnitentiæ est." Hæc tota res ad Patris odium mire detorquetur, cum solus dæmon hic læsæ majestatis accusari debuerat. "Videte, inquit Topecliffus, videte cives, quasi vero Regina nostra reproba sit."

Carnificis oblivione factum fuerat ut ad patibulum sine reste prodiretur, itaque hora integra, partim orando, partim colloquendo consumitur, concionare non sinebatur quamvis multorum vocibus incitarentur. Dum Præsidis famulus, concitato equo restim adduceret, vulgi clamor exortus est, adventare diploma regium pro absolvendo Patre, percunctantibus num absolutionem afferret. "Plane, inquit, affero," simul restim e sinu educit.

* The Louvain MS. says that the time was seven a.m.

† The Louvain MS. gives more details of the martyr's protest of loyalty. "He assuredly believed that both he himself, with all other priests and Catholics, would be more ready to suffer much more for the good of the Queen than Master Topcliffe would. Further he told him with great resolution, that his cruelty only hath been sufficient to make her odious to all the priests in Christendom."

§ This manuscript was used freely, but of course very unfairly, in Harsnet's *Egregious Popish Impostures*, 1603. On p. 1 he describes it as "an English treatise . . . . writ by Mr. Barnes . . . found some 3 or 4 years ago . . . , fronted by this sentence, *Venite et narrabo, quanta fecit Dominus animæ meæ.*" The book was written with full confidence in the preternatural character of the exorcisms practised by Fathers Weston, and the martyrs Dibdale, Cornelius, &c., though to us these phenomena will surely seem nothing more than hysterical. Still it is much to be wished that we could identify the volume, as it mentions details about many Catholics, both martyrs and confessors and priests, of whom we would gladly know more. The book must have contained a good many passages written in Latin.

Dum abducendus esset currus qui Patrem sub patibulo vehebat, tres quatuorve robusti viri, se equis diu opposuere, ut Patrem loquentem audirent, itaque tandem ægre, abducto curru feliciter martyrium aggressus est. Funem præcidi passus non est Topecliffus prius quam mortuus esset, exemplum se ostendere asserens velle clementiæ Regiæ * Corporis partes per varias arbores in agris Georgianis ✝ ac vicinis, caput in medio foro South Warciensi cippi fastigio affixum, cui flagitiosorum hominum colla ad ignominiam inseruntur.

Hic fuit felicissimus hujus S^ti^ exitus. Dominus nos omnes ejus meritorum participes faciat. Vestra Paternitas hæc omnia piis illis Patribus significare dignetur, nosque eorum precibus commendare. Nostri omnes bene valent, tametsi [? vix] non omnes adhuc in carcere detineantur. Paternitatis vestræ sanctissimis sacrificiis ac precibus humiliter [nos] commendamus. Londini, 15 Julii, 1598.

Admodum R. Paternitatis Vestræ Servus indignus in Christo
Henricus.

Father Garnet up to the time of writing had evidently not heard of the saving of the martyr's relics. On this subject he wrote again on the 21st of October, describing the exploit of one Christopher Blackall of the Temple, who had rescued one of the quarters in September, but was accidentally arrested soon after and imprisoned (Gerard, *The Month*, May, 1898, and *Contributions to a Life of Garnet*, p. 50, from *Coll. P*, 546).

The Louvain MS. was compiled after the rescue, but before the name of the rescuer was known. It says that the head was set on a pole over the pillory, and remained two days with its natural colour, when "the officers" took it down to disfigure it, and "scratched, bruised and blackened it with powder," but in a short time it was taken away. "The four quarters were set on four several trees adioyning the highway—one of the four bled within two days after. All was taken away in short time." One of these quarters, says Doctor Challoner, was preserved by the Franciscans at Pontoise. It was, however, lost during the troubles of the Revolution.

The highway in question was the Old Kent Road. St. Thomas Waterings was a marsh on the north side, "at the second milestone" from London. Its name is perhaps derived from St. Thomas's Hospital, which may have had here an "Ing," or water-meadow. Chaucer makes his Canterbury pilgrims begin their *Tales* at this spot (Prologue, l. 827). As a place of execution, it seems to have been given up since about 1730 (Manning, *History of Surrey*, iii, 402), but John Senex, *Map of the County of Surrey*, 1729, marks the site of the gallows by the sign ┓, at the spot where the road (now Peckham Park Road) branches southwards (*The Month*, March, 1908, pp. 262–271).

(vi)

Henry Lok to Sir Robert Cecil

26 July, 1598

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, cclxviii, *n.* 10.

R^t^ Honb^l^ . . . The party doth yet stay his jorney in hope to haue sum of their letters back with him, which if so fall owt I will bring yowr

* "He hanged till he was dead, which was often required of the whole multitude." Louvain MS.

✝ St. George's Fields, belonging to St. George's, Southwark, lay around the site of "The Obelisk."

honor. And for that it apereth ther is soom credit giuen by hir maiesty to Mr Toplif's reports, I here send yowr honor Barnses own certificat of his state & Mr Osborn's of my awnt's; then which, if yet any better might growe (as I trust) hir maiesty wold not much dislike. Yet I protest I wil be true to yowr honor therin & refer myself & it to be disposed of, whom I most humbly beseach (if this satisfye not hir maiesty) that I may haue warrant to commissioners for farther tryal. Only I humbly craue that I may not be cownterpesed in this sute by sutch a riual's intrusion, thre daies after by the partis owne mosion I had labored yowr Honor's fauor herin. Especially he being one by his place abeler to liue then my self, & hauing obtained 1000^li^ more by his seruis (then I am like) alredy.

And thus crauing pardon of yowr honor, I commend my seruis to yowr only direccion, & yowr honor to the Almighty.

Yowr Honor's in al duty

Henry Lok.

Addressed.—For the R^t^ Hobl. Mr Secretary.

CI.

BIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT AND LETTERS OF ROBERT WATKINSON (*alias* JOHN WILSON)

Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, iii, *nn.* 4 and 8, ff. 5, 10. Autographs.

(i)

Record Office, Roman Transcripts (Stevenson), xiv.

Robert Watkinson was a Martyr who was captured before he had had any chance of distinguishing himself as a missionary, and of whose martyrdom not very much is known. Luckily, however, we possess a fair amount of information about his early life. He reached the English Hospice, Rome, October 25, 1599, in company with Michael Freeman, Richard Aston (*vere* Fisher) and Christopher More, and was followed next day by Henry Bedingfield (*alias* Silesdon) and John Copley. (Foley, vi, pp. 210, 570.) Father Persons, who had been made Rector in the previous July, had instituted the custom of making the new-comers to the College answer six questions concerning their previous education, parents, health, &c. &c.* The answers of Watkinson and of his companions are extant, and give very interesting and valuable information as to the life led by Catholics at this period, their means of education, livelihood, &c. Watkinson's answers, indeed, are not more remarkable than the others. Many are longer and recount more adventures; some are shorter, especially those of the next generation. It is easy, however, to see that a very large collection of papers of a character similar to those printed below would offer us a picture of English Catholic life, which for reliability and wealth of detail could hardly be surpassed. The originals are still in the English College, Rome, and they extend from 1599 to 1636. Full transcripts were made by the late Father Stevenson for the Record Office, and they occupy the larger part of his volumes ix, x, xiv. It is much to be wished that this valuable series, which has hitherto been but little used by anyone except Brother H. Foley, were published entire.

* They will be found printed in Foley, vi, 128.

There are two transcripts of the following paper in the volume quoted at the Record Office. One of these ends with the beginning of Answer v. There are some trifling variations between them as to solution of contractions, &c., but they are not noted here, as the true text is never doubtful.

Jħus Maria

Ad quæstiones quasdam secundum usum & consuetudinem Collegii singulis propositas, cum illud primum aggrediantur, sic respondeo. [*In left margin*] Robertus Watkinsonus. [*In right margin*] Natus annis viginti circa festum Nativitatis proxime sequentis.

Ad primam. Quod ad verum nomen et ætatem attinet maxime consentaneum, ut in margine utraque scriberentur, arbitrabar. Ad cætera jam tandem oratio. Locus ubi eram natus, educatus & etiam nutritus vocatur Heningbrough, non procul a civitate Eboracensi, ubi decem (vel non multum secus) annos partim in primis elementis ediscendis, partim otiose transgredi [? transegi]. Postea vero literarum gratia ad aliam villam, vocatam nomine Castleforde, iter suscepi, quamdiu vero ibi permanserim inferius dicetur, ubi de progressu in literarum studiis agetur.

Ad secundam. De parentibus eorumque statu, quod possum, singula breviter explicabo. Pater meus octodecim abhinc annis (me infantulo) ex hac vita Catholicus emigravit. Matrem vero status mediocris viduam et Catholicam, cum e patria discesserim superstitem reliqui. Unicum tantum fratrem schismaticum, sorores duas orthodoxæ fidei participes, et cognatos fere omnes ejusdem religionis incolumes discedens obviis (ut aiunt) ulnis excepi.

Ad tertiam. Studia quibus maxime operam navarem, humanitatem tantum sapiebant; eousque vero in iis progressus eram, ut cum Duacum, religionis et literarum solum gratia pervenirem, ad logicam admittebar. Locus in quo per quatuor annos vel circiter operam et oleum (ut aiunt) in literarum studiis insumebam vocatur Castleforde. Postea amicorum suasu, et etiam cujusdem sacerdotis consilio, Londinum (sola vel ad hoc vel ad aliud certe collegium deveniendi causa) iter suscepi. Proposito vero nescio quo infortunio impedito, ad patriam denuo vel invitus redire impellebar, ubi per biennium intermissis studiis cum matre et quibusdam amicorum peregi. Deinde literarum cupidus in lucidissimis Minervæ campis non procul a Richmonda per duos fere annos militabam. Quo facto ad quemdam generosum cursum dirigebam, quocum et tuto et non sine virtutis et etiam eruditionis incremento postea semper donec transfretarem, vivebam.

Ad quartam. Corpore valido et sano (laus Deo) hactenus sine ægritudine fere ulla incolumis extitissem, animæ vero contagione parum admodum (Deo sic providente) laboravi; tamen (ut verum fateor) ita eram cujusdam et docti et etiam sapientis (si ita de schismaticis loqui liceat) viri blanditiis inductus seu potius illusus, ut, nihil de ullo fidei Catholicæ articulo (conscientia mea attestante) dubitans, quibusdam, proh dolor! meorum amicorum se fore sine Ecclesia Catholica salvos persuaderem. Postea vero brevi conscientiæ aculeo perculsus, sacerdotem quemdam consulerem, qui cum mihi

illud non sine gravi peccato fuisse verbis tum severis tum humanis ingereret, ego summa cum celeritate illos, quibus antea illud præter ordinem prædixi, a proposito divertebam. Ex quo quidem nec ego nec certe ipsi (laus Christo) in tali aliquo erravimus.

Ad quintam. Quod ad conversionem meam attinet non multum in hoc laborandum esse puto. Prima enim ætate a Parente in primis fidei rudimentis institutus, postea cum annum octavum (quantum puto) attigissem, eram a quodam sacerdote nomine Atkinsoni a peccatis per confessionem liberatus, deinde inter Catholicos (quamvis indignus) annumeratus.

Ad sextam. Ego in hac et sum et semper a primis (ut aiunt) incunabulis (testem verborum meorum Deum invoco) fui opinione, ut nullam vitam aut meliorem aut Christo magis acceptam, Ecclesiastica esse duxerim. Quamvis ad illam suscipiendam me indignissimum semper arbitrarer, Deum tamen spero me in meliorem, si modo præcepta et instituta Collegii sicut expediat (quod quidem mecum semper proposui et jam firmius facturum propono) observem, in dies commutaturum, ut et sacerdotali officio digne fungerer, et etiam superioribus meis in omnibus obedirem, quod ut faciam summis precibus et oro et obsecro.

[*Translation*]

To the questions, which, according to the usual custom, are proposed to everyone when they first enter the college, I thus answer.

[*In left margin*] Robert Watkinson. [*In right margin*] Aged about twenty years at Christmas next following.

I. As to my true name and age, I thought it most correct to set them down in either margin. As to the rest—the place where I was born, and also nurtured and educated, is called Hemingborough, not far from York. Here I spent ten years or thereabouts, partly in the first rudiments of education, partly in doing nothing. Afterwards I went to another town, called Castleford, for my humanities [*litterae*]. How long I stayed there I will say later, when I speak of the progress I made.

II. As to my parents and their position, I will explain the various points in brief, as well as I can. My father, a good Catholic, died while I was an infant, eighteen years ago. My mother is a widow of moderate means, also a Catholic. When I left my country she was still alive. I have but one brother, who is a schismatic, and two sisters, both of whom hold the true faith. My relations are almost all of the same religion, and they were in health when I embraced them on departure.

III. The studies to which I have chiefly devoted myself do not rise above humanities, but I had made in them such progress that when, for the sake of religion and my humanities, I went to Douay I was admitted to logic. The four years I spent in studying *belles lettres* were passed at Castleford. Afterwards, at the persuasion of some friends and by the advice of a certain priest, I set out for London, but only for the sake of coming to this college or to some other. The plan, however, fell through, owing to some mishap, and I was obliged, against my will, to return to Hemingborough, where, dropping my studies, I lived for two years with my mother and certain friends. After this, anxious to get on with my books, I passed two years near Richmond, in the service of bright Minerva. Then I went to a certain gentleman, with whom I lived ever after both in safety and not without progress, as well in virtue as in learning, until I crossed the seas.

IV. I am strong of body and of good health (praise be to God), and hitherto have lived without any illness to speak of. As for ailments of the soul, I have (God so disposing) suffered very little. Yet (to confess the truth) I was once induced, or rather deceived by the smooth words of a man who was learned, indeed even wise (if one may use such a term of a schismatic), though personally not doubting any article of the Catholic Faith (as my conscience bears me witness), to persuade some of my friends (alas!) that they might be saved outside the Catholic Church. Soon afterwards, however, touched by the sting of conscience, I consulted a certain priest, who insisted, in words now kind now severe, that this could not be without mortal sin. I therefore very speedily diverted from their purpose those to whom I had previously given erroneous advice. After that neither I nor they (praise be to Christ) have fallen into any such error.

V. As to my conversion, I need say little. At a very early age I was instructed by one of my kinsfolk in the elements of the faith; afterwards, when I had reached the age of eight (I think), I was absolved of my sins by a certain priest named Atkinson. After this I have always (albeit unworthy) been amongst Catholics.

VI. Of this opinion I am and have ever been (God is my witness), that no manner of life is either better or more acceptable to Christ than the ecclesiastical. Although I ever esteemed myself most unworthy of following it, yet I trust that—if only I observe the precepts and institute of the College as I should (this has always been my resolution, and I now resolve to execute it with still greater firmness)—God will daily make me better able to discharge worthily the duty of priesthood, and to obey my superiors in all things. This is my most sincere and earnest prayer.

(ii)

Stonyhurst, *Anglia*, iii, *nn.* 4, 8, ff. 5, 10. Autographs.

The *Annales* of the College inform us that our martyr, being twenty years of age, received the gown on the 31st of October, 1599, was confirmed on the 26th of February, 1600, took the oath on the 1st of May, received the tonsure on the 27th of September, and the other minor orders on the 3rd of November. Then it would seem that his strength, which had been so good, began to fail, for the next news is that he had to be sent to Douay on 15th of October because of ill-health (Foley, vi, 211). As to the route which he and his companion, Father Francis (Francis Goldsmith, Foley, p. 204), followed, I am not altogether so sure of the places here named as I could wish. Father Grene has read the obscurely written place-name "Lawsanne," and so I have printed it, but I at first read the word "Lawranne," and I cannot identify any St. Nicholas a day's ride from modern Lausanne.

The President whom they found at Douay was Dr. Thomas Worthington, and the new rules were doubtless those approved by Cardinals Farnese and Borghese, who had lately revised the rules of all the seminaries. In the Westminster Archives (vol. vii, p. 215) there is an account of the persons at Douay at this very time, written by the traitor Fawther, who was then at the College, and eventually betrayed Watkinson to death. Our martyr is mentioned by the name of Mr. Wilson, and Fawther adds that he was ordained by dispensation, being only 22 years of age, and that he (Fawther) knows the man and his family.

Watkinson's name appears in the *Diarium Primum*, as the second ordained at Douay in 1602. But there is a break in the other diaries, so that we know no other details. He did not stay long, as he was already in prison in London in March or April.

ROBERT WATKINSON TO FATHER PERSONS

✠

Good Reverent Father, having satisfied your reverence of our arrival at Loretto, I thought it convenient to impart somewhat unto your Reverence of our progress in our journey. Many matters have occurred in the way unto us, which I doubt not would be grateful to your Reverence, yet opportunity will not admit to impart the same. In brief therefore . . . [as to] . . . both our present estate and proceeding in our journey, I . . . [will] . . . satisfie your Reverence as sufficiently as opportunity w[ill allow]. Safely, God be thanked, we have arrived into Lawsanne, one day's journey from Saint Nicholas. Both the horse and the mule have hitherto endured very well, yet chargable and somewhat troublesome unto us in our Innes, by reason of the want of the fellow with whom we departed from Rome, which in the way left us the second day after our departure from Loreto, but in what manner I cannot exactly satisfy your Reverence, yet as I suppose, sickness was the cause of his staying behind us. Much more I could impart unto your Reverence, which happened in our journey, yet in defect of ink, pen and paper I thought these few ragged lines sufficient at this present. In fine therefore I do request your Reverence to pardon this my cold remembrance unto your Reverence, which God willing I will not forget, though never able to satisfy. I humbly submit myself to your Reverence, desiring your fatherly blessing, and commending me unto Fr. Minister, Father Confessarius, Father Sthevenson and the rest of all the good company there with you. From our Inn in Lawsanne the xviijth of this present November 1601.

Your most dutiful child
Rob. Willson

[Francis Goldsmith adds a note begging Father Persons to excuse him, as he has a headache and a bad leg; and adds a postscript.]

I spake at Parma with Don Raphel the English monk, who told me that the scholar which came with them of St Omers recounted unto him the martyrdom of Mr. Barwith, and that he died in their habit, with his head shaved, and how that he wright to [*MS. torn*] the English monk at St Pauls, to learn of the said scholar more particul[ars of t]he matter, and that he writing to him, he would tell him nothing, which he thinketh to proceed from that you had forbidden the youth to speak any more of that matter, which he taketh verie haynously.

Addressed by Wilson.—To the most Reverent Father, Father Personnes, Rector in the English College at Rome, deliver these.

Endorsed by F. Persons.—Robert Wilson alias Watkinson (after Martyr) and Franc. Goldsmith 18 of 9^{ber} 1601.

(iii)

✠

Good Reverent Father. I doubt not but your Reverence hath heard long ago of our safe arrival here at Douay. Yet I could not without breach of my duty omit to inform your Reverence thereof, having convenient opportunity for the same. Many accidents happened

in our journey, yet none so unwelcome unto me, as that which chanced here after our coming. I mean Francis's departure into England, although I doubt not but that it was for the best, yet sorry I was that I could no longer enjoy his company. For other accidents that happened in travel, it were too long here to insinuate, yet one among the rest I could not conveniently omit.

Coming to Saint Nicholas we thought to pass the shortest way, left the common path, yet in the end finding no good passing by reason of a ditch, although loth to go back, I desired Francis to pass first over with his horse, which doing his horse failed and presently fell down, not able of himself to rise, with all speed we unsaddled him, and in the end he recovered himself and got forth again, yet not without a new colour, in so much that if your Reverence had then seen him, you would hardly have known him. We trimmed him again after our best manner, yet not able that night to attain unto Saint Nicholas. We lodged very hardly that night, yet the price was almost according to our best usage in other places.

Many other such like changes happened unto us yet, God be thanked, we passed them all and safely arrived to Douay, where we found many things quite contrary to our expectation. New rules were put in practise, and very diligently of all observed. A lock and a bell is now at the college door, so that none can go abroad without leave and a companion assigned him. Meditations daily practised, and upon Sundays in dinner time, exhortations with great edification and instruction used. All do live here very comfortably, although not without poverty, which I hope God of his great goodness will shortly redress.

As for myself I have, God be thanked, hitherto continued with my health, and hope shall so hereafter. I have frequented the schools and go forward with my course by Mr. Presidents persuasion. Yet I dare not boldly attempt for to write, although hereafter I trust I shall.

Thus much good Father for this present which I could not conveniently omit. There remaineth my duty and obligation to your Reverence, which I cannot sufficiently expresse. Small cause I had to expect at [*sic*] your Reverence that which I found at my departure, I could wish that I were able to persuade your Reverence to acknowledge me as your poor debtor, for sure I am that I shall never be able to requite your courtesies, yet God grant that I may always remember them.

I beseech your Reverence commend me to good Fr. Minister, Fr. Tho. Stevenson, Fr. Confessarius, and to all the scholars whose prayers I most humbly desire. Doway the 7 of January.

Yours most faithfull and obedient Childe
Rob: Wilson

Seal indistinct.

Addressed.—To the most Reverend Father, Father Persons, Rector in the English College in Rome, deliver theis.

Endorsed.—Robert Wilson of the 7th of January 1602.

There do not seem to have been any separate accounts of Watkinson's martyrdom, but there are several details about him in the accounts of Father Page, S.J. (Foley, i, 427, 432), and Father Grene (*Collectanea N*, ii, 82) says that there were other documents about Tichborne, in which also he was commemorated (*Ibid.*, i, 64). Father Grene mentions explicitly a paper, *Relatione di alcuni martirizati in Inghilterra a* 28 *e* 29 *Aprile* 1602. Father Persons' draft of this was then still extant, and as the paper was addressed to the Pope, it may perhaps be yet discovered somewhere in the Vatican Archives. Father Grene notes: "He was scarcely 20 days in England before he suffered martyrdom, with two others of this college, Tichburne and Page, 29 April, 1602."

CII.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE QUEEN

Before 1 October, 1600

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, cclxxv, 115, ii. Draft with author's corrections.

There is a general tendency nowadays to minimise the importance of the Earl of Essex's rebellion (February, 1601). It was so impotent, so short-lived, drew so few to its side, that people are glad to pass it over as a mad freak of a man notoriously fond of adventure. But when one looks into the evidence, it becomes clear that, though the actual outbreak was sudden and almost unpremeditated, insurrections of other kinds had been frequently thought of, and even talked about by the clique of courtiers who sided with Essex. It is doubtless not strictly correct to use the term "Puritan party" as a synonym for that clique. But Essex had appealed to the Puritans for support, Puritan preachers stood by his side, and Puritan sympathy went out towards his policy, which originally, and indeed always in its main lines, was one of aggression against Catholics.*

In the paper which follows we see the effect upon the English Catholics of the talks of rebellion in which the Essex party had indulged for some months before October, 1600. The Catholics had suffered long and cruelly on the score of plots foisted upon them, sometimes by scare-mongers, sometimes by the deliberate calculations of hypocritical politicians like Walsingham, who were Puritans at heart, though they dared not own it before Elizabeth. The irritation, therefore, caused in the adherents of the ancient faith by the mutinous scheming of the Essex clique, was naturally extreme. We see it here venting itself in protests, which almost overreach and obscure themselves in their earnestness.

As to the facts which they allege, it does not seem that Sir Robert Cecil (at whom the supposed conspiracy would principally have been aimed, and who has read the paper) gave much, or perhaps any, credit to them. The Essex rebellion had not yet broken out. Cecil could hardly then have believed the denunciation made by this anonymous writer, who quotes no authority for the truth of his assertions. Later on, when the Essex rising did come off, many of his former partisans had fallen off or even changed sides, and amongst them the Sir Thomas Gerard mentioned in the denunciation. Even after the rising, therefore, Cecil could have treated the paper as of no consequence, and very possibly may have done so. But whether the allegations be true or not, the indirect significance of this document, as a testimony of the sentiments of the English Catholics towards Elizabeth at the close of her reign, is of the very

* Martin Hume, *Treason and Plot*, p. 363.

highest moment, and forms a remarkable pendant to the many other expressions of opinion on this subject which have been printed already.

The Sir Thomas Gerard, Knight Marshal, who is mentioned below as leader of the alleged Puritan plot, was not the Sir Thomas Gerard of Brynn, who after bravely confessing the faith for many years, had for the time unfortunately fallen away. This Sir Thomas was a son of Gilbert, late Master of the Rolls, and was eventually created a lord by King James (Morris, *John Gerard*, pp. 10 and 306). The then Bishop of Chester was Robert Vaughan, and its Dean John Nutter (Le Neve, Hardy, *Fasti*, iii, 262, 264).

It would seem, from the form which this composition takes, that the writer's first idea was to publish it, at least in manuscript, but how far he succeeded in so doing is doubtful. The present copy has reached us in a curious way, as it was found upon Thurstan Hunt at the time of his capture, while attempting to rescue Robert Middleton, the details of which enterprise will appear in the ensuing numbers. The paper appears to consist of the beginning and the ending of two different copies, the overlapping paragraphs showing many divergencies in the words used, though the sense is the same in both. The termination seems to be missing.

The corrections appear to be not those of a copyist, but of the writer himself, and as the paper itself was seized along with Thurstan Hunt, it would seem not improbable that he was also its author.

A copie of a letter

Jesus ✠ Maria

If the conspiringe puritans had impeached [if the execrable outrages committed had touched, *cancelled*] but the liberties, goodes, possessions and lives of Catholickes I woulde togeather wth them haue patiently susteined the burden, and wth sighinge and sorowynge haue keapte my peace; but palpably perceivinge y^t^ besydes this they booth wickedly and traterously intended (as alsoe doe still intende if opportunitie can serve them) the death or depositione of youre maiestie, alteration of the state, and vtter rvine of this realme (if this pestilence now imminent be not wysely præwented) I thought my selfe bounde in conscience and loyaltie to intimate some probabilities to yor soveraigne maiestie. And whereas I a Catholicke am in parson and profession debarred by statute in court and countree, before any magistrate to auouch the same. Yet doe I protest y^t^ neyther private groudge, revenge of inivries, nor hope of libartie dooth move me: but the innocencie of our casse, the vprightnes of our carriage and the loyall love to the sacred vnction of yor maiestie inforceth me, thus, and thus soone, to hasard my selfe to make demonstrance of faith and loyaltie. And albeit the parsonages accusable doe farr overswaye me in swaye of powar, reitch of aucthoritie and titles of honoure, yet is not the matter to be damned for myne vnwoorthines [because hit concerneth such, *cancelled*] (whoe am not to accuse to death) but to be defended, & prosecuted, because hit concerneth youre maiestie crowne, and kingedome.

And to the entent they myght more couartly effect theire wicked treasons and avert yor maiesties law, they haue harnished them wth the helmet of dissimvlation, the brestplate of malice, the sworde of persecution in a scalbart of libartie, girt aboute the loynes of sensualitie, the shooes of zeile to sheid blood. Theire proper garment is

hypocrisie, theire militarie saga* barbarous crueltie, berynge thereon bend dexter and sinister of seynaunt† colore, lyinge and periurie as presente signes to knowe theire souldiers by: servinge vnder theire generall poware and aucthoritie, marsshaled by Ambition theire head for England and Ireland.

As serpents sharpened theire tounges, and haue wrought wicked councell vppon thy people catholicke, and conspired against thy holy ons. They haue said "Come let vs ryd them out of the land, and lett not the name catholike be any more remembred." [For by informynge youre maiestie and honorable councell, *cancelled.*] For they haue by calumnious lyes incensed yor maiestie and yor honorable councell againste vs, saynge y^{t} wee be a rebellious and mvtinous people, disobedient to the lawes and magistrates, vnmeit to live, vnwoorthye to haue lawes, but to be marshaled by the sword: for they ꝑsecut, they search, they rob, they spoile, they forsware, they impannell iuries, they indite wthout lawe, against all truth, against theire owne knoweledge and humane reason: they make fault but wee must make the mendes: they accuse vs, but wee must not defend, what they saie mvste so be, what they doe is well: for *stat pro ratione voluntas:* and seeke herby to avert youre royall Maiesties hart from vs y^{t} vppon a soden they myght intrape yor roialtie as dooth the chamelyon to the . . . and as the lyons whelpe lurkynge in his den.

[*The next sheet does not run on consecutively, but begins by resuming the two last paragraphs in a revised form.*]

Jesus ✠ Maria

And to the entent they myght more covertly and wth lesse suspition shadowe and effecte theire detestable treasons, they haue sharpened there tonges as sarpents against poore Catholikes stynginge them whith moste false and lyinge calumniations of rebellion, mvtanie, disobedience to prince, lawe, and magistrate: cryinge, "*Exinanite, Exinanite vsque ad fundamentum, et non memoretur nomen Israell vltra,* Away Awaye with these papistes, rid the lande of them, let vs haue that name noe more to be spoken of amongest vs." And y^{t} youre maiesties hart myght be implacable towards vs, there mouth is alwaye full of malediction and bitternes, and as the lyons whelpe lurkynge in his den they sitt in waites wth the powar, able in secret practices too kill the innocent.

For they haue agreied in one against yor soveraigne Maiestie, our anoynted, y^{t} *signo dato* sirr R. should raise a powar of 10,000, leviinge them of his howne tennants, out of Blacborne hundreth, whereof y^{r} maiestie haith made him the stuarde, and of the tennants of sirr Th. Gerrard knight Marshall, wth all theire folowars and complices; of w^{h} one R. B. should be the sargeant maior. And Ric. Lo. of Chester and the chambarlaine thereof haue promised there powar the cities, and of there confederats to ioyne wth them. Nutter the deane of Chester was the woorker of this geare between the bishop and sir R., which had been effected if the earle of Essex in Irland had prospered and

* The 'sagum,' or 'saga,' was the Roman soldier's red cloak.
† Seynaunt—Old French for 'sanglant.'

returned wth powar appoynted. Whoe still remaine at commandement, ffor the knight marshall writt to his brotherinlawe sirr R., the last yeare, when hit was said y^t^ yor maiestie was dead, y^t^ he should not sturr vntill he hard more from him againe; at what tyme it was said "there wilbe rysinge," "there wilbe rysinge."

Henrye Hodgekinsonn Mayo^r^ of the towne of ꝑston
Tho. Hesketh Ra: Assheton

Endorsed in Hodgekinson's hand.—This Paper was fovnd vppone one that nameth himself Grenelow the ffirst of octobr 1600.

Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil.—8 Novemb. Certaine lewde writings, taken upon a lewd fellow in Lancashire, that called himself Grenlow.

CIII.

THE ATTEMPTED RESCUE OF ROBERT MIDDLETON

2 October, 1600

Robert Middleton and Thurstan Hunt were both Yorkshiremen. Robert was a son of Thomas Middleton, the brother of the Martyr Margaret, wife of John Clitherow (Gillow, v, 12, but Morris, *Troubles*, iii, 346, is uncertain). Robert had, however, been brought up to conform to the Established Church, and did not embrace the faith of his ancestors until his eighteenth year. These and other details appear from his examination, printed in Foley, vii, 1367. He was at Douay for three years, and then from 10 April, 1597, to April 20, 1598, at Rome, where he was ordained (Foley, *ibid.*, and vi, 202), and then returned to England, being twenty-seven years of age.

The Bishop of Chalcedon, with many others, have stated that he was a student of the College of Seville. But if we join the testimony of the *Annals* of the English College, Rome, to that of the Martyr's own confession, we see that the balance of evidence is here against the Bishop.

The first thing we hear of him in England is that he was one of the seventy-nine clergy who signed the letter to the Pope, dated 8 November, 1598, in favour of the institution of the Arch-priest. Thirty-two others signed by proxies, and thirty-four more were reckoned as sure to sign, if they could have been met with. The Martyrs who signed were, Robertus Nutter, Edwardus Thwingus, Robertus Middletonus, Thomas Sprottus, Thomas Palaserus, Joannes Thulesius. Two more would certainly have signed, Joannes Locwodus and Johannes Roberts (uti videtur). These were all that were recognised by Father Grene, whose transcript of this letter (Stonyhurst, *Collectanea P*, ii, 570), the only form in which it survives, is printed in C. Plowden, *Remarks on a Book entitled Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*, Ap., No. iv.

Whilst in England he asked to be admitted into the Society of Jesus, and the favour was ultimately granted. The letters from Father Garnet in which this is referred to, dated 30 June, 1599, and 11 March, 1601, are printed (Foley, vii, 962).

The Martyr's course was not long; he was arrested on the 30th of September, 1600, in the Fylde, carried to Preston, and the examination, which is still extant (Foley, vii, 1367), was there taken. What followed is related to us in a letter of 22 October, 1600, from Father Blount to Father Persons (*Collectanea M*, 96).

"There is a priest taken in Lancashyre lately, and being sent to Jayle, by the way an attempt was made to haue rescued him by foure of that country, but being too weake, one of the foure was taken, and much

matter is given hereby to the Chief Justice to enlarge himself against all recusants, which he hath done to her ma^tie in the highest degree."

The leader of the four who attempted to free the captive priest was, as we shall see, Thurstan Hunt, a priest who had been fourteen years upon the mission. According to Mr. Gillow, he was a son of Mr. Hunt, of Carlton Hall, near Leeds, and he had gone to Rheims, 19 September, 1583, and had returned a priest in 1584.

We have very few details concerning him, but they all go to show that he was a man of unusual courage and boldness. This character is explicitly claimed for him in "*A songe of four Preistes that suffered death at Lancaster*," which begins, "O God, of Thy great might," and runs to thirty-three stanzas. By far the greater number of them are rather hortative, or prayerful, than strictly historical. Of this class are the following:

22.

In this our English coast, much blessed blood is shed,
Two hundred preistes almost in our time martered,
And manie laymen dye with joyfull sufferance,
And manie moe in prison lye God's cause for to advance.

23.

Amongst these gratious troupe, that followe Christ his traine,
To cause the Devill stoupe, four preists were latlie slaine.
Nutter's bould constancie with his swete fellow Thwinge,
Of whose most meeke modestie Angells & Saints may singe.

24.

Hunt's hawtie corage staut, with Godlie zeale soe true,
Myld Middleton, O what tonge can halfe thy vertue shew!
At Lancaster lovinglie these martyrs took their end
In glorious victorie, true faith for to defend.*

"Hunt's hawtie corage staut" was certainly shown very clearly in the attempted release of Middleton. The same spirit breathes in the "open letter to the Queen," and forms a fresh reason for ascribing it to this Martyr.

After the attempted rescue the Privy Council was informed, and they answered on the 15th of October, ordering Middleton and Greenlow to be sent up under strong guard (Dasent, *Acts of Privy Council*).

The first paper which follows gives the payment made for this journey.

(i)

PAYMENT FOR TRANSPORTATION TO LONDON

Record Office, *Declared Accounts, Pipe Office*, Treasurer of the Chamber, 1600, Roll 543, f. 68.

To ROBERT HESKETH esq. Sheriff of the county of Lancaster upon the Councils Warrant dated at Richmond viij^mo Novembr 1600 for the charges of himself and xi^en others in bringing up from the gaol there Thurston Hunt and Robert Middleton Seminary Priests returned from beyond the seas xxv^li.

* British Museum, Additional MS. 15225, fol. 31, p. 61. The author's name does not appear. Mr. Gillow believes that the hand is that of Father Laurence Anderton *alias* John Brierley. The authors of one or two of the poems are known, as *A prisoner's songe*, beginning "My thirstie soule desires her drought" (printed in *The Month*, 1871, ii, 235), which is a translation by Father Walpole from St. P. Damian's *Ad perennem vitæ fontem*. But it is quite possible that Anderton should have composed some and collected the rest. See also *Dublin Review*, 1903, ii, 354.

(ii)

The Privy Council to Queen's Counsel

Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.*, cclxxv, *n.* 115.

The Privy Council write to their legal advisers, sending them on the papers which had been brought down from Preston, together with the prisoners. It is a pity that we have not the prisoners' own account to compare with that of their captors.

After our harty commendacions &c. [After asking an opinion on persons accused of cattle-maiming.] You shall vnderstand that there are besides theis, two semynary Preystes brought hether of late out of that Country that did attempt to rescue another Preyst being sent to the Gaole as by the examinacõn which you shall receaue herewithall may appeare vnto you, against whom there would that exemplar and speedy course of proceeding be taken as is fytte to be vsed to represse such audacyous insolencyes, which wee referre to your consideracõn, putting you also in minde of former dyreccõn you haue receaued to proceed against others of that sorte, which by reason of other weighty occasions of her Maiestie you could not as yet so convenyently attend. Thus wee wishe you well to fare.

ffrom the Courte at Richemonde the 9th of Nouember 1600

Your very louing freinds

Jo: Cant, Tho: Egerton C.S., J. Buckhurst, Notingham, Ro: Cecyll, Jo. Popham, W. Waad

Addressed.—To our very louing freyndes, Mr Srieant Yeluerton her Maiesties serieant, Mr Atturney and Mr Solicytor generall and Mr ffrauncis Bacon of her Maiesties councell learned.

[*Enclosure*]

Thexaminacõn of Henry Breres of Preston in Amoundernes in the Countie of Lancashire draper, taken the second daie of October 1600 Anno Regni domine nostre Elizabeth Regine nunc xlijo at Preston afforesaid before me Henry Hodgkinson gent. Maior of the Towne afforesaid.

The said Henry Breres beinge examined saith: That vpon Wednesday beinge the ffirst of this instant, he beinge commanded by me together with others of the said Towne to convey vnto the Common Gaole of the said Countie one Robert Midleton, who hath confessed hymselfe to be a Seminarie preeste, which said Seminarie was deliuered over to me the said Maior by Sr Richard Houghton knight and Thomas Hesketh esquire, hir maiesties Attorney of hir highnes Court of Wardes and liveries, to be conveied to the said Gaole. And this examinate further saith that vpon the same Wednesdaie, as he this examinate and his ffellowes were goeinge with the said Seminarie towardes the said Gaole, they were ouertaken with ffowre horssemen and one ffooteman to them vnknowne, in a place called St. Laurence lane, distant from the said Towne of Preston about fyve myles, which ffowre horssemen passed by this examinate and his fellowes, without any wordes given of any partie, saveinge that one of this examinate's ffellowes demanded of the said ffooteman, who the said horssemen were, who answered he knewe them not and beinge further asked whither they went, he likewise answered "Wee goe towardes Thurneham."

And this examinate further saith, That verie shortlie after, he this examinate with the rest of his fellowes did espie the same ffowre horsemen rydinge with great speed towardes them from or fourth of a corner vpon the East part of a Common called Haworth more, in the parishe of Garstange in the said Countie, which said ffowre horssemen did presentlie thrust themselves in to the Companie of this examinate and his fellowes and demanded of them whether the prisoner they had in charge was a preest or noe. Vnto whom this examinate made answere, that it was not materiall to them. Wherevpon the said ffowre horssemen called vnto the preest to goe with them, which the said preest offered to doe. And then this examinate, to staie his escape, did strike hym of his horsse. And therevpon the said ffowre horssemen, with their weapons drawne, did violentlie offer to take the preest from them. Which when this examinate did perceive, he drewe his sword and with some force vsed vpon one of the said foure horssemen staied the said preest from escapinge. And then the other three horssemen did verie outragiouslie vpon horsseback assault the rest of this examinates fellowes, who in defence of them selves & in regard of the saffekeepinge of the said preest, did also drawe their weapens. By meanes whereof one Greenlowe, beinge one of the said ffowre horssemen, did offer to discharge his pistoll vpon one James Dike, one of this examinate's Companie; which pistoll would not then Shoote of. Wherevpon the said Dike, with his Sword, did vnhorsse the said Greenlowe. Which said Dike was then mightilie assaulted by one other of the said ffowre horssemen, and in defence of hymself & by meanes of a stroke, which he gave vnto the said Greenlowe his companion, three of the said ffowre horssemen did fforthwith fflye awaie, and toke with them one nagg, wherevpon the said preest did ryde.

And all this notwithstandinge The said Geenlowe, beinge on foote, offered to escape, and was pursued by the said Dike, one William Claiton & one Christofer Crosse, which Claiton and Crosse came in by mere chance & assisted this examinate & his ffellowes and did contynue the pursute of the said Greenlowe from the place where the assault first begune about one myle, the said Greenlowe still keepinge them of with his pistoll charged. By reason whereof the said Dike & Claiton could not come nere hym but contynued the pursuit with Stones, for want of better meanes. The said Crosse, haueinge in that tyme taken the said Greenlowe his horsse, which was runne awaie. And then he this examinate & the rest of his Companie with one Travice and one Walkden, who also came thither by like chance, went to assist the said Dike and Claiton. Who meetinge the said Greenlowe at a gate, staied hym. Wherevpon the said Greenlowe did discharge his pistoll vpon the said Travice, and wounded hym in his Thighe with ffowre bulletts, and then was taken.

Who together with the said Seminarie were brought back againe to the said Towne of Preston the same daie, and presentlie hadd before the said Sr Richard Houghton, Thomas Hesketh esquire and one Raphe Asheton esquire, three of her maiesties Justices of peace within this Countie. (I, the said Maior beinge, att that instant, not

being in Towne.) And this examinate further saith That after the Sturr was ended vpon the said more, he & his ffellowes ffounde three Clokes, which were the said horssemen's and brought the same to the Towne of Preston afforesaid, where they remayne in Saffekeepinge.

The said James Dike, Henry Sudell and Edmond Machon being the ffellowes of the said Henry Breres for the Conveyinge of the preeste to the Gaole afforesaid, doe all affirme this examinacion to be True. [*Signed*] Henrye Hodgkinson

(iii)

PAYMENT FOR SENDING BACK TO LANCASTER

The Martyrs, for some unknown reason, remained long in London. Perhaps the lawyers were fully occupied with Essex and his followers. On 3 March, 1601, however, orders were issued for their return to Lancashire. They were to be publicly disgraced, their legs tied under their horses' bellies, and so solemnly carried from the high sheriff of one county to the high sheriff of the next, till they reached Lancashire, &c. &c. (Dasent, xxxi, 238).

To JOHN MARRETT upon the Councils Warrant dated at Whitehall xxij° Marcii 1600 for carrying Thurston Hunt and Robert Middleton two Seminary Priests from the Gatehouse at Westminster to the High Sheriff of Lancaster to be proceeded withal at the Assizes xvj^{li}.

(iv)

OF MR. MIDDLETON'S AND MR. HUNT'S APPREHENSION AND DEATH.

Archives S.J., Grene's *Collectanea M*, ii (now *Anglia Historia*, viii), ff. 259, 260.

Father Grene (*Collectanea M*, 18*b*) says that there is an account of Robert Middleton's martyrdom in the *Litterae Annuae* of the Society of Jesus for 1599, at p. 14, as he was an alumnus of the College at Rome, and had been admitted to the Society before death. Unfortunately, this volume of the *Litterae Annuae* is missing from the collection at the British Museum, and I have not succeeded in finding a copy. The Martyr's name is there given as Richard Milton.

Father Grene, in *Collectanea N*, ii, p. 25, states that there were then in the English College Archives two accounts of his martyrdom. He describes them, however, very vaguely, "Epistola de eius martyrio in fasciculo in Archivio," and "alia relatio ibidem." I cannot now trace either of these.

Mr Midleton was apprehended by Sir Richard Hauton in the high way in Lancashire, who asking of this good man what he was he tould him plainly he was a priest; and so to all such questions directly he answered the plaine truth. The morning before this Mr Midleton fell in talk with a noble woman [kinswoman] of one Mr Edward Thwing, who the Assizes before was executed. This woman began to lament the lose of y^t good man, to whome Mr Midleton answered: "Madam I would I might this day ride a good way & out of my waye, to have ſo good chance as he had." And soe his good desire was fulfilled, for the ſame day he was apprehended.

This knight after he had taken him soe, sent him to Preston to one Esket; and from thence he was conveyed to Lancaster the next day following. But some of Mr Midleton's friends, lamenting his case, did think by the way to have rescued him; among whome was this Mr Hunt: who (as the report goeth) if the rest had done but half so undauntedly as he, they had rescued him. But God otherwise disposed; for amongst all others being most valliant, he was only apprehended. And so with a double garde, together with Mr Midleton conducted to Lancaster, where they were very hardly handled, being loaded with irons night & day; and soe remained till they were sent up to London, and that in most severe manner. For as they had but very ill horses scant able to goe, their leggs tyed under the horse's belly, their dyet very badd, and every night parted and their leggs bolted to the bedstock.

Being brought to London, they were often examined, kept close prisonners, loaden with irons and after yt one day they had bin called to the barre to be arraigned, the morrow after they were called suddainly out by their keeper, and bidd to putt on their bootes and to goe to the sesſions houſe. It was not any purpose, said they, to putt on their bootes to goe there. The keeper replyed yt the way was foule.

They pulled on theyr bootes and when they came out to the prison dore, there they found a number of men with weapons & hattes, ready for to conduct them back againe. They wondered at it and asked the keeper what it ded meane. He tould them yt they must goe back from whence they came. "Why then," sayd they, "we will goe to our chamber and fetch our things." But they could not; & so all their mony, which was some 20 nobles, and apparel they left behinde them. And the gaoler said: "This yt you have wil serve your turnes; for the time you have to live is very short."

They were brought downe in the same sort as they were brought upp. Being at Lancaster, there they were worse handled then before. At the asſisſes, which was some monthes after they came down, they were condemned, but not the same day with the fellons; for they had their judgment within some few houres before they were executed. The very morning that they were executed Mr Midleton, meeting in the castle yard with a gentlewoman of his acquaintance, said: "Alas! Mrs N., we shal not be hanged to-day"; & so began to talk cheerfully with her of all his friends, & gave yt morning to an other gentlewoman many things of his to be distributed to his friends. The like did Mr Hunt. Yt morning between them they reconciled two or 3 felons, who professed their faith and refused before their death to pray with the minister. And the felons being executed before the priests, they were still encouraged one by one by the priests for to dye Catholicke.

In all Lancaster there could not be found any yt would either lend horse or car or hurdle or any suchlike thing for their death; so the sherif was faine to take one of his own horses to draw the sledge. The fire was [so] little, yt the entrals of the first putt out there fire; soe yt Catholicks, who were bye, took what they would.

Mr Midleton was somewhat troubled with his sister, who ſought to have repryved him, offring a hundred pound; and would faine have had a minister to conferre with him. And yet, once her brother reprehending

her for it, she sayd: "Good brother, I am no heretick, but I do this for to have occasion to see you and to talke with you."

They being brought to the place of execution profesfed their faith very conftantly and dyed very resolutely. They asked benediction one of another and embraced each other before they went up the gallows. Mr Hunt was first executed, and having the corde about his neck he gave his blesfing to all Catholicks there present, which were a greate number: both executed in their casfocks. Mr Hunt hanged til he was dead. Mr Midleton seemed to have flowen up the gallows, he went so nembly up, and was cutte alive by error, as some think. For as soon as the rope was cutt and he began to stirre in the butchers hands, the sheriff bid streight waies cutt of his head, and soe it was; and thus he being last hanged was first quartered. Everyone lamented their death, for all the world perceaved their innocency; and not only Catholicks but scismaticks and of all sortes strived to have something of theirs for relicks.

Grene.—"Non additur ulla data mensis vel anni, sed in dorso tantum notatur April, 1601."

CIV.

THE MARTYRS OF 1602

May–June, 1602

(i)

Father Blount to Father Persons

Stonyhurst MSS., Grene's *Collectanea M*, f. 98.

This and the following letter bring before us very clearly the altered state of the persecution at the end of Elizabeth's reign. The violence indeed continued, and the annual sacrifice of lives showed only little change; but the methods by which odium was created against the Catholics had changed a good deal. We see plainly how the persecutors protected some among the Appellants, and especially Watson, in order that they might annoy and divide their fellow Catholics. In effect we see in Father Blount's letter a tinge of acrimony while writing about Duckett and Tichborne, and especially of Mush, which, but for the irritation of the Appellant quarrel, he would have avoided. For Father Southwell's "Humble Supplication to the Queen," see *The Month*, January, 1902, p. 93. The first two lines give Father Grene's abstract of the parts he has omitted.

5° *Maij* 1602. *Post multa de libris Watsoni et tumultuantibus hæc subdit.*

I pray you make much of Mr Mush, for we finde him now to be a true prophet. He wrote in a letter about a yeare since yt these broiles would not be ended without bloud . . . to which effect W[illiam] W[atson] spake also not long since. And now haue we had 6 executed together, 2 in the North and four in London, viz. Fran. Page, Rob. Watkinson, Tho. Tichburne, priests and James Ducket layman, all 4 at Tyborne.

The layman was executed for diuulging F. Southwel's *Answer to the Proclamation*, which the malcontents printed but Mr Blackwel prohibited as a thing out of season. He dyed exceeding wel, disclaymed the malcontents . . . and spake to his wife to burne all such books of

theirs as were in his house, and asked pardon of all the Societie; for indeed he had bin an instrument of the discontented for printing and publishing some of their books.

Page dyed of the Society with much alacrity and spiritual ioy, and after some other speeches before he uttered these words, "I confesse unto you all y^t^ I am a Catholic priest, and although much unworthy, I thank God, of the holy Societie of Jesus"; and therewith the cart was dryuen away and [he] neuer spake more.

Tichburne sayd nothing, neither at his arraignment nor at his death by reason of his weaknefse, as I take it, and not being wel able to heare what was sayd unto him. He was suspected before of fauoring the discontented, and at his arraignment was charged by the Chief Justice of dissolute life and thereby to have gotten the French disease, whereunto he replying nothing, many condemned him in their own conceites, and much speech is of it of all sortes: but howsoeuer it be, he hath now made amends for all. And this to your self.

Watkinson dyed very resolutely and with much edification, many things before his death concurring very notable and much to the honour of God. Time wil not permit me to write in particular, and I think you shal heare all at large, written out of Newgate.

Atkinson the Apostata was this day twice taken by the Constables . . . for a rogue to be sent into Flanders with other souldiers, wch are now pressing in all hast, but was still discharged by the chief Justice: and now the third time is apprehended by warrant from the same chief Justice & lyeth loaded with Irons in the dungeon at Newgate, &c. . . .

[*Father Grene.—alia addit de duobus Lusitanis Patribus in Anglia captiuis, qui postea liberati fuerunt &c., et de rebus alijs non magni momenti.*] 5 Maij 1602.

(ii)

Bishop Bancroft to Lord Chief Justice Popham

5 June, 1602

British Museum, Harleian MSS., vol. 360, *n.* 36.

Challoner (i, p. 403) says that Robert Watkinson M. "was betrayed by one John Fawether, a false brother." The following letter from the Bishop of London to Lord Chief Justice Popham gives more information about Fawether. The priest here arrested was not Watkinson, for he was martyred 20 April, 1602. It is curious to see how completely Watson, the author of the Quodlibets, who was afterwards executed with Clarke for high treason, was protected by the Bishop of London. This is the same Watson who was got out of prison by Mrs. Margaret Ward (Challoner, i, p. 233), who was martyred in his stead.

My very good Lo: ffawether came first unto me from Mr Secretary. He was then in attyre like a very rogue and upon his submiſsion and promise to doe some service I apparelled him from top to toe and gave him some mony in his purse, willing him to take his meate and drinke in my house from tyme to tyme as he thought good. At his first entrance to doe some service I told him there were two or three priests, that were wincked at more then the rest: whom I required no wayes to intermeddle wth and amongst them I gave him especyall charge of Mr Watson. Notwithstandinge of late he is growen to very extra-

ordinary boldnes, and will prove I feare a very cheating knave. Meeting wth Mr Watson and his man at my gates not longe since he grew into some open exclamations against them, but did especially rayle against his man and some further harde speeches paſsed betwixt them. I hearing hereof told him he had not done well and wished him to intermeddle no more wth eyther of them. These speeches of myne it seemeth the Varlett tooke in evill ꝑte and complayned to yor Lp. informing yow that Mr Watsons man is a priest. Upon ꝑtence whereof he hath very lately w^th^out any warrant thrust violently in the night time into Mr Watsons chamber, rayled upon him exceedingly, so as company came abowt them: to whom he exclaymed that Watson himself was a priest, that he was the author of the Quodlibets, wherein were many great treasons, and y^t^ yet some bare wth him, howbeyt ere longe he shold smarte for it, or words to that effect. The constable was wth him; and so though ffawether had no warrant: yet bicause he used yor Lps. name for the committing of Mr Watsons man he was caryed to prison. Yesterday my servaunt Pigott meeting wth ffawether asked him what he meant to charge Mr Watsons man to be a priest, who (as he had been informed) was but a Taylo^r^. To whom he answered "I doe not know whether he be a priest or no: but I meane to carry him before my Lo: Chiefe Justice upon suspicion y^t^ he is a priest." If it fall owt that eyther he is a preist, or that his psumptions are great or probable that he shold be one, I commende him for it. But if it fall owt otherwise, and that this is only done of stomacke, I trust yor Lp. will tell him yor mynde: his course therein is not to be indured. But howsoever this fall owt, I doe mynde certainly to committ him to prison as sone as I can catche him, for dealing in such sorte as he did wth Mr Watson, contrary to my commaundement. And I am the rather induced so to doe, bicause I doe greatly suspect he is animated against my directions in that he used such tearmes unto him concerning his booke and the bearing of some wth him, wch have (as yow know) been very malitiously obiected against me. And so wishing that if Watsons man be not a priest, it may please yor Lp. ꝑsently to release him, I comitt yow unto the tuition of allmighty God.

Att my howse in ffulham this 5th of June 1602.

Yo^r^ Lo^r^: most aſsured Ric. London.

Addressed.—To the right honorable my very good Lo: the Lo: Chiefe Justice of England, one of her Ma^ts^ most honorable privy Councell.

Endorsed.—The Bishopp of Londons Lre to the L. Cheife Justice June 5, 1602—about some seminarie preists.

CV.

BENJAMIN NORTON TO THE BISHOP OF CHALCEDON

6 May, 1626

Farm Street, MSS., *Roman Letters*, 1578–1619, *n.* 101. Autograph.

The last document of our series brings us to a new phase of the cultus of the Martyrs. Charles I is on the throne. The persecution has relaxed, though war is still actively waged on the money and goods of the Catholics. A bishop rules the Church in England, and he has appointed

his vicars to gather up information about the Martyrs, and we see that this is being done with some care. The letter bears the written date 1616, but this must be a slip of the pen for 1626. At the first date there was neither a bishop nor an archdeacon in England, whereas the letter alludes to them on every page. William Bishop had been appointed the first Vicar-Apostolic 4 June, 1623, and Dr. Richard Smith, with the same title of Bishop of Chalcedon, had succeeded him 12 January, 1625, and had set up seven vicars and twenty-three archdeacons throughout England on the 2nd of June, 1625. The seventh vicar was Benjamin Norton, vicar for the counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire and Berkshire, the writer of the following letter. He had been a student both of Rheims, where he arrived 24 June, 1583, and of Rome, which he entered 17 November, 1587, being then twenty years of age. He is duly mentioned in the diaries of either college (*Douay Diaries*, 196, 199; Foley, *Records*, vi, 177).

Dr. Smith, it seems, sent round in 1626 letters to all his vicars to look into the cultus of the Martyrs who were born in or had suffered in their districts.

We do not indeed possess this letter, nor, it would seem, any of the answers to it except that now printed. On the other hand we do possess a good many notes, which were professedly drawn up from those answers.

The notes in the Westminster Archives (now iv, 1–14, 117–132, &c.),* were evidently written about this period; and the compiler of them cites, as his authorities, documents which must be considered (either demonstrably or at least very probably) as answers to the bishop's appeal. The *Relations* of "Richard Broughton, Vicar-General of the Northern Parts," and that of "Cuthbert Trollop, Archdeacon," were plainly reports similar in character to Norton's. It is fairly clear from the date that the letters of "D. Davis, presb. an. 1626," and of "N., presb. an. 1626," and "the relation of Mistress Francis Salisburie, taken down from her words by W. Farrar, priest, 1627," belong to the same category. It seems highly probable that the undated "Relations" of Joseph Haynes, Robert Bagshaw, Mr. Manger, Mr. Jackson, Mistress Elizabeth Elison, widow, Ralph Fisher, Leonard Blackenburie, "attorney in Yorkesheire," John Ingleby, "jurisconsultus"—all cited by Challoner, or by the Douay Manuscripts from which he worked—should be ascribed to about the same period. If this conjecture be verified, it will fully explain the reason why the Bishop of Chalcedon's Catalogue of the Martyrs "fully deserves, on grounds of scholarship, the first place which is always given to it among the lists of the Martyrs" (*supra*, p. 6).

Norton's letter mentions thirty-one Martyrs, two of whom, however—John Collins and the brother of John Adams—I am unable to identify. As to "fa. Daustius servant," who is also unknown to me, though Norton seems hereby to mean one of the Martyrs, his style is obscure; perhaps some living person is intended.

Of the clergy who are cited as authorities, or referred to up and down, I cannot give much account. The dates of the college course of Edward Kennyon may be followed in the *Douay Diaries*, but of Mr. Cole, Mr. Boucley, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Peacock, and Archdeacon Shelley, I have no information to offer. The very high-handed proceedings against Thomas Wilson, the head of the printing press at the Jesuits' College of St. Omers, which Norton advises the bishop to institute, recall vividly the grave mistakes which were so soon to cause Dr. Smith to retire from England altogether.

* This set of papers was contained in a volume entitled "Douay MSS. relating to the English Martyrs"—which volume was in great part copied by Alban Butler for Dr. Challoner—and this copy is now at Oscott. The "Douay MSS." has now been broken up, and the documents arranged in one chronological series.

Towards the end there is an interesting paragraph on the doings of "my great neighbours." The father, it appears, has just resigned his estate to his son, but makes it a condition that he shall part with Mr. Kennyon, who is evidently his chaplain. There does not seem to be enough evidence to settle who these "great neighbours" were, but writing as Norton does from Sussex, one is prone to suggest the name of the second Lord Montagu, who was now growing old, and died not long after, *i.e.* in 1629.

The postscript gives valuable evidence as to the prolonged survival of the old rules about "Fridays and fasting between Easter and Whitsontyde" by the rather greater number of the English Catholics. Norton says he can witness this "to my own knowledge for this 44 years," figures which are useful for our judgment on the date of the letter. As he was twenty in the year 1587, when he went to the English College, Rome, he would have been born in 1567. If, therefore, this letter was really written in 1616, he would be quoting to his bishop his knowledge about the Catholics *of the whole shire* which he had acquired *at the age of five*. It is surely more likely that he would only quote his recollections at fifteen, that is those of the years which immediately preceded his going abroad to receive his ecclesiastical education.

Right honorable

Latelye I receaued an other ŧre from your good L^{p} of noe date by wch I perceaved that yor L^{p} hath receaved myne of the 18th of Aprill, in wch though in deede I did nott enough, yett I endevored to doe my best: but whatt I omitted then I will hereafter performe if I can. And first I will make my darke speeches as playnelye to be understood as I can. By H. H. I ment Mr Humfreye Hinde, an honest man, a good scoller, a true Isyraelite, and painefull laborer in our Vinnyarde: him onely have I yett made vsė of in the busines enioyned. Wth Mr Cole I medled nott vntill the receipte of yor L^{ps} laste ŧres, since wch tyme I have writtne unto him to admoneshe him of what hee is saied to have don amisse. And that wch I required of him for the present was (if hee bee innocent) to testefie his Innocencye in a ŧre to mee, and then to enquire after those matters wch I am to enquire of, accordinge to the good directions y^{or} L^{p} hath given mee.

For in verry deede hee knoweth all or most, that was to bee knowen of ffather [? Daustius*] servaunt, of Mr F. Thomas, and Mr Johnson alias Mr Roger Dickinson, whoe as I think was a cuntriman of yor Lordshippes, and of James Bird sometymes a scoller (to my knowledge) at Rheames† whoe was a Wincester man borne, and executed at the place of execution cauled Bardiche, by beeinge hanged, drawn (fo. 1*b*) and quartred vppon the feast of thannunciation of our Blessed Ladye beeinge that yeere Ester eeve (Anno Domini 1592). And as I remember hee was apprehended at one Mr Hierom Hethes howse, whoe was late a Citizen of Bruxells, in a busie tyme when theye searched that howse & many others for my poore selfe, wth whome I had mett thatt night, if hee had nott beene taken. And my frendes tolde mee that beeinge demaunded of the Judges howe longe hee had

* Daustius. The form is uncertain. The name may be Danstins. It may stand for Dawstin or Dalstin.

† James Bird is not mentioned in the *Douay Diaries*.

beene a Catholique, hee tolde some Foure yeeres, by which they inferred as followeth, "Thou art a Catholique, ergo Reconciled, ergo a Traytor."*

Mr F. Thomas was condemned at thatt tyme after thatt manner, but theye conceivinge thatt hee made a shewe to recant (which notwithstandinge hee neuer did in thatt manner as theye woulde haue wished), deferred his execution vntill the Assises followinge, at which tyme he made a Constant & happie ende. One Mr Cooke, then a wellwiller to Catholiques, but afterwards a good Catholique talkinge with Mr fflemminge which afterwards was Lorde Cheefe Justice of Englande,† & wonderinge at thease proceedings saied vnto him, "Sir by this Reason yu maye hange whome yu liste of the younger sorte of suche as had beene protestants and weare beecom Catholiques." Who answered, soe theye mighte. (fo. 2) I hope that this report of myne will bee confirmed by others wth whome I have nott spoken, when theye shall saye whatt theye knowe thereof.

Of Mr J. Boddie I can saye this thatt he was my scolemaster a yeere or to beefore his Apprehension at Mr Archdeacon Shellye his fathers howse, where he was taken & Committed by Sr Richard Norton, & by reason of this former acquaintance his good mother Comminge to see her sonne, came to my mothers howse from Wells in Summersett shire, wheare shee lived & as I thinke wheare her sonne was borne.

Of Mr J. Slade I yett knowe noe moore but thatt I knewe the man well, & he was reputed then to bee a dorsett shire man. of whome I knowe noe more butt thatt hee was a most constant mortified man, &c.

Of Rafe Miller & the former martyrs yu knowe somewhatt beefore. Mr Anderton & Mr Marsden weare saied at my beeinge wth them at Rheames to bee Lankyshere men. Of Mr Thomas Tytchborne priest and his brother Nicholas (but not Thomas) the laye man, I thinke theye weare borne at a place cauled Hartleye in Hampeshere. Wch Mr Nicholas was saied to bee executed for helpinge his brother Thomas oute of prison, vppon St Bartholomeus daye abought London.

Abought thatt tyme theare suffered abought London one John Collins wch was a Winchester man. (fo. 2*b*) Mr William Waye I knewe at Rheames and I verilye thinke thatt hee was a devonshire, and probablye an Exciter man.

I have spoken first & writtne since to Mr Archdeacon Shelley to enquire after Mr Rafe Crocket, Ed: James, George Gervase, & by talke wth Mr Peacocke abought Mr Thomas Hemmerford and Mr Alexander Raulins; wthall, accordinge to [your] Lordshippes direction, I desired him to enquire after Mr Thomas Garnett Jesuit & priest a Sussex man, and after my vnckle Mr Richard Shelleye,§ whoe marryed my Aunte and was executed abought London. I have writtne to knowe whether Mr Pilchard priest whoe suffered in Dorsettshere (as I thinke) weare a Sussex man or noe, and my reason of doubt is bicause I have heard saye thatt hee was brother, vnckle or kinsman to one Thomas Parker his wife, a sadler of Battell.

* See above, p. 231.

† Sir Thomas Fleming became Lord Chief Justice in 1607, and died in 1613.

§ Probably Edward Shelley, of Warminghurst, is intended. (See p. 290.)

I knowe nott of whome to enquire abought Mr Robert Wilcocks, M^r^ Ed: Campion, xpfer Buxton & Ro: Widmerpole; neither of Mr Edm. Duke & Mr Filcocks, bicause I knowe not wheare for this present to sett my foote in Kent. But I knowe thatt Mr Edm. Duke was executed att Durham, & of Mr Roger Filcocks Jacobus Gualterus wrighteth, at the latter ende of his *12 veritates*, wheare he maketh muche adoe aboughte a strawe, wheare I hope thatt the daye of the deathe of Mr Filcocks is sett downe.*

Nowe my good lorde to cum back againe, I praye y^w^ thatt y^w^ will bee pleased to make the aforesaied (fo. 3) Mr Humfreye Hinde Archepriest of Hampeshire & then I doubt not but thatt he will bee able to doe moore then now hee doth by wrightinge sendinge or goinge to Mr Cole & others wth whome hee is well acquainted in that Countye. And I beeseeche your good Lordshippe at his & my request to sett downe your Lordshippes opinion whither by the faculties graunted to priests to absolve from all cases reserved in Bulla Cœna the Pope bee supposed to graunt Authoritye to absolue from those thatt ar reserved in the decretalls and extravagants, as namelye from thatt of simonie in Beneficio, wch faculties if theye have nott, I could wishe all suche as Mr H. H. had.

In wrightinge of whose name I am putt in minde to signifie to your Lordshippe whome I meane by T. W: wch in truthe I doe nott knowe vnlesse it bee Mr Thomas Wilson† of S^t^ O[mers], of whome I remember thatt I wrought somewhatt concerninge the examininge of his papers beefore theye bee printed, or els have Authoritye from your good Lordshippe to forbid the buyinge & havinge of them; wch I shoulde nott feare to doe had I your good Lordshippes leave to doe it, and a forme or presidente howe to doe itt. For in deade theire doings in thatt place muche discontente mee, & latelye I delte wth the cheefe of the Societie in these shires to have a fault reformed & amended, wch is this. (fo. 3*b*) In theire scooles at St O. theye have Emperors, Senators, equites, decuriones, & the verryest Asse of euerye Classe is putt after all thease and cauled a Bishop.§ I accoumpt this a preposterouse order and I might geve it a woorse name. The Jes. denyed thatt theire was any suche thinge in the Englishe scooles 3 yeares since (soe saied Mr Bouclye¶ to mee who abought thatt tyme had bene a reader theare). I did not altogether beleeve him: yett I answred after this manner. "Soe muche the woorse quoth I that y^u^

* Jacques Gaulthier, S.J., published his *Table Chronologique* in 1609, and it ran through many editions. The second part is *Douze Catholiques Veritès attestèes contre Calvinisme*. A Latin edition, *Tabula Chronographica*, appeared in 1616, and also passed many editions. The straw will doubtless have been Father Garnet's straw. Bishop Smith's attitude, unfriendly to the Jesuits, is illustrated in J. Morris, *Life of Father John Gerard*, 1881, p. 433.

† Thomas Wilson. See p. 3 *ante*.

§ The custom of granting the titles Imperatores, &c., for younger boys is widely, almost universally, in vogue in Jesuit colleges. The alleged use of the title 'bishop' is never heard of.

¶ This might be John Nash *alias* Nathaniel Buckley, mentioned in the *English College Diary* in Foley, vi, 282.

shoulde beegin to caule yo[r] verriest foole a bishop iust abought the tyme thatt wee beegan to have a B." D. Siluester* promised thatt hee woulde wright abought it, & I desire yo[r] good L[P] to looke vnto it, for certaine it is thatt theare is suche a thinge.

Nowe my good l., if I shoulde tell your good L[P] howe matters goe in my greate neighbors howse, it woulde aske an other sheete of paper, in sum thearefore I saye thatt all goeth ill. the father is ill w[th] an ague & other malonchollye humors. I conceave (for I am a strainger, yett not owte w[th] him) thatt, havinge made & setled his estate after some sorte vppon his sonn, hee woulde nottw[th]standinge goe on in all or most thinges as beefore; & the first woorke hee required & importuned his son to doe was to putt awaie his true frende M[r] Kennion. The 3[de] of Maye the sonn onelye to contente his father yeelded, the 4[th] M[r] Kenn: was to bee go[ne], but I goinge of purpose thither, the sonn tolde mee thatt hee in noe case woulde doe itt (for in deed hee seemeth to affecte him muche & to bee as constant vnto him as hee maye w[th]houte his fathers displeasure). "Well S[r]," q[th] I, "if y[u] doe itt nott, then lett it be knowen & recorded whoe doth it, & whie hee doth it; & poore Jonas shall bee cast into the sea to make all tempests cease, & Jonas was but vnwillinge thearvnto," butt hee thought fitt thatt I shoulde knowe the cause of all this, & soe, if hee weare faultye or Innocent, hee that woulde might cast him ouer bored. I sayed then, I visited the ffather twise & was wth him more then an hower att a tyme, hee saied not a woord to mee nor I to him of this matter. The sone thatt afternoone stade awaie & onelye wee expecte, whoe shall cast this good man ouer the hatches. In deede amongst other thinges I saied to the sone, thatt I thought it nott fitt thatt the first thinge thatt euer he did after hee came to his estate should bee to turne awaye him, w[ch] the sonne confesseth to bee his most constant & truest freind.

Nowe my Good L. to cum to Asshetes (?) or those of M[r] Ashe his companye. I must complayne to y[r] good L[P] and trulye tell y[u] thatt theye ar verry bolde, vnmannerlye and boysterouse. *Laboro sustinens, taceo tamen.* But I have suche a deale to saye thatt I can nott saye it in a short tyme muche lesse wright. Wherefore my good L[P], havinge beene to tedious in this letter (bicause I hope thatt I have a better meanes to sende nowe then I can expecte heereafter) I desire y[or] L[ps] pardon, crave y[or] blessinge and direction. And euermoore remayne

Y[or] most obsequiose & obedient sonne

6 Maij Anno ḋni 1616.† B. Norton.

Sealed.

On a separate slip of paper.—Whither in suche a shire, wheare as many (or rather more) have to my one knowledge kept the fridaies & fasting betweene Ester & Whitsontyde for this 44 yeares, then others w[ch]

* Perhaps Father Thomas Sylvester, S.J. (Foley, *Records*, vii, 753).

† The year is written quite clearly 1616, with a dot over the first 1 but not over the second.

have nott kept them, theye wch breake thatt fast maye securelye doe it, w^thout yor L^ps leave, under pretence of an Auncient Custome.*

Whither 2^lye I neede enquire after Mr Chiddiock Tytchborne, whoe was one of those wch sufferde abought the busines of the Queene of Scotts, of whome I knowe noe moore yett but thatt hee & his father beefore him weare Cauled Tytchbornes of Porchester in Hampeshire. Mr John Addams p: and a brother of his a laye man, whoe sufferd for iustice, weare Dorsettshire men, and soe was accounted to bee Mr Mundaye a seminarie p.

Mr Kennion knoweth nothinge of Mr Miles Ger[ard] his good vnckle, but thatt he was a lankyshire man. The Shreaves Bayleffs, w^thin a weeke after thatt a jurye of enquirie was impaniled abought Recusants landes and goods, seased vppon 4 kyne & to Calues of one Ant: Williamsons of Estborne: theye tooke a Cow awaye from John Beale of Estborne. 20 hedd of Cattell from widdowe Richardson of Ledsworthe; and slippinge w^thin the doors of Mr D. Bullaker of Chichester,† as one shut owte, went into the kitchin & tooke 5^l for[th] the vessell wch hee founde theare. But those thatt keepe there doors closeshutt have hitherto done well enough.

* Upon the fasting and abstinence observed at this time in England see *Douay Diaries*, 354, 355; *C.R.S.*, iv, 104; *A treatise with a Kalendar concerning Holy-daies and Fasting-daies in England*, the preface signed I.B. 1598; J. Morris, *Kalendar and Rite used by the Catholics since the time of Elizabeth*, in *Archaeologia*, lii, 120.

† Challoner says of the Martyr, John Bullaker, that he was "born at Chichester in Sussex about the year 1604, of pious and Catholic parents. His father was a noted physician." *Cf.* Mrs. Bullacre, of Warblington, pp. 31, 34, above.

APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGY.

Unusual methods of writing dates abound in the documents that have been under examination; and the somewhat confusing "change of style" took place in the course of the period we have been studying. The reader will find it convenient to have under his hand statements of the principles involved, and tables for the reduction of dates under old systems to that in vogue now.

(I) Old Style and New Style.

The year is the length of time taken by the earth to move round the sun, that is 365 full days and a certain fraction of a day. This fraction was in ancient times underestimated by 11 minutes and 12 seconds, and these unconsidered minutes mounted up in course of time to a noticeable number of days. By the sixteenth century midsummer and midwinter, as also the equinoxes, and consequently also the beginning of the seasons, were ten days behind the dates assigned to them in the calendars. The Council of Trent therefore requested the Pope to remedy this very inconvenient state of things, and after due consideration Pope Gregory XIII did so by ordaining that Thursday, the 4th of October, 1582, should be followed by Friday, the 15th.

This change, which is called "the New Style," was carried out at the time appointed by Italy, Spain, and Portugal. France soon followed, passing from the 9th to the 20th of December, 1582. Holland, Flanders, and Germany made the change in 1583—but England did not do so till 1752.

During the whole of our period 1583–1603, therefore, the reckoning of England was ten days behind that of all neighbouring lands. Russia has not made the change yet, and is now thirteen days behind.

In order to make clear which day is intended, it is now usual to give the dates according to both styles. Thus a date 12/22 January means the day called the 12th in England and the 22nd abroad.

It is natural when we are speaking of the sequence of events *in England itself*, to give the Old Style only. This was the custom at the time, and is so still. But when correspondents are addressing letters to persons abroad, they occasionally adopt the New Style.

It may also be noted that the priests in England followed the Old Style in making up their ecclesiastical calendars, not the New Style used by the English Catholic exiles in the Seminaries and elsewhere abroad. This is clear from many passages in the documents already printed. Thus (1) the Catholics go on reckoning their Saints' days upon the Old Style dates, as we see from pp. 357 and 360, where Saints Laurence, Tiburtius and Susanna, Clare, and Hippolytus are set down for August 10, 11, 12, 13, Old Style. (2) Again we find Catholics using feast days *instead of* Old Style dates. That is they speak (sometimes to Protestants) of such a thing happening "in Lent" (p. 126), on "Shrift Monday" (p. 133), "at Whitsuntide" (p. 361). To Protestants, at least, such a

method of speaking would have been meaningless unless both had kept the festivals at the same time. Moreover, the last-mentioned feasts all vary with Easter; whence we see that the Catholics in England kept Easter also according to Old Style. Easter, according to New Style, fell more often than not on a different Sunday from Easter, Old Style. This will be seen by reference to the tables below.*

A good instance of the need of discriminating between the styles is given by Father Southwell's letter, printed at p. 307. Here we see that Southwell, just before leaving the Continent (from Calais, let us suppose, or Dunkirk), writes a letter which he dates "from the port on the 25th of July." Having sailed to England, he would have found that they were ten days behind, and according to that reckoning he probably arrived on the 15th or 16th of July. Then he goes to London, meets Father Weston "after a day or two," and prepares for a solemn Mass on "the feast of S. Mary Magdalene's" (*i.e.* July 22), and finally writes off to Rome, dating his letter again "July the 25th," the same date *numerically* as that which he had used before leaving the Continent. If we look to the two dates only, there would seem to be an evident error: if we have regard to the difference of style, we see that they present no insuperable difficulty. (Another example, p. 124, § 25.)

(II) Commencement of the Year.

The year is not always reckoned from January the 1st. In the technical reckoning of English law, years are reckoned from the day of the King's accession. The laws passed in August, 1907, were called those of the seventh year of King Edward VII, for his accession was on the 22nd of January, 1901. Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne on the 17th of November, 1558, and her "regnal years" are calculated from that day.

In medieval times it was usual (not however universal) to reckon the Christian era from either the festival of the Incarnation (that is the Annunciation B.V.M.) or from that of the Nativity. In England reckoning from the 25th of March (the Annunciation) had become the usual thing by the time of which we are speaking. It is usual to consider this as part of the "Old Style," though it had not the same origin as the variation in the day numbers.

(III) Law Terms.

Hilary Term (till 1830) from 23 or 24 January till 12 or 13 February.
Easter Term (till 1830) from 17 days after Easter till four days after Ascension.
Trinity Term (1541 to 1830) from Friday after Corpus Christi till Wednesday fortnight following.
Michaelmas Term (until 1641) from the fourth of the Octave of St. Michael (*i.e.* October 9 or 10 if the 9th was Sunday) till the 28th (or 29th) of November.

* Father J. Morris, *Archæologia*, lii, p. 118, cites a letter of Toby Matthew, Bishop of Durham, dated 10 March, 1594–5, in which the bishop speaks of the Easter of the Catholics as "being before ours," and Father Morris thinks it "possible" that the bishop may be right. But the bishop is here confessedly relying on spy-information, and spy-information is so often inaccurate, that it is of no force against the reliable evidence of an opposite character, such as that quoted above.

(IV) Regnal Years of Elizabeth's Reign, with Easters according to Old Style and according to New Style.

The first column shows the regnal years, beginning on the 17th of November of one year and ending on the 16th of November next year.

Regnal years.	Christian Era.	Dominical letter.	Easter, O. S.
1	1558	*b*	April 10
	1559	*a*	Mar. 26
2	1560	*g f*	April 14
3	1561	*e*	April 6
4	1562	*d*	Mar. 29
5	1563	*c*	April 11
6	1564	*b a*	April 2
7	1565	*g*	April 22
8	1566	*f*	April 14
9	1567	*e*	Mar. 30
10	1568	*d c*	April 18
11	1569	*b*	April 10
12	1570	*a*	Mar. 26
13	1571	*g*	April 15
14	1572	*f e*	April 6
15	1573	*d*	Mar. 22
16	1574	*c*	April 11
17	1575	*b*	April 3
18	1576	*a g*	April 22
19	1577	*f*	April 7
20	1578	*e*	Mar. 30
21	1579	*d*	April 19
22	1580	*c b*	April 3
23	1581	*a*	Mar. 26

(*Continued in the next column*)

Regnal years.	Christian Era.	Dominical letter.	Easter, O. S.	Dominical letter N.S.	Easter, N. S.
24	1581	*a*	—	—	—
	1582	*g*	April 15	New Style began 15 October, 1582.	
25	1583	*f*	Mar. 31	*b*	April 10
26	1584	*e d*	April 19	*a g*	April 1
27	1585	*c*	April 11	*f*	April 21
28	1586	*b*	April 3	*e*	April 6
29	1587	*a*	April 16	*d*	Mar. 29
30	1588	*g f*	April 7	*c b*	April 17
31	1589	*e*	Mar. 30	*a*	April 2
32	1590	*d*	April 19	*g*	April 22
33	1591	*c*	April 4	*f*	April 14
34	1592	*b a*	Mar. 26	*e d*	Mar. 29
35	1593	*g*	April 15	*c*	April 18
36	1594	*f*	Mar. 31	*b*	April 10
37	1595	*e*	April 20	*a*	Mar. 26
38	1596	*d c*	April 11	*g f*	April 14
39	1597	*b*	Mar. 27	*e*	April 6
40	1598	*a*	April 16	*d*	Mar. 22
41	1599	*g*	April 8	*c*	April 11
42	1600	*f e*	Mar. 23	*b a*	April 2
43	1601	*d*	April 12	*g*	April 22
44	1602	*c*	April 4	*f*	April 7
45	1603	*b*	April 24	*e*	Mar. 30

Elizabeth died 24 *March*, 1602/3.

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The names of persons and places will commonly be found under the usual modern equivalents. This, however, is for convenience of reference. No opinion is pronounced on the difference of persons, whose names appear under slightly different spellings: nor on the identity of those whose names are spelt alike.

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Since numbers LXIX, &c., were printed off, I find, with regret, that I have overlooked Father F. Goldie's articles on Boste in vols. xii and xiii of the *Ushaw Magazine* (1902, 1903; pp. 251, 39). Most of the documents about Boste, which are here reproduced, were there printed by him (but not so fully as here, nor in their original spelling) from Father Morris's collection, of which I have spoken in the Introduction (*supra*, p. 1). I may add, however, that it was I who first found them and contributed them to that source.

THE CATHOLIC RECORD SOCIETY

VOLUME I. MISCELLANEA I

(pp. xv and 296. Index, 53)

I. Dr. Nicholas Sander's Report to Cardinal Moroni on the Change of Religion, 1558, in Latin and English.
II. Official Lists of Prisoners for Religion, 1562–1580.
III. Conclusion of the Autobiography of Father William Weston, S.J., being the missing part of Father John Morris's "Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers," Series II, 1589–1603.
IV. The Martyrdom of the Ven. John Boste, Priest, described by the Ven. Christopher Robinson, Priest and Martyr, 1594.
V. Relation of a Brawl betwixt the King's Officers and the Followers of the French Embassy on English Papists resorting there to Mass, 1626. *With plan of Durham House.*
VI. Letter from Sir John Coke to Lord Conway about the Apprehension of a Priest at Newington, 1626.
VII. Unsigned Protection for John Colleton, Priest, 1626.
VIII. Note Book of John Southcote, D.D., 1628–1637.
IX. Autobiographical and Genealogical Notes of the Ven. Arthur Bel, O.S.F., Martyr, 1638. *With Bel arms, impaling Daniel and Baynard.*
X. Obituary of Dom John Huddleston, O.S.B., temp. Civil War, with short annotations.
XI. Family Notes or Extracts from the Commonplace Book of Edmund Napper, of Holywell, Oxon., Esquire.
XII. Permit to Thomas Owst of Halsham, a Popish Recusant, to visit his sick wife, 1745. *Facsimile frontispiece.*
XIII. Family Notes of Smiths of Drax, 1771, etc.
XIV. Family Notes of Wilks, Sherlock, Lewys, Whitmore, 1731, etc.
XV. Family Notes of Roskell of Garstang, 1733.
XVI. Catholic Registers of Winchester, 1731–1826.
XVII. Catholic Registers of Cowdray, 1745-1822.
XVIII. Catholic Registers of Perthîr, 1758–1818.

VOLUME II. MISCELLANEA II

(pp. 368. Index, 38)

I. Testimonial by Bishop Goldwell and others in favour of Thomas Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset. *With facsimile frontispiece.* Also three papers from the Vatican on the messages sent through him to Queen Elizabeth. *With facsimile frontispiece.*
II. Memoirs of Father Robert Persons, S.J.
  i. Father Persons' Autobiography, 1546–1584.
  ii. A Storie of Domesticall Difficulties in the English Catholike cause. *With facsimile of title page.*
  iii. The First Entrance of the Fathers of the Society into England.
  iv. The Observation of Certayne Aparent Iudgements againste suche as have been seditious. 1598.
  v. A political retrospect, being Father Persons' letter to Father Rivers, S.J. 1603.
III. Official Lists of Catholic Prisoners, temp. Queen Elizabeth. 1581–1602 (*concluded*).
IV. Records of Catholicism in the South Wales Marches, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.
  i. Report of Robert Bennett, Protestant Bishop of Hereford, 1605.
  ii. List of Recusants Disarmed, 1625.
  iii. Lands given to Superstitious Uses, 1689.
  iv. Reputed Papists in St. David's Diocese, 1767.

V. Licence granted by the Earl of Huntingdon to John Beaumont of Gracedieu, a Papist, 1610. *With facsimile.*
VI. Catholic Registers of Towneley Hall. A Chaplain's Stipendiary Accounts. Account of Martholme Terrier, 1705, etc.
VII. Petition of Denis Molony to be allowed to practise at the Bar.
VIII. Catholic Registers of Cheam, Surrey, 1755–1780.
IX. Catholic Registers of Wootton Wawen, Warwickshire, 1765–1819.
X. Catholic Registers of Bellingham, Northumberland, 1794–1836.

VOLUME III. MISCELLANEA III

(pp. 330. Index, 55)

I. Queen Elizabeth's Licence to Richard Hoghton, 1576. *With facsimile frontispiece.*
II. Bills for Prisoners in the Tower of London. 1576–1589.
III. Life and Martyrdom of the Ven. Thomas Maxfield, 1616. *With Portrait and facsimile letter and correspondence.*
IV. Memoir of Edmund Mathew or Poins, at St. Omers College, 1667.
V. Recusants of Masham, Yorkshire, 1589–1628.
VI. Letters on the Treatment of Prisoners at Wisbeach Castle, 1615.
VII. Letters of the Archpriest Harrison, 1618.
VIII. A Chapter Necrology, 1670–1678.
IX. Registers of Holywell, Flintshire, 1730–1829.
X. Registers of Nidd Hall, Yorkshire, 1780–1823.
XI. Registers of Llanarth, Monmouthshire, 1781–1838.
XII. Registers of St. Joseph's, Trenchard Street, Bristol, 1777–1808.
XIII. Extract from letter of Sir Robert Crosse, 1607.
XIV. Certificate of Oath by Canon Tierney, 1813.

VOLUME IV. MISCELLANEA IV

(pp. 440. Index, 71)

I. Memoirs of Father Robert Persons, S.J. (*concluded*).
II. Lord Burghley's Map of Lancashire, 1590. Annotated by Joseph Gillow.
III. Bills for Prisoners in the Tower of London, 1595; with Gatehouse Certificates, 1592–1603.
IV. Memoirs and Notes by Father John Laurenson, S.J., concerning Chaplaincies and Families in the North. Eighteenth Century.
V. Notes of the Knight Family of Lincolnshire. Seventeenth Century.
VI. Documents at Everingham. Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.
VII. Catholic Registers of Holme on Spalding More, Yorkshire, 1744–1840.
VIII. Catholic Registers of Robert Hall, 1757–1811, and Hornby, 1811–1851, Lancashire.
IX. The Nuns of the "Institute of Mary" at York Bar Convent, 1677–1825, with genealogical notes.
X. Papists in York and part of the Ainsty, 1735.
XI. Catholic Registers of the Chapel at York Bar Convent, 1771–1826.
XII. Catholic Registers of the Domestic Chapel at Courtfield, Hereford, 1773–1832.
XIII. Monumental Inscriptions from Middleton Hall Domestic Chapel, Yorkshire, 1826–1866.
XIV. Father John Birkett, Confessor in Lancaster Castle; documents recently discovered, 1678.

LORD BURGHLEY'S MAP OF LANCASHIRE, 1590

ANNOTATED BY JOSEPH GILLOW.

(pp. 61; Index, 20)

This is a reprint, on thick paper, of the second subject in Volume IV, repaged, with the Map and a Special Index. Only 206 *copies have been printed. Price to Members C.R.S.*, 6s.; *to outsiders*, 8s.

THE THIRD REPORT

OF THE

Catholic Record Society

PRESENTED TO THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING AT
CATHEDRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER

on

TUESDAY, JUNE 25, 1907

Together with a List of Members and Donors, the Constitutions, &c.

The Catholic Record Society

FOUNDED JUNE 10, 1904

Patron

THE MOST REV. THE ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER

President

THE LORD HERRIES

Vice-Presidents

THE RIGHT REV. F. AIDAN GASQUET, D.D.
Abbot President O.S.B.

COLONEL LORD EDMUND TALBOT, M.V.O., D.S.O., M.P.

ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET LORD WALTER KERR, G.C.B.

ALDERMAN SIR JOHN KNILL, BART.

Council

HENRY FARNHAM BURKE,
Somerset Herald, C.V.O.
REV. EDWIN BURTON, D.D.
REV. GILBERT DOLAN, O.S.B.
JOSEPH S. HANSOM
FRANCIS A. R. LANGTON
J. HOBSON MATTHEWS
J. ORLEBAR PAYNE, M.A.
REV. J. H. POLLEN, S.J.
MARQUIS DE RUVIGNY
CARLISLE J. S. SPEDDING
REV. W. O. SUTCLIFFE, M.A.
GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON, LITT.D.

Honorary Officers ex officio

Recorder

JOSEPH GILLOW

Bursar

LEONARD C. LINDSAY, 23 Belgrave Road, S.W.

Legal Adviser

ALFRED J. BLOUNT

Secretary

Address: "The Secretary C.R.S.,"
27 Alfred Place West, South Kensington, S.W.

Bankers

MESSRS COUTTS AND CO., STRAND, W.C.

Constitutions

1. *Name.* The name of the Society is "THE CATHOLIC RECORD SOCIETY."

2. *Objects.* The objects are the transcribing, printing, indexing and distributing to its members the Catholic Registers of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths and other old Records of the Faith, chiefly personal and genealogical, since the Reformation in England and Wales.

3. *Management.* The affairs of the Society are managed by a Council consisting of twelve members and four honorary officers, viz., The Recorder, Bursar, Legal Adviser and Secretary—four forming a quorum. It has power to appoint a President and Vice-President, its Chairman and Officers, and to fill vacancies on its own body, and has power to refuse or take away membership. One-third of the twelve members and all the honorary officers retire each year, but are eligible for re-election. Nominations of new Members of the Council must be sent to the Secretary fourteen days before the Annual Meeting. The representation and management are reserved to Catholic members.

4. *Subscription.* The subscription is one guinea per annum, which entitles members to the publications for the year, but the names of any members whose subscription shall be two years in arrears will thereupon be removed from the Society, and not be readmitted until all arrears are paid.

Subscriptions are due on June 1 in each year, and no work is issued to any member whose subscription is unpaid.

5. *Meetings.* An Annual Meeting is held in the month of June or July, of which at least seven days' notice is sent to all the members. At this meeting a report of the work of the Society, with a statement of the income and expenditure, is presented. This is issued together with the list of members and the constitutions of the Society.

6. *Audit.* The Bursar's accounts are audited by a member of the Society appointed by the Council, at the close of the financial year, which expires on May 31.

N.B.—The Bursar deals with Membership and Subscriptions.

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CATHOLIC RECORD SOCIETY

THE Council has the pleasure of presenting a report which shows that the Society is entering on the fourth year of its existence in a satisfactory condition, both as to numbers and finance. The volumes already published or in progress are, it is hoped, the best evidence of the vigour and success with which the aims of the Society continue to be prosecuted.

At the Second Annual General Meeting of the Society, held at Archbishop's House, under the Presidency of Lord Herries, on Tuesday, June 26, 1906, the second annual report was read and adopted. Mr John Orlebar Payne and Mr Ernest Wyatt-Davies having retired from the Council by rotation, the former was re-elected for three years. Mr Francis de Zulueta was elected in the place of Mr Wyatt-Davies, who was unable to offer himself for re-election, and the Rev. William Ormond Sutcliffe, M.A., to fill a vacancy for three years.

During the year the Council exercised its rights of co-opting one member. Mr Francis de Zulueta, finding he was unable to attend the meetings, resigned, and his place was filled by Mr Hartwell D. Grissell, K.C.P., M.A., F.S.A., but the Society has, unfortunately, to deplore his death already. The Council so constituted has held ten meetings during the year.

Four members now retire by rotation: Rev. John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., Mr Henry Farnham Burke (Somerset Herald), Mr John Hobson Matthews and Mr Carlisle James Scott Spedding, who being eligible are recommended for re-election.

In last year's report it was stated that the membership had risen from 268 to 327. During the current year thirty new members have joined; but against this gain, satisfactory in itself, must be set losses from death and other causes.

The Council with regret has to record the decease of seven members. Among these is the Earl of Liverpool, President of the British Record Society, who was keenly interested in all archæological research, and whose loss will be felt, not only by us, but by many kindred bodies. The obituary list also includes the names of the Rev. Henry Gibson and Mr Lewis Charles Sayles, both Founders of our society; the Rev. James Hayes, S.J., who joined twice, first as Rector of St Francis Xavier's, Liverpool, and, secondly, when appointed assistant to Father General of the Society of Jesus; the Lord Arundell of Wardour, Major Edmund Herbert, and now Mr Hartwell D. Grissell.

Nine members have resigned, and the names of eight have been removed from the Roll under Constitution IV. The Council, while regretting the necessity of this action, feels that it is better for the membership of the Society to be confined to those who fulfil the requirements of the Constitutions, though it is hoped that some of those who have resigned, or whose qualification lapses, may at a later time rejoin.*

This leaves the Society with a membership of 333 against 327 last year, a number which, taking into account the fact that Constitution IV has been brought into operation for the first time, compares satisfactorily with the previous figures and leaves us in a favourable position amongst the leading Record Societies.

Twenty-four of the thirty new members have joined as from the first year, thus obtaining all the volumes issued to subscribers; and it will be necessary before long for the Council to consider the advisability of discontinuing this privilege, and fixing a price on each volume, to be obtained only by fully qualified members. As the work of the Society is becoming more widely known, the number of Libraries that subscribe is increasing, and with further additions to our membership from this and other sources, the stock of publications in hand will shortly be depleted.

During the last year the Third Volume of the Publications (given to subscribers for the second year) has been issued, and the progress of Volume IV up to December seemed to justify the Council in holding out hopes that it would be in the hands of members before the completion of the financial year; but the later progress has been unsatisfactory. Ten months is too long for printing the text of even 440 pages. The long Index is progressing as fast as the printing allows. This delay is only in part accounted for by the fact that the Council decided on the separate printing of an excerpt of special interest from this Volume—"Lord Burghley's Map of Lancashire 1590." It was thought that there would be a demand for this excerpt in Lancashire which might result not only in a small profit and other advantages, but in making the Society more widely known. Accordingly 206 copies have been printed at the price of eight shillings, which is reduced to six in the case of members. It was not deemed prudent to issue two volumes for the third year; but the forthcoming volume is unusually large.

There is in the press for the coming year a volume which will prove of great importance. It consists of Memorials of the English Martyrs, edited by Rev. J. H. Pollen, S.J., the Postulator of the Cause, and consists entirely of hitherto unpublished information about those who suffered for the faith in penal times. More than half of this volume is already in type. Volume VI will be "Miscellanea V," for which there is much material in hand. The contents have not been finally determined, but it will probably include the "Annals of Anne Neville, O.S.B., Lady Abbess of Pontoise (now

* One name has already been reinstated.

Teignmouth)," "Recusants of 1667," and Registers of Lulworth, Everingham and Crondon Park, with an instalment of those of the Sardinian Chapel in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The Council is glad to state, however, that these volumes do not exhaust the work already in hand for the Society. Mr Joseph Gillow and Mr Richard Trappes-Lomax are engaged in editing the valuable "Diary of the Blue Nuns or English Nuns of the Order of the Immaculate Conception at Paris, from 1658 to their dissolution in 1792." These original papers were lately purchased by Mr Gillow and are of great interest both socially and genealogically, throwing much light on conventual life. The members of this community were connected with many well-known English Catholic families. These annals will probably be issued as Vol. VII.

The Registers of Kiddington, Linton on Ouse, Lulworth, Slindon and Woolston have been transcribed, and those of Biddleston and Durham and other Records are in progress.

The year began with a balance of £422 19s. 11d. in the bank, owing to the delay in printing. Two volumes have been paid for and other payments made; but the Bursar is still able to show a goodly balance of £396 5s. 7d., which, with the subscriptions for the fourth year, now due, will carry the Society well through the next twelvemonth. Last year the accounts had to be "adopted subject to the audit," owing to the Bursar being on the Papal Mission to Madrid. They subsequently passed the Hon. Auditor, Mr William Raeburn Andrew, who has again kindly acted in the same capacity this year.

The Council is much indebted to Members for their financial support, and to several for donations, as well as for important work in the supply of transcripts.

The office of Secretary has remained vacant since the last General Meeting, and Mr J. S. Hansom has continued to perform the duties. The Council feels, however, that the burden is too heavy to be imposed on him, and would be glad if some gentleman, resident in London and interested in the work of the Society, would devote permanently some part of his leisure to discharging the labours of Secretary, which, though engrossing, are also interesting.

Once more the Council invites all Members to help on the work of the Society by making its publications known to others, and thus obtaining new members, to take the place of those who year by year must be lost to us. Help in transcribing documents, or the loan of materials for future volumes are also welcomed. The importance and value of the work done within the past three years is at once a guarantee and encouragement for the future.

THE CATHOLIC

BALANCE SHEET for the

INCOME

1906		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
June.	Balance Current Account . . .	222	19	11			
,,	Balance Deposit Account . . .	200	0	0			
					422	19	11
,,	20 Subscriptions for 1904-5 . . .	21	0	0			
,,	48 Subscriptions for 1905-6 . . .	50	8	0			
,,	294 Subscriptions for 1906-7 . . .	308	14	0			
,,	20 Subscriptions for 1907-8 . . .	21	0	0			
,,	2 Subscriptions for 1908-9 . . .	2	2	0			
					403	4	0
	DONATIONS						
	For General Purposes:						
,,	William Farrer, Esq.	0	14	0			
,,	Mrs Seymour Spencer	5	0	0			
,,	J. H. Loughnan, Esq.	2	2	0			
,,	C. A. Radcliffe, Esq.	0	10	6			
					8	6	6
,,	Orby Shipley, Esq., to Transcript Fund . .				2	0	0
,,	J. S. Hansom, to Printing York Registers .				1	1	0
,,	J. Gillow, to Index to Burghley's Map . .				2	2	0
	Subscriptions for Copies of Burghley's Map				2	4	0
	Returned by Insurance Company				0	2	0
	Interest on Deposit				5	5	8
1907							
May 31	Total Income .				£847	5	1

Examined and found correct, 8 June, 1907.

W. R. ANDREW,

Hon. Auditor.

RECORD SOCIETY

Year ending May 31, 1907

EXPENDITURE

1906		£	s.	d.
June 14.	Arden Press. Business Books	3	3	6
,,	Swain and Son. Zinc Plate, Vol. III	0	15	8
,,	Monsignor Howlett. Hire of Room	1	1	0
,, 26.	Straker and Son. Binding and Packing Vol. II	19	0	3
July 15.	Arden Press. Printing Vol. II	140	7	9
,,	Whitehead and Son. Banker's Orders	0	13	6
,,	J. S Hansom. Postage, Reports, etc.	10	0	0
,, 16.	Autotype Co. Illustrations to Vol. III	13	6	4
Aug. 28.	Civil Service Supply Association. Tin Boxes	8	17	3
,, 31.	Arden Press. Reports and Stationery	15	16	0
Nov. 1.	J. S. Hansom. Disbursements	5	0	0
,, 26.	J. S. Hansom. Postage Vol. III, etc.	8	0	0
,,	Miss Edith Rix. Index, Vol. III	6	6	0
1907				
Jan 5.	Straker and Son. Binding and Packing Vol. III	19	0	3
,,	Whitehead and Son. Printing Vol. III on a/c	100	0	0
,,	Arden Press. Reports and Stationery.	11	14	6
Feb. 5.	Whitehead and Son. Printing Vol. III, balance	43	4	0
,,	Arden Press. Stationery	1	10	0
,,	J. S. Hansom. Disbursements	4	0	0
Mar. 15.	Swain and Son. Illustration to Vol. IV	20	10	0
May 3.	Miss Edith Rix. Index to Map	3	10	6
,,	J. S. Hansom for N. J. Hone, List of Recusants, 1667	8	15	0
,,	J. S. Hansom. Disbursements	5	0	0
,, 25.	L. C. Lindsay. Postage	1	8	0
	Total Expenditure	£450	19	6
May 31	Balance in Bank, Current Account: 196 5 7			
	Balance in Bank, Deposit a/c. 200 0 0			
		396	5	7
		£847	5	1

LEONARD C. LINDSAY,
Hon. Bursar.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Third Annual General Meeting of the Catholic Record Society was held on Tuesday, June 25, 1907, in the Cathedral Hall, Westminster.

The Lord Herries (President) in the chair.

There were present, The Rt Rev. Abbot Gasquet, D.D., O.S.B., (Vice-President); Rev. Edwin Burton, D.D., Rev. David Dunford, Rev. J. Gilbert Dolan, O.S.B., Rev. Charles Hannigan, C.R.L., Rev. J. H. Pollen, S.J., Rev. Sydney Smith, S.J., the Marquis de Ruvigny, Mrs ffrench Falkiner, Madame Viena, Mr Langton, Mr Hobson Matthews, Mr Spedding, Mr Leonard C. Lindsay (Hon. Bursar), Mr Hansom.

His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster (Patron) was unavoidably detained, having proposed to attend.

The Press was represented by the *London Central News, Catholic Weekly,* and *Universe.*

Messages of regret were received from Mgr Ward, Rev. W. O. Sutcliffe, Mr Henry Brierley, M.A., (Hon. Secretary Lancashire Parish Register Society), who wrote sympathetically: "Never apologise for delayed volumes. I have ceased to do so. Put not your trust in printers"; Mr Engelbach, Mr Gillow, Mr Orlebar Payne, Mr R. D. Radcliffe, Mr Orby Shipley, Mr A. A. Slater, Col. Vaughan, Capt. Vaughan, &c.

Lord Herries in opening the meeting, notice of which had previously been read by Mr Hansom, referred to the satisfactory progress of the Society as evidenced in the Annual Report recently issued, and said that the accounts showed a good balance. He thought that the contents of the volumes issued by the Catholic Record Society ought to be extremely interesting to all Catholics, as proof of the persecutions and sufferings endured by their ancestors in defence of the Faith. He gave some examples of the cramped and almost hidden way in which, within his own memory, the priest of the Mission at his own home, Everingham, had exercised his functions—and lived simply in the house with the family—without Presbytery, schools or Parish Church. The tendency now was to increase the missions in the large towns, whereas formally the Catholics in town had to come out to the Country missions, e.g. Leeds and Hull. In conclusion, he moved the adoption of the report.

Rev. J. H. Pollen, S.J., seconded its adoption. He dwelt on the benefit arising from the time and trouble expended in the preparation of matter suitable for publication by the Catholic Record Society, and represented as similar to the action of Kodaks the vivid presentment of initial moments of our history as Catholics in England, whilst scattered records and scenes of the past were focussed and brought distinctly before our eyes. The body of information thus supplied will be greatly valued by all who read them. He was glad to say that among the many libraries and institutions who have joined the Society, the British Museum has lately consented to sub-

scribe, and this is the more satisfactory because they very seldom consent to do so. He was also pleased to find that a well-known German savant, Fr Zimmermann, was much attracted by the volumes of our Society and our methods, and is writing a long report for the *Germania* newspaper, with a view to starting a similar Society in Germany.

The Rev. Sydney Smith, S.J., also spoke in support of the adoption of the Report: he referred to the great delight experienced by those who want to consult original documents at the Record Offices and at Libraries in finding so much authentic information on all the subjects in which they are interested.

The motion was put by the chairman and carried unanimously.

The Rt Rev. Abbot Gasquet, D.D., O.S.B., moved that the following gentlemen be elected on the Council: The Rev. J. H. Pollen, S.J., Mr Henry Farnham Burke, Somerset Herald, C.V.O., Mr Carlisle James Scott Spedding, and Mr John Hobson Matthews.

Abbot Gasquet spoke of the importance to non-Catholics of our publications, proving the extent of the sufferings patiently borne by our ancestors and by Catholic priests and nuns in the times of persecution. He congratulated the Society on obtaining the subscription from the British Museum. He had tried in vain to get the Historical Society to subscribe also, so he had lent them his volumes of the C.R.S. publications, so that they may be accessible to the public, and he can also refer to them at any time. He said he thought the genealogical articles and information in our volumes would especially attract many readers; in fact he looked upon it as the "honey to catch the flies"—and induce many new members to join. He congratulated the Society on the amount published, and like Mr H. Brierley he thought no apology for delay was needed. He gave some instances of backwardness in publication in other Societies.

The foregoing names were seconded by the Rev. Dr Burton, and declared duly re-elected members of the Council.

The Rev. Charles Hannigan, C.R.L., moved a vote of thanks to the Council of the Catholic Record Society for their exertions in behalf of the work of the Society.

This was seconded by the Rev. David Dunford, who made some observations on the amount of the literary output of the Society, and suggested that one volume a year would be sufficient. Carried.

Mr Hobson Matthews moved a vote of thanks to Lord Herries for coming from some distance to preside at the General meeting, and he spoke of the records collected and published by the Society as the pick and marrow of the acts of Catholic faith in the past. The publication of these records was very important and useful, as no other Society published so fully the purely Catholic records, but only some portion of them occasionally.

The Rev. E. Burton, D.D., in seconding this vote of thanks, expressed the pleasure felt by all the members of the Society at seeing their President in better health, for they had felt much anxiety at hearing of his illness. As to the slender attendance at this meeting, he was enough of an optimist to think it proved the confidence

of the members in the Council. The vote of thanks was carried unanimously.

Lord Herries thanked the meeting very cordially, and spoke of the pleasure he experienced at the progress of the Record Society. He was surprised, in looking over his library at Everingham, which had been gathered for ages past, at the number of theological works —amongst which he came across no less than seventy copies of the Bible, which went far to disprove the allegation against Catholics that they were never allowed to read the Bible.

Mr Lindsay proposed and Father Pollen seconded a special vote of thanks to Mr Hansom for his untiring work in behalf of the Society, and Lord Herries said he wished to emphasize this vote which was carried unanimously.

In returning thanks Mr Hansom deprecated any reduction of the work, favouring rather an increase, as there is a mass of information requiring printing for many years to come.

NOTICES

MEMBERS are requested to call the attention of their friends to the Society and its work. The present membership is nearly adequate for the issue of two volumes yearly, and it is highly desirable to make this the minimum.

Transcripts of interesting unpublished documents ready for the press, together with the loan of the originals for the purpose of collation, are invited. It is desired to have material for half a dozen volumes ready for printing, as special donations for printing may enable the output to be increased.

Offers of help in transcribing documents, especially in the Public Offices in London, where the greater part of documents relating to the country are stored, are invited. A few trustworthy transcribers have already started work at their own homes. Parish Priests are especially invited to provide exact copies of the old registers, or give facilities for this being done.

The Constitutions provide that "no work is issued to any member whose subscription is unpaid." By this necessary regulation we prevent any claims by the five privileged libraries (The British Museum Library, The Bodleian at Oxford, The University Library at Cambridge, Trinity College, Dublin, and The Advocates Library at Edinburgh) claiming free copies, and it is hoped they will all become members of the Society, as three already are. Both their names and subscriptions are desired. Besides this, a great many people would like the Society's books without payment, and might join if there was a possibility of so getting our volumes. There is no intention of increasing the membership in such a manner.

Members desirous of paying through their banker will be supplied with a "Banker's Order" on application to the Bursar or Secretary. It saves trouble to members and the Bursar.

F—Founders on June 10, 1904

Libraries and other Institutions are to be found under Towns and Places. Those in the Metropolis are under London.

F Abbotsleigh, Rev. Mother Prioress, C.R.L., Newton Abbot, Devon.
Acton, Mrs Vincent, Overbury, Tewkesbury.
Ainsworth, Miss (Blanche).
Ampleforth Abbey Library, Oswaldkirk, York.
Amycla, Rt Rev. (Dr Fenton) the Bishop of, 10 Nevern Road, Earl's Court, S.W.
Anderson, Yarborough, 50 Pall Mall, S.W.
Anderton, Henry Ince, Brooklands, Ormskirk.
F Andrew, William Raeburn, M.A., Cathcart House, Cathcart Road, South Kensington, S.W.
Anselm, Very Rev. Father, Prov. O.S.F.C., The Monastery, Crawley, Sussex.
Antiquaries, Society of, *see* London.
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F York, Rev. Mother, St Mary's Convent, Micklegate Bar.
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OBITUARY

1905

F Blount, Sir Edward Charles, K.C.B., 15 March, æt. 95.
Nicholl, Samuel Joseph, 21 March, æt. 78.
Knight, Rt Rev. Edmund, Bishop of Flavias, 9 June, æt. 67.
Worsley-Worswick, Colonel Richard Christopher, 9 Dec., æt. 69.

1906

Mackey, Rev. H. Benedict Canon, D.D., O.S.B. 8 Jan., æt. 60.
Gradwell, Rt Rev. Mgr Robert, 16 May, æt. 80.
F Sayles, Lewis Charles, 17 Nov., æt. 64.
Arundell of Wardour, John Francis Arundell 12th Baron, 26 Oct. æt. 74.

1907

Herbert, Major Edmund, 20 Feb., æt. 84.
Liverpool, Cecil George Savile Foljambe 1st Earl of, P.C., F.S.A., 23 March, æt. 60.
F Gibson, Rev. Henry, 7 March, æt. 80.
Hayes, Rev. James, S.J., 28 May, æt. 67.
Grissell, Hartwell de la Garde, K.C.P., 10 June, æt. 67.
Collingridge, Rev. Charles P.F., 26 July, æt. 63.
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